



Ptolomeus

Marinus

Strabo

Polibius

Aratus

Hipparchus

Astronomia

Geometria

Arithmetica

Musica

C Most fruit

full & learned Cōmenta-
ries of Doctor Peter Martir Ver-
mil Florentine, Professor of Deni-
nitie, in the Uniuersity of Cygure,
with a very profitable tract of the
matter and places.

Wherein is also added & contained
two most ample Tables, aswel of the
matter, as of the wordes: wyth
an Index of the places in
the holy scripture.

(c.)

Galath. vi.

God forbid that I shoulde reioyce but
in the crosse of our Loyde Iesu Christe,
wherby the world is crucified to me, and
I to the world.

¶ Set forth & allowed, according to the order ap-
pointed in the Quenes maiesties imunctions.

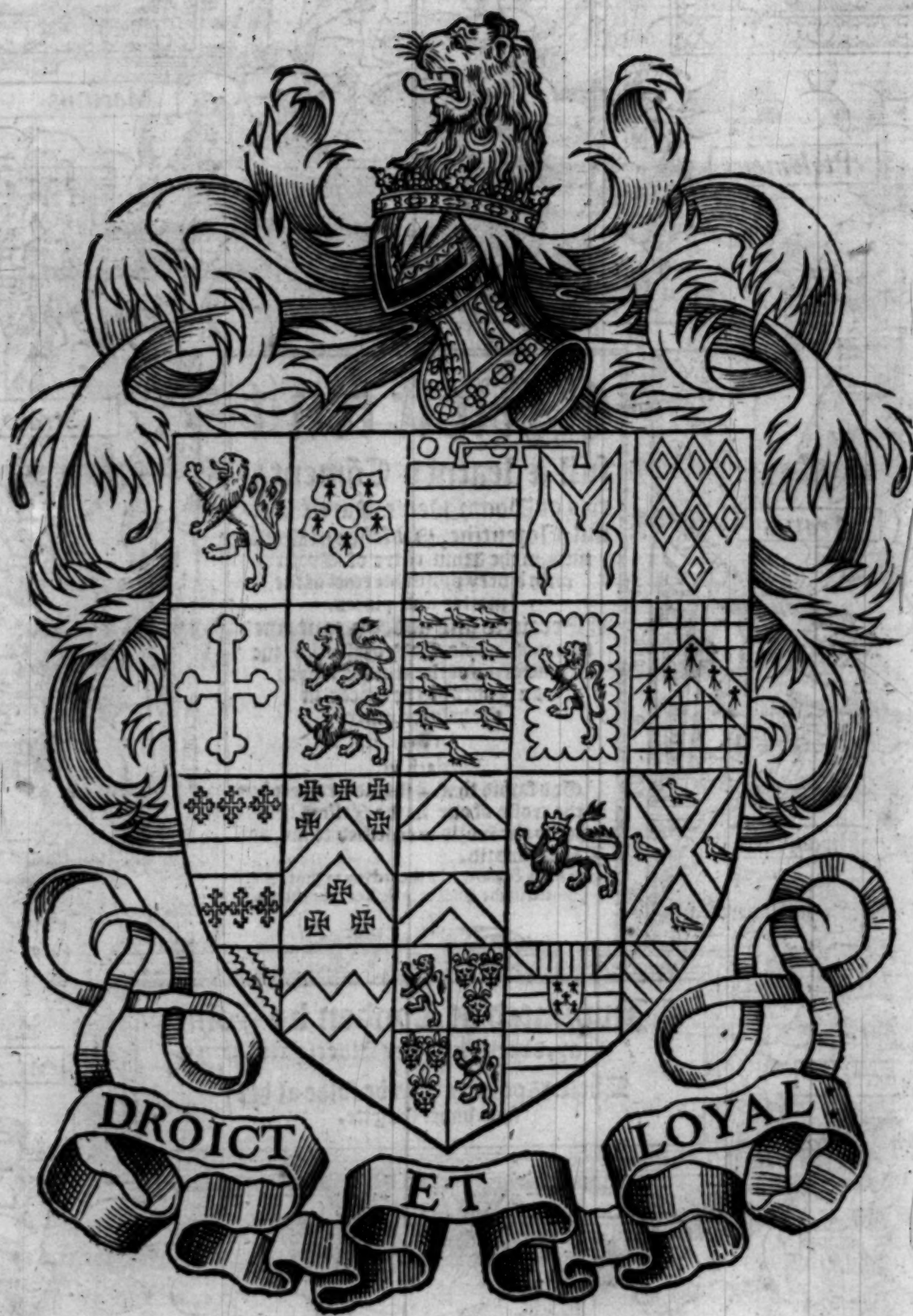
C Imprinted at London by John

Way, dwelling ouer Aldersgate. Anno
1584

These Bookes are to be solde at his
shop vnder the gate.

MERCURIUS

Tho. Fauntton.



¶ To the ryght honorable,
my most singuler good Lord and Mai-
ster the Lord Robert Duddely, Earle of Lece-
ster, Baron of Dyngby, Knight of the honorable order of the
Garter, one of the Quenes highnes most honorable
priuy Counsell, and Maister of her Ma-
iesties horſſe.



He old opinion (right hono-
rable and my singuler good Lord)
being no lesse auncient then true,
whiche accomptes hym an ill man,
that is good but for him selfe (as
who saye, from whom no goodnes
commeth to the help of others) most
like a Drone in a Bee hiue, shrow-
ded there for his owne sucke, not
for the common wealth of Bees,
whom therefore they suffer not a-
mong them, but kill & cast out, as an vnkinde member, vnnaturall, and
not to be endured in their state: hath bene alwayes the rappingg ham-
mer in my head, and the spurre to my side, to knocke and pricke me for-
ward (that am of my selfe lytle able to do) to procure what I can (to my
calling at least) for the profit of my vniuersal country men, by whom &
among whom, as a member I lyue.

In respect whereof, among other it hath pleased God, to geue me
leauē (by your Lordships meane, vnder the lisenſe of my most dread so-
ueraigne Lady and Prince) to publish and set out to the glory of Gods
Maieſtie chieflie: I haue taken vpon me to plant and put forth (lyke
such a husbāde, as can not endure the plowe of my profession to stande
vnoccupied) this notable and right excellent woorke of that famous,
graue, and great learned Doctor, Maister Peter Martir (entiteled His
Commentary vpon the booke of Iudges) being turned, at the request
of the learned, out of that tounge, wherein he wrote it, into our English
phrase, in which it is most meete for vs. As who shoulde saye, what he
published into one tounge priuately, he ment (as I take it) shoulde be de-
liuered to all men generally (Christians or other) to whom it maye doo
good. Whose labour tending to suche effect, cannot, but like a tree that
beares many braunches, spread it selfe abroad, tyll it stretche with hys
fruit to many countries, nacions, and languages, out of the same spryng

The Epistle dedicatory.

and stocke, wherein he first planted it to grow, and hath grafted it for vs, And happy that spring (yea very happye) that carries such course of water, to furnishe so many Conduetes, for the necessity and helpe of so many inhabitants, as it can not but haue concourse among. And happy that seruuant that hath so bestowed his maisters talent, as it cannot but turne a gayne with so great an interest to the owner. And twise happy they, that may so taste and drinke of it, as the glory may be Gods, and the comfort theirs, which being the onely but and marke wherat this Markmā shot: what deserueth such an Archer to be accompted of? I that thinke my selfe scant meete to set out his booke, do reckon my selfe much more vnmeete to expresse his prayse. As if I were either able or meete, what should I labour to shewe your honour a whole man by his peece, vnlesse (as it might be said) I ment to shewe your honour the Sunne by a candle. Him selfe therefore that hath taken this paine vpon him, and best can shewe him selfe by his owne shape: shall report him selfe in his owne labour to your honour, as he is best able. VVho as he thought it most meete for his part, to vnfolde the secretes of that cōmon wealth in the time of the Iudges, for the plainer vnderstanding of the sence therof, to the commoditie of vs, and others after vs and him. So haue I thought it meete for me, and my very duty to your honor, humbly to present and offer the same (by me now published) vnto your honorable hands, as from the Iudges of Israel and him, to one a Iudge and Ruler of this my native cōuntrye and people, vnder our supreme Iudge, our most dread soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie. Hauing had nothing meeter wherby to expresse my faithfull hart, good mynde, and duty, to your honourable Lordshyp, then thys the simple laboure of my plowe: the fruite wherof cannot be but yours, that are owner of me.

Humbly beseeching the same to accept it in as good part, as my faithfull seruiceable hart towarde your honour, hath and doth meane it.

Beseeching God, that so gracioulye hath lyked to beginne wyth your Lordship hitherto, mercifullye continue and keepe the same, to hys glorye, to the comfort of your selfe, and hope that this your Cōuntrye

of Israell (whereof you are a Iudge) hath concealed of you.

(::)

Your Lordships humble, faithfull, and ready seruant Iohn Daye.

To the noble and most vwoorthy

men the Lordes, chiefe gouernours of the Schoole of Argentine, my
good Lordes, for their godlynes and wisdom much to be reuerenced, D.
Peter Martir, Hermilinus Florentine, Professor of the holye Scriptures
in the Schoole of Figure, wisheth health and felicitye from
God, through Iesus Christ our Saviour.

(.)



When it pleased God (most woorthy and
honorable me) of his mere goodnes, and not for
any my vertues or merites, to cal me to the obe-
dience of his sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, to ex-
ercise my selfe in setting forth his Gospel, in such
manner as hath pleased him, I thought it my du-
ty, as much as lay in me, to execute my vocation,
and assigned burthen, not onely in teaching, but
also in minde, lpe, and maners. For thus I rea-
soned with my selfe: If vnto al men, being iusti-
fied onely by the mercy of the true God, through
Iesus Christ our Saviour, not vndoubtedly by
woorkes, but freely receauing forgiveness of
synnes, there remaineth no other thyng in the
course of this short lpe, then that hauing obta-
ned the holy Ghost, and nature being somewhat relieved from his proper cor-
ruption, they should by pure lpe, and holy actions lively expresse God hymselfe
their regeneratoz, and Christ their redeemer: the same thing without doubte is
much moze required of men of my profession, whom the ecclesiasticall spirit hath
appointed to aduise and liuely doctrine vnto other men, that whylest they teach
vprightly, by their euil deedes they deface not the waight, and at the authoritye
of their doctrine, which thing if they do, they shal in the darknes of this worlde
most brightly geue light vnto other, and cause them to lift vp the eyes of theyr
minde vnto God the chiefe fountayne, head, and beginning of al good things,
and to honour him with prayles and most vpright religion. wherfore I gather,
and that truly (as I am most fully perswaded) that I my self, and the rest of the
Ministers of the doctrine of the sonne of God, ought about al other to line most
iustly. But when I considered that the office of this vertue Justice (which thy-
meth among mortall men like the bright starre Lucifer) consisteth wholly in this,
to render to euery man that which is his, I desired verely to perfozme the same
not maymed, nor diminished, nor shortened, but consisting of all his partes, so
much as humane weakenes would suffer me. And among other excellent partes
or kindes therof, a thankfull minde, and mindfull of a benefite receaued, is not
to be numbred among the least, whose property is not onely to acknowledge be-
nefites receaued, but also earnestlye to bee desirous to geue thanks for them.
This thing when I weigh with my selfe (for I thinke on it oftentimes, I will
not say continually) there cometh into my remembrance very many & great bene-
fites, which your publike welch, churche & schoole haue heretofore bestowed vpon
me. And assuredly, when I reckon them, & moze depely weigh them, they appere
vnto me so many & so great, that I am exceedingly afrayd, least I should happen
to depart out of this life vngateful, which thing vndoubtedly should be moze bit-
ter vnto me, the death it self. Ye, when I came out of Italy for religio sake, with
most incredible humanity receaued me: ye gaue me the freedom of your most am-
ple city: ye placed me in that Schoole, which ye not long before with great praise
of wyse & godly men had erected: ther ye appoynted me a Professor of holy scrip-
tures, whereas I lined a fellow with most learned and excellent men, moze then
fifte yeares. All which time ye mayntained me with a very liberal stipend. Ye,
when I was called into England, decreed that I should go thither, where cer-
tayne yeares I was teaching the Gospel in the Vniuersity of Oxford, namelpe
vntil such time as Edward the sixt of that name, that most woorthy King, and
which can neuer be prayled inough, was taken away by vntimely death, which
brought vnto all the godly, griefe, mourning, and sundrye and hard vexacions.
Ye exceedingly louingly receued me, when I returned thence to Argentine, & pla-
ced me in the same roume, wherin I was with you before. Also, when the most
noble Senate of Figure called me into the place of Pellicanus, which was ther

B. i.

a 1510.

The Epistle of the author.

a Professor of Divinity, ye, although both to your great griefe and also to mine, did yet most lovingly let me go. The cause of my departure I will not now speake of, because it is to all men known wel enough. Thus much onely will I say, that I do both vehemently desyre, and also hope, that this stop or let may be taken away out of the field of the Lord. These your benefites, which are of themselves ample and noble, I do nothing encrease nor amplify: But this one thing I testify, that they neuer slipped out of minde, neither is it possible but that they being layd vp in the bottom of my hart, shal there abide for ever. Howbeit, because the remembrance and thinking on the benefites which I have receaved of you doth not satisfy me, I have alwayes desired to make open vnto al men my good will and gratefull hart towards you, which have bene so wonderfull beneficiall towards me, wherefore I have very often times determined with my selfe, one tyme at the length to declare by some signification or monument my singular affection, and ardent love towards your publike wealth, Church and Schoole. But for as muche as touchynge riches of this worlde, I have nothing wherewithal to performe the same, least I should dye frustrate of my so honest and vehement a desire, being about now to set forth a Comentary vpon the holy history of the Judges: As I have taught it in your Schoole, I have determined to dedicate it to your name, where as otherwise I would have offered vnto you thinges much greater and better, if strength & ability had answered vnto my minde. Neither was I herunto perswaded onely by the reason now alledged, namely by some maner of meanes to shew my good wyl towards you, and not to geue any man occasion of suspicion, that in chaunging my place I should have shaken of my endeuour and study towards you: (which thing vndoubtedly is not so: For I have not laid aside these things, but they most firmly sticke in my mind daily more & more.) But this also did drive me to do this, for that this booke was writt in your city. And therefore I thought it meete, that in the possession thereof no man should be preferred before you. Farther, this did not a lytle move me, for that the argument of this history most aptly agreeth with you. For even as God at sundry times stirred by Judges vnto the Hebrewes, to deliuer them when they were oppressed with the tyranny of their enemies: So wer you not amonge the last stirred by by his goodnes and grace, to bring to lyght the Gospel of the sonne of God, when it was held captiue in darknes by the domination and violence of hypocrites, and when the mindes of Christians as touchyng godlynes were every where in a maner barren and unfruitfull. Where assuredly I could make mention of very many your actes both godly and honorable: but I ouerpasse them, for that you have manye eloquent and notable publishers abroad of your doinges, which most abundantly and elegantly haue set forth your valiantnes of minde, your constancy in embracing and spreading abroad of the Gospel of Christ, and your liberality in maintaining your notable, most learned and famous Schoole. Neyther vndoubtedly can the prailes which they haue geuen you bee reprobued of anye eye, for as muche as you haue with great feruentnes of sayth receaved the doctrine of the sonne of God, and ye are made vnto other a notable example of renning of piety. And afterward when by reason of iniquity of times thinges which wer wel ordered, seemed somewhat to slide and fall to decaye, ye hauing firme confidence of the ayde of God, verye godlye and wisely tooke courage vnto you, and euen now in this time ye stoutly and luckely did drive out the remnautes of the Amorihites and Chananites out of the inheritance of the Lord, which pertayned to your lot. Which your act hath wryth al the godly, gotten you great grace, prayse, glozy, and fauour. Wherefore I, as which vehemently desyre honor, fame and dignity vnto the City of Argenteine, do exceedingly reioyce, for your most excellent and holy act. And I do desyre god the father of mercy, that ye being inflamed and kindled with his spirit, may alwayes go forthward to better thinges. For so long as we wander here on earth, as straungers from our country which is in heauen, the Church is not fully perfect, neither in al partes absolute: For alwayes somthing is therein wanting, especially seing we are fallen into the yron age of the latter time. For was there not in the golde world of the Church many discords, troubles, and maners not agreeable vnto a Christian life: And shal not that part of the world which is christened, be now specke of the same discomodities and vices, when for age it nowe doteth? Let vs looke vpon the Church of the Hebrewes, which at that tyme was the peculiar people of God, leperated from al nations. Vndoubtedlye we shal there

The Epistle of the author.

there finde sundry courses and alteracions of thinges. Some times they slipped out of the right way. Sometimes they repented and lamented and amended the synnes wherein they had fallen. But whilst they lay in their sinnes and wickednes, they were by God corrected with greuous afflictions, and most sharp punishments. But returning vnto him, they faithfully implored his ayde: which when they had obtayned, they agayne preuailed against their enemies. In them (except we be utterly blinde) we see the image of the goodnes of God towards the sayntes, and his seuerity vpon the wicked painted, and lively expressed as it were in a table that is most rightly polished. Blessed is God, which defendeth his in most great dangers and calamities, and faithfully keepeth his safe and sound: which cometh of his goodnes, neither suffereth he them wholpe to fall from piety, or utterly to be consumed with miseries and aduersities. And we, if we note these thinges in this holpe history, shall not maruaile that the people of God were often times tossed, and euen in maner oppressed with so many and greuous chaunces: for whether we behold the godly, or whether we behold the vngodly, we shall perceaue that all these thinges were done with great fruit, and most wyse consideration. For vnto those, whom God the heauenly father hath euen from without beginning chosen vnto him by Iesus Christe, and out of an innumerable number of mortall men adopted to be his chyldren, aduersities did to this end happen, that euen as gold and syluer are by the power of fire purged, so their mindes should proue moze pure by aduersities. For by them as by lyuelie flames, the loue of our selfe, and of fragile and transitory thinges is burnt vp. But the studies of piety and innocency are wonderfully kindled and inflamed. But of the vngodly, whom the diuine prouidence hath most iustly decreed to punish with eternal death, the consideration is farre otherwise. For aduersities do not burne away their spots and vices, but rather encrease and augment them, by the augmentacion of which aduersities the impiety of their mindes also increaseth, euen as we see that with one and the selfe same fyre claye waxeth hard, and wax melteth away.

Wherefore the reading of the golden history of the Judges is most profitable, so that there want not sayth in reading of them, and prayers be without ceasing added, whereby we may pray vnto God not sayntly, but frequently, to make his woordes of efficacy in vs by the holy Ghost. For those holpe narracions are as it were certayne nourishments or stayes, whereby our confidence towards the promises of God is wonderfully confirmed, and our minde is erected to a most firme hope of obtayning of them. For whylest we diligently consider the wonderful notable actes which God did for the health and safety of the nation of the Hebrewes, it is incredible to be spoken, how our hartes are styred vp to worship and honour him sincerely and religiously. Farther, in those heroicall actes the incredible power and wysdome of the prouidence of God doth enery where abundantly and brightly shine forth, which receaued with no lesse pleasure the fruite. For by those thinges which are declared (except we wyl wyllyngly be blinde) may easily be vnderstand, that what soeuer was done, or succeeded luckely or vnluckely, at home or on warfare, the same is to be attributed either to the iustice, or els to the mercy of the eternal God. We are also most plainly taught, that God neglecteth not thinges humane. But that he hath a consideration and regard ouer the godly and the vngodly, and of them to the one he giueth ioy and pleasure, but the other he at the last moste greuously punisheth. Farther, this thing is chiefly to be marked, that Iesus Christ the sonne of God is not secluded from this holpe history. For for as much as he is the end of the law, and summe of the holy scripture, as much as this booke pertaineth vnto the law, and is a part of the holy scripture, so much doth it shew and most evidently preach Christ vnto the Readers. For the actes of noble captaynes are here rehearsed, which (as it is written vnto the Hebrewes) through sayth wan kingdomes, wrought righteousness, and obtayned the promise. But that sayth which is natural and sound includeth Christ him selfe, vnto whom singularly and in a maner onely it hath a regard. For by him the promises of God are made of efficacy. Wherefore whilst we behold the wonderful actes of the Judges, we ought to haue before our eyes the excellent sayth which brightly shined in them, & together with it the comon delineter of humane kinde, namely the sonne of God Christ Iesus, whom they beheld as their Captaine and Emperour. And that not vnwoorthely, for he by them wrought, and by them did set the people at liberty, in admonishing them

The Epistle of the author.

by the voyces of Angels, and oracles of Prophets, in confirming them in dangers, and at the last not vnconstantely but most faythfullye performing those thinges which he had befoze most liberally promised. Lastly, when we heare that the Debzues, which were the members of the same Christ, were sometime oppressed and slayne of their enemies. Let vs in them acknowledge the death and tormētes of our head. And in their victozies and triumphes. Let vs behold his resurrection, kingdome and glozy. For God hath framed vnto vs winges of his spirite and woord: but if through our own default we become fleshy and heauy, we shal not be carped vp into heauen, but together with beastes bee drawen downewarde.

I haue heretofore spoken of the history, how commodious and profitable it is to all the worshippers of god, and how aptly it pertaynerh vnto you (most excellent rulers.) wherfoze it should seme that I should now somewhat speake of the interpretation, which I haue added. But therof I wyl speake nothing: for I feele that those thinges which come out of my study and labour, are so slender and small, that I thinke them not worthy of commendacion.

There is one thing onely which I dare bololy affirme, that I by this my doctrine, howsoeuer it be, my wyl was to be a helpe to the faythful of Christ. Neyther do I deny, but that there wer other much better learned then I am, which with great prayse and fruit exercised themselves in this selfe same course of study: howbeit, bicause I exceedingly allow the sentence of Basilus (who in his. 18. Epistle writeth: Euen as welles, the more they are drawen, the better they are, so vndoubtedly are the wordes of God: for the more diligently they are handled and vsed, the more plentiful fruit is by them receaued) therfoze I tooke in hand to interpretate this history. And although I am not ignozant, that you do so abound with the most learned woorkes of other men, that ye neede not thys my commentary: yet to that I answer, that to riche men also are debtes payde, and giftes are geuen vnto kinges, who otherwise are more riche. who is more riche then God himselfe? Vnto who neuertheles al the godly do both geue thanks, & also to their power referre thanks. wherfoze I doo not offer vnto you thys slight gift, bicause I thinke that ye haue neede thereof, but that your benefites should not remayne with me longer then is meete, as though they wer neglected. Farther, that we might be styl more and more bound together in amity. For these duties are certayn common bondes, wherwith men are pleasauntly and profitably bound together betwene themselves. I haue in deede bene long in your debt, yea rather I shal alwayes be in your debt (for I shal neuer be able to pay al that I owe vnto you) wherfoze I wil gladly be perpetually in your debt. And wil with great pleasure alwayes behold, keepe and preserue your benefites layd vp with me, so that they shal neuer dye, nor neuer at anye time slyp out of my mynde. So fare you wel (most worthy and noble men.) God the father

of mercy encrease, prosper, and for euer blesse you together with
your publike wealth. Church and Schoole, in al good
thinges, through Iesus Christ our Saniour,
Amen.

At Tigure the. 21. of December, 1560.



Places of the scripture, which here and there a man shall finde in these Com-

mētaries expounded, or learnedly and wittely alledged: wheras the first num-
ber signifieth the chapter, the other the verse or verses of the same chapter, as they
be distinguished and set forth in the Byble printed at Geneva, the most
expedite and ready way for speedy finding of the same.

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FINIS.



Faultes escaped in the printing, desiring thee gentle Reader
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which shal helpe thee much in the vnderstanding of those places. The order of
which correction here vnder thou maiest see. The letters a. and b. which stand
by the numbers, signify the sides of euery leafe, a. signifieng the first
syde, and b. the second syde.

Leafe.	Lyne.	Faultes.	Corrected.	Leafe.	Lyne.	Faultes.	Corrected.
2.a	3	iudged	and iudged	68.b	21	there	they
3.b	50	he Greeke	the Grske	73.b	7	angry angry	anger, anger
4.a	10	not reuenge	renenge	77.b	14	doubt	double
7.a	6	help	helly	81.b	18	is maruaple	is no maruaple
10.a	23	region	religion	84.b	16	nothing	one thyng
11.a	9	contamined	contaminated	86.b	50	other vndersta	othe vnderstand
11.a	20	This is my	This is in my	87.a	49	not, any	not, least any
12.a	48	to vnpofita.	not vnpofitable	91.b	27	& do desperate	and desperate
15.a	24	wozd	wozdes	96.b	1	by an ordinary	by no ordinary
25.b	20	swayling	swayting	100.a	22	decreased	digressed
31.b	5	their maters	their own mat.	100.a	23	the knight	the kente
31.b	8	greuous	suffer greuous	100.b	49	leuites	kentites
31.b	30	least	left	106.a	17	xl. C. men.	xl. M. men
32.a	34	the wel balle	the balleys	111.b	29	decrees. 23. q. 5. cha	decrees, causa. 23. q. 5.
35.a	1	helpe for the	helpe from the			dixerit aliquis.	dicit aliquis. & 28. d. 1
38.b	38	deceaned	receaned	120.a	53	wozd	wozld
39.a	22	ceaseth not to	ceaseth to be	121.b	13	title	title
40.a	13	signes	synnes	124.a	17	inuolated	biolated
43.b	28	saluation	salutacion	132.a	43	13500. men	135000. men
47.b	47	stranger	stronger	134.b	1	Recubites	Recutites
48.a	1	that none	that to none	144.a	32	mention	mantion
49.a	1	obey admoni.	obey their admo.	191.b	51	by puen	by aone
51.b	25	contemne	continue	201.b	4	care	beare
53.a	10	wozders	wozkes	203.b	52	preferne	obferne
57.a	39	mifery	mifery	223.a	15	doubting	doubling
60.a	18	by coloure	by no coloure	227.a	20	ententes	euentes
61.a	18	swept	sweeded	218.b	14	pronounces	prouinces
62.a	9	offer	offered	230.a	32	thickenes	thadnes
62.a	29	sacrifice	sacrificer	247.a	16	Cain	Cham
62.b	33	nation	motion	269.b	14	leuened	leuelled
63.b.	20	set	setteth	285.a	14	comunicate	excommunicate
63.b	48	sayth	sayth				
64.a	1	participacion	particion				
65.b	36	lawe	lame				



The commentarie of Ma-

ster Peter Martyr vpon the
Booke of Iudges.



Here be some whiche deuide the ho-

ly scriptures into foure parts, and ascribe some of the holy booke as wel of the old testament as of the new, to lawes, some to histories, some to prophecies, and other some agayne to wisdom. But it is not meete so to deuide the booke of the holy scripture one from an other, because that in the booke of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomie, in which they appoint lawes to be contained, are founde almoste as many histories as lawes. Besides that in the booke which they ascribe to prophetes, lawes of lining by sighte are oftentimes written and clearly expounded.

Of the diuision
of the holy
Scriptures.

Neither can we properly separate the booke of Salomons other of y kynd (which they will haue proper to wisdom) from lawes and prophecies. For there are in them sentences here and there written, which seruing for the instruction of life, haue also wout controuersy the nature of lawes. Furthermoze for y that in the are very many secretes opened vnto the church by the inspiration of the spirit of god, they poure vndoubtedly into the attentive hearers, oracles of thinges to come. It may easily be graunted, that all these thinges which they make mentio of, are founde in the holy booke: I meane the precepts of lining, notable histories, prophecies of thinges to come, and also moste wise sentences and sayings: but in such sort, that in maner in euery booke they are set forth vnto vs dispersedly, neither yet would I that these holy booke should be deuided one from an other by these endes and limites.

I would rather thinke as the learned sorte doe also iudge, that whatsoeuer thinges are conteyned in the holy Scriptures should be referred vnto two principall heades, the lawe I meane and the gospel. For euery where are declared vnto vs either the precepts of god of by sighte lining, or wher we are reposed to haue strayed fro the by reaso of weakenes or els of mallice, y gospel is layd forth befoze vs, wherein by Christ that thing wherein we haue offended is pardoned, and the strength and power of the holy ghost promised vs, to refozme vs agayne to the image of god, whiche we had losse. These two thinges maye we beholde in all the booke of Moyles, in the histories, prophecies, and booke appointed to wisdom, and that not onely in the olde Testamente, but also in the newe, and they are not separated one from an other by booke and leaues, but by that maner which is now declared. And this is sufficient as touching the generall matter of the holy scriptures. But now we must peculiarly speake of this booke, that we may vnderstand what thinges they be which are entreated of in the same. And to the ende we may the moze plainly vnderstande this, it is nedefull to call to memozy those thinges which were spoken of in the former booke.

There be two
principal poin-
tes whereunto
all the whole
Scriptures are
referred.

What thinges
are entreated of
in this booke of
Iudges.

In Genesis is set forth the creation of the world, then howe of Abraham, Isaac, Iacob and his twelue childre was engendred the people of god and how

C. i.

they

Cap. I. A Commentarie vpon the

they wer brought into Egypt to dye away their famine.

Exodus teacheth the greates encrease, and incredible multiplication of the Israelites, the maner also and forme wherby they were of god by Moyses deliuered from bondage and set at liberty, and how they were excellently adorne with lawes, iudgements and ceremonies, whiche thinges are also comprehended in the booke of Leviticus. The booke of Numbers containeth very many passages of the Hebrewes, and diuerse placings and orderings of their tents in the desert places, & also certain vsages of those rules which were prescribed before of god in the lawes. And lastly of al in Deuteronomy. When Moyses should depart out of this life, he like a most faithfull minister of god, & most learned preacher, repeateth vnto the people almost the whole lawe. After whose death Josua captain of the Hebrewes led the people beyond Iordane, and possessed some parte of the promised land of Chanaan, and deuised it as god had commaunded to his whole nation by tribes. When he was dead god gouerned the Hebrewes by certain excellent men which were called Judges, of which Judges this booke which we haue taken in hand to enterprize hath his name and title.

What is contayned in 6 booke which go before the iudges.

Why this is called the booke of the iudges.

Senadrim.

Of the common wealth & estate of the Jewes.

What is wherby best men are gouernours ouer the common wealth

What was the cause of the raising vp of Judges.

But for the better vnderstanding of the title thereof we muste know that this word Shaphat in the Jewes tongue signifieth sometime to execute the law, and to iudge the causes betwene them which are at controuersie, which office yet is not proper to those Judges, of which we now entreate. For there were Levites appointed which sate and gaue iudgement at the gates of euery cite, and about all iudgements sate Senadrim which were an assembly of 70. elders.

Furthermoze 6 word signifieth to reuenge & to set at libertie, which these excellent men perfozmed, whose noble acts are declared in this volume. They by their authoritie, through their might and counsell, deliuered the Israelites when they were oppressed of straungers, and kept them in the obseruing of the law & true worshiping of God. And that their office may the better be perceiued, we will briefly expound the face and estate of that publike weale. God himselfe was the true and proper king of that nation, for he onely had the principal power there, but not as he had ouer other nations, but so, that he by his becke, oracle, and certain commaundement, gouerned the estate of the Israelites, which he promised to do in the 18. chap. of Exodus. Whereas he said that that people should be his chiefe kingdome. But because he would also vse the ministry of men, he prouided al thinges necessary for the Hebrewes, first by Moyses and then by Josua as long as they liued.

They exercised the office of princes or captaines, which men being dead god would haue the best and most excellent men to haue the rule ouer them (for such men were picked out to be of the senate, whose excellent conditions are set forth as well in Exodus as in Deuteronomy: for the lawes of God would not suffer euery one to be called to that office.) If thou shalt therefore consider these men then shalt thou see the forme of that government which is called Aristocratia. But because that it was not lawfull to attempt great matters without the peoples consent, we may therefore iustly thinke that it was also a common wealth which endured to the tyme of Saule and Dauid the first kings.

That estate therefore in respect of god was a kingdome, but in respect of the senate & those chiefe men it was Aristocratia. Because in electing of them they had no regard to their riches but to their vertue and godlines, & for y the weightiest matters were referred to the people, therefore we may say it was a common welth.

Wherefore it manifestly appeareth y the administratio of matters of the Israelites was very well tempered of three kinds of governments. And because, whereas many gouerne the common wealth, it is needfull when dangerous tymes doe happen, for the better successe and expedition of thinges to be done, one muste be ap.

appointed which may haue both \hat{h} chief rule & also \hat{h} chief authoritie: for \hat{h} which cause \hat{h} Romanes created often tymes both Emperors & also Dictators. So god whē \hat{h} Israelites wer most greuously oppressed of their enemies, iudged it mete to deliuer them and bring thē to libertie, he euermore stirred vp some one man by his spirit, whom he endued with noble vertues, strength of body, warlike arte and other gifts mete for that purpose which shuld be brought to passe, by whose industry & good successe the people might be deliuered from tyrantes.

Betweene forrayne nations and the Israelites in this similitude, thys difference is to be marked. Emperors and Dictators were appointed and chosen of men. But the iudges of the Hebrewes wer not declared by the voyces of mē, but by \hat{h} ordinance & inspiratiō of god. They could not be properly called capitaynes or kinges or els lordes, posteritie or succession was here of no force, neither was therea regard to one perticular tribe or family, neither was there required the election of mā or the cōmon assent of \hat{h} people. In humane publique weales these vse to take place, but God in thys hys publique weale preferred whom he pleased to be iudge in \hat{h} gouernmēt of things. Besides that, they which are chosen by the cōmō voyce of mē must first be endued wth excellent strength & vertues, but god made those whō he decreed to be Iudges & setters at libertie of \hat{h} Israelites, notable and most excellent vpon the sodayne, though they were neuer so much rude and vnmete of nature. And that this is true, witnesseth the 2. chapter of this boke where it is thus w^{rit}ten, God raised them vp Iudges, which deliuered them out of the handes of their oppressours. &c. And therunto is added when the Lord had raised them vp a iudge, he was with the iudge, and deliuered Israel all the dayes of his lyfe. Moreover these men in time of they^r authoritie were not in dede Lords ouer the Israelites, but onely wrought with authoritie, admonition, counsell and exercising warlike traualles. This is made playne by that that Gedeon as it is w^{rit}ten in the 8. chap: when he had gotten the victorie ouer the Madianites, when it was offred hym to be king ouer Israel he refused it. For the people sayd vnto hym: Reygne thou ouer vs and thy sonne. By the which wordes they dyd not geue the kingdome onely vnto hym, but also to hys posteritie. But he would none of it, yea he answered them thus. I wil not reigne ouer you, God shal reygne ouer you. And it is w^{rit}ten in \hat{h} fyrst boke of Samuel that God sayd vnto the Prophet, They haue not cast thee away but me, that I should not reygne ouer them. It appeareth therefore manifestly \hat{h} these Iudges were neyther kynges nor yet Lordes of the Israelites. I would to god that this kynde of authoritie were diligently marked in the poppish Church, where wicked men do so impudently vsurpe vnto themselves spirituall promotion, seing that Christ hymselfe as he is the true priest, so also is he oure only priest, for he only pacifyeth the father towarde vs and they whiche are gouernours of the Church here on earth are to be counted only as hys ministers. Wherefore they can not clayme vnto themselves that title, but they muste cast away Christ and do hym iniurye.

Next is thys to bee passed ouer, that the Iudges whiche were ordayned of god dyd alwayes deliuer Israel from the miserie wherwith they were oppressed: but the kinges, into whom \hat{h} common wealth did afterwards as it were degenerate, did not alwayes deliuer the people out of bondage, which was committed vnto them, yea they oftentimes destroyed them and compelled them at the length to slaverye. Wherefore it is to be iudged \hat{h} the estate of the Hebrewes was farre better vnder the iudges than vnder the kynges: not \hat{h} God gouerned not that people in tyme of the kyngs, but bycause hys administration shewed forth it self more in \hat{h} tyme of \hat{h} iudges. And in dede \hat{h} people was neuer led away into captiuitie vnder \hat{h} iudges, although they were oftē times oppressed by outward

The difference between the iudges & princes of the heathen.

The iudges were neither properly lordes nor kinges.

The papists do impudently clayme vnto the selues the title of spirituall honour.

The estate of the Hebrewes was better vnder the Iudges than vnder the kinges.

Cap. i. A Commentarie vpon the

Almost all the
iudges were
good and holy
men.

Why the Isra-
elites were so
oftentimes op-
pressed of their
enemies in the
time of the
iudges.

After what sort
the holy histo-
ries do containe
a great many

tyrantes which they deserved by their wickednes. That age therfore might be called as it were a golden age. Let vs marke also that there wer very few good and godly kings, but almost all the Iudges were good and godly. For although as they were men so sometymes they sel, yet we must beleue that they returned againe into the right way and repented, for they are not condemned at any time by any testimony or Iudgement of the scripture as far as I can perceiue. How notably Syrach iudged of them he playnly declareth in his booke of wisdom the 46. chap. But we leauyng his testimony aside, let vs see what the Epistle to the Hebrewes in the xi. chap. doth ascribe vnto them, where as it is thus sayd. The tyme wil be to short for me to tel of Gedeon, of Barach, Sampson, and of Iephthe &c. All these certainly were iudges, and they are mencioned of there together w other holy men, which were notable and of an excellent and wonderful faith.

Thou wilt aske peraduenture, If god looked so wel to his people as long as the iudges were ouer them, how came it to passe then, that they were so often brought into bondage by their enemies? For bicause God handled with them faithfully and by a couenant.

The league that was made is written in the 30. and 31. chap. of Deut: where god promised the Hebrewes that all things should prosper with them so long as they kept his lawes and worshipping of him. But if they should fall from hym to Idols, and cast away the lawes of their god, then should they be deliuered into the handes of their enemies, but in such sort, that if they repented and would desire ayde of their god, he would straight waies be present with them, to deliuer them from all the euils wherewith they should be oppressed. But we shal not neede to stand long now about this matter, bicause in the proceeding forward of the history, we shal manifestly perceiue, that the Israelites did oftentimes offend. And god chastened them as his children with iust punishments. But when they turned and cried vnto him, he had compassion of them, and deliuered them by iudges out of their miseries. This remayneth also for vs to declare, for as much as Christ is called the end and perfection of all the holy bookes, how these actes also of the iudges may and ought to be referred vnto him, and how they prophesie him vnto vs, as the other holy bookes do. To answer to this I will take that which Mogen writeth in his first Homely vpon this booke. All the workes of god by themselves are great: but when they are conferred together, some of them may be called small, and other some greate. If god, his leading of the children of Israel out of Egypte and throughte the wilderness should be behol- den by themselves, they are surely great workes: but if they be afterward con- sidered with this, that God loued the world so, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne for it, then shall this be a great worke, and the others small. But bicause in the greater things the lesse are comprehended (for that they are partes of the) as the number of two is contayned in thre, and thre in foure. So these pryuate deliuerances of the people which happened vnder the Iudges, for as much as they are comprehended in that principall redemption, which is geuen vnto mankynd by Christ. It must nedes be that they shuld expresse vnto vs the same, for that they be assured partes and figuratiue shadowes, and had the same authour namely Christ him selfe. For he which before deliuered the Hebrewes by iudges, after he had redeme al men by him selfe. And even as the miseries of this lyfe, as we say of goods, banishments, moordes & torments are very greuous for the soule, when they are pondred by themselves: so when they are conferred w the anger of god & euerlasting death, into the which we incurr by reason of our sinnes, they may most rightly be esteemed small thinges, for that these are most greuous. Therfore when we consider how the Jewes were deliuered fro out- ward

ward miseries: Let vs call to remembraunce, those most great euils, fro which Christ of his singular goodnes hath deliuered vs. And when as the children of Israell do oftentimes escape by iudges out of their afflictions, they do as it were point with their finger Christ vnto vs, raised by from the dead, they shew vnto vs also þ last resurrectiõ of the saints, wherein they shal be altogether deliuered from al afflictions & infirmities. Wherefore as wel this booke as also other holy histories, do w much profit admonish the readers of Christ and his members.

And bicause I thinke I haue spoken enough already of the matter and subiect of this boke, I wil now go to declare the forme of the writing therof. It consisteth altogether of an historical kind of writing, as may easily appeare to al the readers. An historye is (as Quintilianus writeth in the second boke, & 4. chap: of his Institutions) a setting forth of a thing done. From which Augustine differeth not much, who writeth on the second chap: of Gen: upon the letter. An history is whẽ a thing done either by god or by mā is set forth, & in this diffinitio he copreth both as wel prophane histories as holy. But our boke doth chiefly for the most part set forth those things which wer done by god. But bicause al setting forth of things done are not of one kind, whẽ as som are called chronicles, & other some named histories, we must se in which of these two, this our declaration must be placed, & that can we not wel do except we separte these þ one from þ other. Cicero in his 2. boke de Oratore, touching these, writeth after this sort. The grecians at þ first wrote euẽ as our Cato, Pictor & Piso did: for an history was nothig els but a collecting together of things done yerely, which things that they might þ better be kept in memozy þ chief bishop fro the beginning of matters of Rome euen to Publius Mutius þ chief bishop wrote al things that wer done every yere & brought the into a commo place, & set the out on a table in his house þ the people also might frely haue knowledge of the, & they be they which are now called the great yerely Chronicles. This forme of writing many haue folloved, which haue without any deckings or ornamẽts left behind them onely the monumẽts of tymes, men, places and of things done. Wherefore as Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilaus & very many other wer amõgst þ grecians, so is our Cato, Pictor, & Piso, who cared not for the eloquent kind of writing, & while that mē might vnderstand what they spake, they counted shortnesse to be the onely prayse of speaking &c. He addeth after ward, The nature of things desireth the order of tymes, it requyret also the description of countreyes, bicause in weighty matters and woorthy of memozy, first counsels are looked for, then the acts, & after ward the endes. And as touching counsels is signified what the autho: alloweth. And in things done is declared not only what is done or spokẽ, but also how &c. By these things we may gather what is the nature of yerely chronicles, and also what of an history: and me thinketh that these our narrations are rather to be counted histories thā yerely chronicles, for bicause not only things done are set forth, but also þ causes, counsels and maners are declared. Also orations, admonitions, and reproofs, are sometimes added not without some ornamentes: All which thinges pertain rather to an history thā to bare yerely chronicles. But now þ we haue heard Cicero his opiniõ, let vs also heare what Aul^{us} Gell^{ius} writeth in þ. 5. chap. of his 5. boke, which writeth this: Some do thinke that an history differeth fro a chronicle in this, þ whẽ both of the are a declaratiõ of things done, yet an history is properly of those things at þ doings wherof he þ wrote the hath bene present. &c. He folloved not this distinctiõ, & not without cause, which neuerthelesse Serui^{us} Gramatic^{us} embraced, & Isidorus in his first boke of Etymologies folloved hi, which is maruel bicause he is not only against Cicero, which saith þ an history is a gathering together of thinges done yerely, but also against Vergil whose verse in þ first of the Eneydos is. And now haue we lay sure to heare the yerely chronicles of our labours. Where he declareth, that yerely Chronicles pertaine

What kind of writing is observed in this boke. The definition of an history.

The difference betweene an history and a chronicle.

The narrations of this booke are histories & not yerely chronicles. The opinion of Aulus Gellius as touching yerely chronicles and an history.

also vnto things at the doyngs wherof we our selues were present. But nowe agayne to Gellius. He sheweth that there were other which thought hystories to be either an exposition, or els a demonstration of thinges done. But verely chronicles were, when thinges done in many yeres were compiled together, obseruing the order of every yere. &c. According to which sentence, this our booke cannot be called a verely chronicle, for that in the narrations thereof, it oftentimes noteth not the yeres wherein thinges were done. Whereouer the same autho^r I meane Gellius setteth Sempronius Asellius wynde therein, but this was the differēce betwene those which he woulde leaue behinde them yerelely chronicles, and those which entercytised to write of thinges done by the Romaynes. The verely chronicles did declare that onely which was done and in what yere it was done, but that was not sufficient for an history to declare what was done, but it must also shew, by what counsell, and after what sort they were done. And a little after the same Asellio writeth in the same booke: for neither can the bookes of the verely chronicles any thing stirre by the readers to be moze quicke to defend the common wealthe, nor yet moze slow to comit thinges vnadvisedly. Furthermoze because that by the knowledge of this booke men are admonished and stirred by to the true worshippping of god to repent, to put their trust in god, and to practise all duties of lyfe cherefully. It conteyneth an history and not verely Chronicles. Peraduenture I haue expounded these thinges with to many wordes, but yet as I suppose with some fruite.

The number of the yeres that the history of the iudges conteyneth.

But the space of the tyme which is comprehēded in these declarations (if we may beleue Augustine in his xlviii. booke de ciuitate dei, and 22. chap.) is 39. yeres, which he gathereth thus. When Rome was builded, the Hebrewes had bene in the land of Chanaan. 718. yeres, of which (as he saith) 27. perteyned vnto Iosua, 329. to the Iudges, & 362. are referred vnto the kinges. For Ezechias the king liued in the tyme of Romulus.

God is the autho^r of histories.

An history is not to be counted a thing of mans inuention when as god him selfe was the autho^r thereof, which woulde haue the elders to expose to their children and their posteritie those thinges which he had done for Israell in Egypte, in the sea, and in the wilderness. And he commaunded also (as it is written in Exodus) that the warre which was had against Amalech, and the victorie which the Hebrewes got of him, should be put in writing, yea and this kind of writing began before Moyses, for he maketh mencion both of the booke of the battails of the Lord as also of the booke of the iust men. I will not speake of the Prophetes which with their prophecies oftentimes mixed histories. I passe ouer David, who adourned here and there the psalmes which he song with histories. I skip ouer our Euangelistes and the Actes which Luke wrote, in which are written mozte profitable histories in the new Testament. If god be the autho^r of these bookes as we must nedes beleue, the god must be counted the autho^r of histories, which is not a thing for him vnseemely, for an history is a noble thing (as Cicero writeth in his 2. booke de Oratore, it is a witnes of times, & light of truth, & life of memory, the mayster of life, the messenger of antiquitie. &c. These prayses certainly are great, and they agree not with every kynde of histories, but with those onely, in which those rules are obserued, which the same autho^r hath set forth in that place namely, that it set forth no lies, or be afraid to tel the truth, that there be no suspicion of fauour or flattery.

Histories were before Moyses time.

The praise of an history.

What are requisite to a true history.

The Latin historiographers are moze faithful than the Grecians.

Which order although the Latin historiographers haue moze faithfully accomplished than the Grecians (for Quintilianus saith in his iiii. chap. of his second booke that the greke historiographers vsed as much licence in writing almoste as the Poets did) yet Augustine in his 131. epistle to Memorius the Bishop, when he among other liberall disciplines attributeth much to histories writing of the truth ther-

therof, saith, that he cannot see, how those histories which are written of men, can well follow the truth: for that the writers are compelled to give credite vnto men, and oftentimes to gather together the brute of the vulgare people, which writers neuertheless are yet excused, if they kepe liberty and write nothing deceitfull, but there can be nothing at all more true than the histories revealed and written by the inspiration of god as our histories are.

The holy histories are most true.

Besides the truth, whose knowledge without controuersie is most excellent, by the reading of histories, we get also other commodities, and those very excellent. By them we attayne to matter, and most abundant plenty of most profitable arguments. For (as Quintilianus writeth in the. iiii. chap. of his. 12. booke) Examples and histories are iudgements and testimonies. And the profit of the examples is at the least way two fold. One is, that we should imitate, vse, allow, and commend those things which we are taught to be done of holy men. We vnderstande by the diuine history that Abraham was a holy man and dearly beloved of god, and also one that kepte very good hospitalitie. Whereby we learne that hospitalitie is a noble vertue, and very deare vnto God, and againe we are taughte to auoyde those things, which we see these godly men to haue auoyded. For when we consider howe Dauid would not kill Saul his deadly enemy, hauing twice libertie to doe it, we gather that it is not to bee permitted that priuate men althoughe it laye in their power shoulde reuenge their priuate iniuries. The other vse of examples is that of these things which are there declared perticularly, when we shall perceane that they be all like, we may of them gather generally and vniuersally some one profitable sentence.

The common title of an history.

The vse of examples is double.

By the history of the Sodomites we note how greuously, god punished most horrible fleshly filthines, and that the tribe of Benjamin for the same cause was almost cleane put out, and Ruben the first begotten son of Jacob for incest was put besides his place and dignity, Dauid for committing aduoutry, incurred horrible punishments, and Ammon and Absolon for committing incest came to a most wretched end, and Troy (as the heathen testifie) was utterly ouerthrowen for aduoutry sake. Of these things therfore in such sort considered which happen perticularly, we plainly say that all these wandring and vnlawfull lusts of men are most greuously punished of god. To which proposition if we shal adde this sentence that now also throughout all Christendom such free and wandring filthy lust raigne euery where, we may strongly conclude, that for this horrible wickednesse there hangeth vpon this our world most sharpe punishments.

Yet in this kind of arguments that vice is most diligently to be taken hede of, which creapeth vpon one before he be ware thereof. And y commeth two manner of wayes. First that we take not vpon vs to follow those doynge of the saintes which they sometimes committed vniuersally. For eue as men, they fell some times, & that most filthily. Wherefore y things done by the, which we do set forth as examples to be followed of vs, must with great iudgement be examined. Augustine writeth of this thing in his 2. booke against the 2. epi. of Gaudetius after this sort. We must not alwaies imitate or allowe whatsoever good men haue done, but we must adde therunto y iudgement of y scriptures, & marke whether they allow these dedes. This father doth very well admonish vs here, y although they wer holy men, & pleased god very many waies, & the holy scriptures witness excellently well of them, yet are not all their actions to be iudged absolute and without fault. For euery man both is a lyar and oftentimes sinneth. For who would followe Dauid his horrible aduoutry and betraying of saythfull Shoulours, or the forswearing of Peter or his wicked dissimulation: surely none which hathe but euen a crome of godlinesse. Wherefore it sometime happeneth that that worke which is done well and rightly by some ex-

Of examples we read what vices are to be eschewed.

Augustine.

The fallings of the saintes are not to be followed.

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cellent person, is forbidden of other men, because God which hath geuen a lawe to men, is not so bounde vnto the same, that he may not lose some fro that common bonde, when it semeth good vnto him. It is not lawfull for any man to steale, and yet the Hebrewes when they were led out of Egypt were permitted yea and commaunded of god, to cary awaye the Egyptians goodes which they had borrowed of them euen agaynst their willes and without their knowledge. What shal we do then? Thus truly, we must well and diligently consider those thinges which are expounded in the holy histories, with the general rules of the commaundementes of God wherewith when we do perceaue that they do agree, let vs boldly vse them. But if they disagree from the, let vs reckon them either for certayne fallinges or singular prerogatiues of some, and kepe our selues backe from following of them. And these prouisoos being added, great profit shall come by reading of histories and especially diuine histories. And that did Chrysostome very well vnderstand when as in the p[re]face of his exposition vpon the Epistle to Philemon, he wished that all those thinges had bene written for vs, which the Apostles spoke and did, when they sat downe, what they did eate, or what they did write & other thinges of this kynde. And the same Chrysostome writeth in his 57. Homily vpon Genesis, that histories were geuen vs by the holy ghost to the entente we shoulde followe them. Also Augustine, in his seconde booke and 28. chap. De doctrina Christiana, teacheth that many darcke and hard thinges may some times onely be opened by the knowledge of an history. Whereouer who soeuer muche exerciseth him selfe in redyng ouer of histories, he doth not without fruite reuolue with him selfe the doinges & examples of our times. There was vpon a tyme a certayne man euill sauored enoughe, who neuertheless was meruelous desirous of beautifull chyldren: and yet he married a folowis wyfe, wherfore he was mocked of euery bodye. This man went into the Citie. where he bought most fayre ymages, which he set in his chamb[er], and gaue his wyfe charge that for a certayne space she shoulde euery day most earnestly lookes vpon those ymages. She obeyed her husbandes commaundement, and by that meanes brought him forth most beautifull chyldren. So will it also come to passe with vs, which though we by reason of naturall sinne grafted in vs are defoumed & lothsome, and are continually prouoked as well by the deuill as by wicked men to vnlawfull thinges, yet if we will attentively & diligently gather together the ex[em]ples of the saintes, truly paynted forth in the diuine histories, and if we reuolue the same in our mynde, we shall forthwith shewe forth most excellent workes & acceptable to God. And now that I haue entreated enoughe (as I suppose) of the matter and forme of writing of this booke, the nexte is to speake some what of the efficient cause.

God will some times haue certayne thinges done of godly men which be not lawfull for others to do.

The doings of saintes must be weighed by the rules of gods Law.

Chrysostome.

Augustine.

Note a pleasant historie.

What is the efficient cause of this booke.

The spirit of God is proper to the authour of this booke.

If we would searche to knowe the man, by whom God would haue these thinges written, that can we not vnderstand by the holy Scriptures. The Hebrewes affirme that Samuel put these thinges in writing: but they speake that without testimonie of the Scriptures. Other also thinke that euerye Judge wrote suche thinges as were done in his owne time, which monument of theirs being in sondry pamphletes Samuel afterwarde compiled into one certain booke or volume. Agayne there be some which ascribe all this to Esdras or to Ezechias the king, which Ezechias the booke of Proverbes mencioneth to haue gathered together some of the sentences (or as some call them) the parable of Salomon but I thinke it is not mete for me to staie about this matter, for there is no cause why we should curiously searche out those thinges which God will not reueale in his oracles wherfore I will returne to declare the principall efficient cause of this booke. We must ascribe al what soeuer it is to the spirit of God. For Paul writing to Timothee sayth that the scriptures were reuealed by god, and

and there is no doubt but he spake then of the bookes of the olde Testament. But thou wilt aske who shall persuaue vs that the holy bookes were revealed vnto men by the holy ghost: Euen the same spirit which hath prouided to haue these things written, doth make vs assuredly to beleue that they are not the inventions of men. For nether can the holy lyfe of the teachers nor yet miracles be sufficient to persuaue vs of this. It is the spirite, the spirit I say of god which testifieth vnto our spirite of this thyng.

The spirite of God testifieth vnto the faithfull that the holy Scriptures came fro God.

The moste dangerous erro2 of the Antichristes must diligently be taken hede of, whiche dare affirme, that it is the Church which bringeth authozitie to the holy Scriptures, when as it is cleane contrary. For what soeuer authozitie or estimation cometh vnto the Church, that all whole cometh of the wo2de of God. It is horrible to be heard, that the holy oracles and wo2des of god should get their credite by men which are otherwise lyers. But these things they saie to the entet that seying they are manifestlye founde often tymes to haue decreed and ratified in the Sacraments & doctrines farre otherwise than the holy scriptures will beare. Whiche thing they would defend y they may do it, bycause the Church whiche doth bring authozitie and credite to the wo2de of God, may alter things in the holy Scriptures, as pleased it. Wherfoze we must resiste them by all meanes possible in this thyng which they take vpon them to do. We may not suffre our selues to be brought to thys poynthe, to thinke that the Scriptures haue had their credite and authozity by the Church. And yet do I not write these thynges as though I would despise or contemne the dignitie of the Church, vnto the whiche, I do attribute thze offices and them moste excellent as touchyng the wo2de of God. The firste of them is, that I do confesse that the Church as a witnesse hath kept the holy bookes. But thereby it can not be proued, y it is lawfull for it to peruert or alter any thing in the holy bookes. Experience teacheth vs that publique and priuate writings are committed to scriueners (whiche are commonly called notaryes) to be layd vp and diligently kept of the. And yet there is none that is in his right wittes which wil say that he may alter any thing in them, or wil beleue that their authozitie is of greater force, than their willes were whiche desired to haue the same written. Neither shall it be here vnprofitable to obserue the difference betwene the wo2de of god as it was reuealed at the beginning to the Prophetes & saintes & as it was afterwarde preached or written. For we do easely acknowledge betwene these, that there is onely difference of tyme, and not of the authozitie or efficacie.

There be thze offices of the Church touching the wo2de of God.

The Church as a witnesse keepeth the holy Bookes.

The wo2de of God reuealed and written.

For we confesse that the wo2de vnwritten was moze auncient, than that which was afterwarde appointed to letters, and we graunt that either conserued together was geuen to the Church, but in suche sorte, that the Church (as we haue sayd) can not by any meanes wiest or chaunge it. And this vndoubtedly is the second office of the Church, to preach & publish the wo2des committed vnto it by God. In which thing it is lyke a common crier, who althoughe he do publish the decrees of princes and magistrates, yet he is not aboue the decrees or equal vnto them in authozitie. But his whole office is faithfully to pronounce all thynges as he hath receaued them of the princes and magistrates. And if he should otherwise do, he should be counted altogether for a traytour. Wherfoze the ministers of the Church ought to care and study for nothing so much as to be founde faithfull. We acknowledge also the last office of the Church to be, y seying it is endued with the spirite of God, it must therfoze discerne the sincere & vncorrupted bookes of holy Scriptures from the counterfayte and Apocryphas, whiche is not yet to be in authozitie aboue the wo2de as many do foolishly dreame. For there are very many which can discerne the true & prope writings of Plato and Aristotle from other falsely put to them, & yet in comparison of indgement

The office of the Church is to publish and preache the wo2de of God.

The Church discerneth the holy bookes fro counterfayte & such as are Apocryphas.

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gemēt they are neither of greater lernyng noꝝ yet of equall, with Plato oꝝ Aristotle. And euery one of vs cā easely know God from the deuill, & yet are we not to be couēted equal with God, & much lesse can we thinke that we do excel him. So the Church ought not bycause of this to pꝛeserre faith oꝝ authozitie thereof befoꝛe the Scriptures.

Augustine.

Faith is not
poured in by
the minister
but by God.

But they say, Augustine sayeth, I would not beleue the Gospell except the authozitie of the Church did moue me therunto. But in that place is read (to moue together) foꝛ in very dede, it is the spirite of God, which poureth faith into the bearers of his woꝛde. And bycause the ministers of the Church are his instruments, they are rather to be sayd to moue with, than absolutely to moue. The same Augustine writeth in his 28. booke and second chap. against Faustus, that the Maniches ought so to beleue that the first chap. of Matthew was writtē by Matthew, euen as they did beleue that the Epistle whiche they called Fundamentum, was writtē by Maniche, bycause vndoubtedly they were so kept by their elders, & from hande to hand deliuered vnto them. This is it therfoꝛe that the Church moueth withall to beleue the Gospell, bycause faithfully it kepeth the holy Scriptures, pꝛeacheth them, and discerneth them from straunge Scriptures. The same father manifestly witnesseth in his 6. booke of his confessions the 4. and 5. chap. that God him selfe in very dede did geue authozitie to the holy Scriptures. But Tertullianus and Irenæus hauing to do against heretikes did therfoꝛe send the to the Apostolicall Churches, bycause they did not admitte the whole Scriptures: Wherfoꝛe they would that they should take their iudgemēt of those Churches which were certainly knowen to be Apostolicall. Foꝛ it was meete that those Churches should continually remayne both witnesses and also keepers of the holy Scriptures: and yet therfoꝛe they did not decree that the authozitie of the Church should be pꝛeserre befoꝛe the Scriptures.

**Tertullianus
Irenæus**

What is to be
thought of a
certain rule of
the Logiciens.

But the aduersaries say, that they are led by the sentence, whiche is cōmonly vsed among Logiciens: Euery thyng is such a thyng by reason of an oꝛther, VVherfore that other shal more be counted suche. Wherfoꝛe they reason after this maner: If by the Church the Scripture hath bys authozitie, it must nedes be that the Church much moze hath that authozitie. But they remember not that this sentence put by the Logiciens taketh place onely in finall causes, and is of no strength in efficient causes. Foꝛ although our inferioꝛ woꝛlde be made warme by the sunne and the starres, yet both it not thereby folloꝛe that they are farre moze warmer. And agayne when immoderate men by wyne are made dꝛoncke, we can not therby conclude the wyne to be moze dꝛonken than they. Vea the Logiciens teache this, that this their sentence is then strong and of efficacy in efficient causes, when such efficient causes are brought foꝛth whiche are whole and perfect, and not whiche are perciall and maymed, whiche rule is not obserued of our aduersaries in this argument. Foꝛ the Church is not the whole and perfect efficient cause of that faith and authozitie whiche the holy Scriptures haue with the faithfull. Foꝛ if it were so, then were it very easy to persuaade the Ethnikes and Turkes of the holy Scriptures, and to bꝛyng the Jewes to receaue the new Testament, and how true this is, the thing it selfe witnesseth. And I thinke. I haue spoken enough of the efficient cause of this booke and of the holy Scriptures.

Of the ende of
this booke.

And now lastly oꝛder semeth to require, & seyng we haue spoken of the matter, foꝛme and efficient cause of the holy bookes, we shoulde also entreate somewhat to what end they were writtē. Wherin I thinke it not nedeful to kepe the reader long, foꝛ that befoꝛe when I entreated many thynges of an historye, I haue expounded also the pꝛofite and commodities whiche come therof, whiche no doubt of it, belong vnto the ende: but nowe pꝛesently I will say thus much

com,

compendiously, that all these things are mentioned by the holy ghost, that we shoulde behaue our selues byrightly both in prosperitie and also aduersitie.

For we learne by the examples of holy men, when we are afflicted with sundry troubles and miseries, stedfastly to holde our faith, to put our hope in God, to call vpon him only, & therewithall to repent vs of our sinnes whiche things if we do, he will no lesse be presente to helpe vs, than we knowe y^e he oftentimes deliuered the people of the Iewes. And this Paul declared, when he sayde to the Romaines, whatsoeuer things are written, they are written for our learning, that we thorough patience and consolation of the Scriptures might haue hope. Moreover we are instructed, in prosperous things to kepe the feare of god, lest we fall into grieuous sinnes, by whiche meanes we might be made guiltie both of punishment in this lyfe, and also of everlastyng damnatioⁿ. Finally we may moste manifestly gather the ends of reading of these booke out of the Apostles doctrine, whiche he deliuered to Timothe, writing after this sorte in his second Epistle and third chap. All Scripture geuen by inspiration of God is profitable to doctrine, to repprouing, to correction and to instruction which is in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and prepared to al good workes.

And now that as I suppose I haue spoken enough of the end and other causes of this booke, I will come nygher to the exposition of the same, & first I will declare whether this booke according to the sentence of the Hebrewes be the second booke of the first Prophetes, whose coniunction is so great with the history of Iosua that a man woulde easely saye that they be both one. And peradventure there be some which suppose that Iosua shoulde be reckened with the Iudges: to whom I will not subscribe. For Iudges were raised vp of god, when the people were oppressed with outward enemies, but when Iosua was proclaimed prince, all the affaires of the Israelites were in good prosperitie. For Sihon and Og most mightie kinges were overcome, and that office was committed to Iosua, wherby Moyses being dead he might leade the people ouer Iordane and take possession of the lande of Chanaan, and deuide the promised lande by lottes vnto the childzen of Israel, and besides that the people did set their handes to a decree whiche they had made of Iosua, that he whiche obeyed not his voyce shoulde be killed, as we read it written in the first chap. of his booke. But there is no mention made of suche thynges as concernyng the Iudges. And yet both the booke are so like and of such affinitie, that many things are repeated in this our booke especially in the beginning, whiche no doubt were done when Iosua was yet lyving.

Whether the booke of Iosua ought to be reckened with the booke of Iudges.

There resteth now to admonishe the reader somewhat of the partes of this booke. There are as many principall membes in it as there were Iudges to Samuell. For y^e in every one of them still riseth vnto vs a new history. But the first of all was Othoniel, of whom we will speake in the third chap. So that all those things whiche are written vnto that place do contayne the thynges done from the death of Iosua vnto Othoniel. And certainly bycause the Iewes, as long as Iosua liued, worshipped god a right, & kept the lawe as muche as the weaknesse of man coulde do: god still wrought with them according to his covenant, & gaue them a great victorie over their enemies, so that every tribe overcame his enemies for the most part which were yet adioynyng to their borders. And then when the Israelites obeying the victorie did transgresse the commandements of their god, & did not cleane destroy the nations which they had overcome as god had commanded them, yea they made them tributaries vnto them, god therfore grievously admonished them by his messenger, bycause they had not onely saved their enemies, but also had moste filthily honoured theyr gods. So that god was not wout a cause angry with them, and deliuered them

The partes of the booke of Iudges.

Into the handes of outwarde tyrannes : But when they were sozpe soz it and called vpon their god, he had compassion of them, and raysed them vp Judges, by whom they might be deliuered, & when they were deliuered, they fell agayne to Idolatry & they were afflicted againe, & they repented, wherby in course their deliueries and oppzessions are set sozth. But their first oppzessiō woꝛthy of memoꝛy was vnder Chusan Resantheim, from the which Othoniel the first of al the iudges reuenged them, of whom we will speake in his place. But now we will put here vnderneath the woꝛdes of the holy hystoꝛy.

The first Chapter.

1 IT came to passe after the death of Iosua, that the childꝛē of Israel asked the Lord, saye ng: who shall go vp soz vs agaynst the Chananites to fight first agaynst them?

2 And the Lord sayd Iudah shall go vp, beholde I haue deliuered the lande into his handes.



It seemed good vnto the childꝛen of Israel to take warre in hande, soz as it is wꝛittē in the xlii. chap. of Iosua, they had not yet at this tyme conquered all the promised land, so that in enery tribes lotte there were enemyes remainyng. And when they sawe there was no remedy but that they must oꝛue them out by foꝛce, they doubted not whether they shoulde make warre agaynst them, but their

The Israelites
asked coun-
sell of God.

The Israelites
asked coun-
sell of God.

Wherefore they
asked counsell
of God.

God was also
asked counsell
of in the tyme
of Iosua.

doubte was whiche tribe shoulde fight heseze all the other. The matter seemed to be of such great impoztaunce, that they asked counsell of god, whiche was the chief gouernour of their publicque weale. Iosua that woꝛthy captayne was no moze a liue at whose becke and pleasure they hanged. Neither yet had they soz gotten howe euill successe they had, when not long befoze they toke weighty affaires in hand, without asking counsell of God. Foꝛ in their setting sozth to battaill agaynst the citie of Hai, they sped very vnluckely in the battaill, bycause they went to warrefare without oꝛacle, as it is wꝛittē in the vii. of Iosua. It is also wꝛittē in the same boke in the ix. chap. that the Gabaonites were receaued into league without the oꝛacle of god, and it is also wꝛittē in the boke of Numbers that the Israelites were slayne by the Amorrhites, when they fought cōtrary to gods will. This peoples iudgement therfoze is woꝛthy to be pꝛaysed, soz it is excellently well done, in most weighty affaires to aske counsell of God first of all. And that must be done conueniently, and holpy, other wise it pꝛofiteth not. Foꝛ the Israelites whē they shoulde make warre agaynst the tribe of Benjamin, although they asked counsell of God, yet were they twice put to flight & slayne, & cowardly tourned their backes to their enemyes, bycause they behaued not them selues well in asking counsell of god. And it is to be beleued that the Hebꝛues after the death of Iosua considered this with them selues, that their hong a great matter in those first warres whiche shoulde be enterpꝛised after the death of Iosua bycause if they happened to be overcome of those nations in one battaill oꝛ two, then would those nations thinke with them selues, that the good lucke of the Israelites were chaunged with the death of their captayne. By whiche opinion they would easely haue ben boldened and their affaires shoulde haue had better successe dayly. But on the contrary if it happened that the Israelites gotte the vpper hand in the first battaill, they sawe that the power and audacitie of the nations woulde enery daye diminishye, and beyng made feable and saynter they shoulde the easelyer be overcome. They did not therfoze without cause aske counsell of God in so great a matter: which also to do the cōmandement of the lawe did vꝛge them, which is wꝛittē in the boke of Numbers. Neither must it be now thought, ꝑ they so required the oꝛacle, as though they did not the same whē Iosua was

was

was lying, so they required also answers of God verie often when he was a lyer, but after his death it is said that they enquired for this thing chiefly & principally, namely which tribe should go vp to battail befoze all & other in al their causes. And this is the signification of the hebreu word *Lanu* that is, for vs. And this word to go vp is mentioned, because they saw that they should byzill banquish the hply places.

Against Chanaan. This is sometimes a general name, & containeth al these nations, which God had decreed to destroy out of Palestine, whereby all & lande was after ward called Channan. And sometimes it signifieth particularly some one nation of that people. And that lay chiefly about Tyre & Sidon. Which the Euangelical hystory proueth when it calleth the woman a Chananite which offered her self to the sonne of God, when he was goyng to Tyre & Sidon. And of that nation peradventure, because it was mightier than the other, were the rest called Chananites. And I wyl not ouerskip this by the way, that & people which is singularly called Chanaan, when they wer bynen out of their coastes by the Israelites, they departed to Aphrica, where they remayned safe, even to the time of Augustine. So that & father writeth in his booke of the exposition whych hee begon vpon the epistle to the Romaines thus: Our rusticals beyng demaunded what they wer, they answered in the Affrick tong, Chananites. And theyr language is very nye to the Hebreu tong, as the same Augustine writeth in his booke of questions vpon the Iudges the .16. question. For by Baal in the Affrick tong they seme to say Lord, whereby by Baal Samen is vnderstoode as though they would say, Lord of heauen: because these tonges differ not much one from an other. Hierome also agreeth therw, writing vpon Esay the prophet, when he enterpreteth these wordes: Behold a virgin shal conceive, in the Affrick tong (saith he) which is said to haue had his offspring of the Hebreus. A virgin is properly called *Almah*. Also Virgil when he called Dido an Aphrician & a Sidonian & the inhabitants of Carthage Tirianes hath most manifestly confirmed that Dido & her people came of the Chananites. Wherefoze it is no maruel if they almost kept in remembraunce the Chananithe tong. But these thinges I haue spoken by the way. But now Chanaan signifieth no one special nation, but is a comon word for al those nations which the Israelites should ouerthrow. For the tribe of Iudah which is said to haue gone vp first of al to the war, had in his lot the Jebusites, & not the Chananites. Whereouer I admonishe the Reader & the Hebreus asked not counsel of God for their Captaine, neither desired they to know what man should be made chief ruler ouer the Israelites going to battail against the Chananites, but which tribe should begin the battel first. Othoniel & first Iudge should be of the tribe of Iudah. But we entreate not of him now presently.

And because it is said that the children of Israel asked counsell of the Lord, some will aske after what sort the Iewes accustomed to aske anye thing of hym at that time. It may be answered, that ther wer thre accustomed & ordinarie waies which are reherled in the .28. chap. of the first booke of Samuel namely by dreames, by *Vrim* & *Thumim*, & lastly by prophets whē ther wer any to be had, & therfoze Saul complained in & booke, that God had answered hym by none of these waies, when he would haue asked counsel of hym of the successe of & most dangerous battail. I finde also other waies in the scriptures of asking counsell of god, but they wer extraordinary waies. One is by reuelacion of angels, or of god him self, expressing him selfe vnder some forme. An other way was, when som holy men by & mouing of god did appoint to themselves certayn tokens of thinges to come, which did signify befoze, whether they happened this waye or that, what should be looked for.

So Abraham bys seruauit decreed with hymself that she should be his Lordes wife, which only amongst many maydens comming to the well, offered drinke of her

What & people
of Canaan were

Augustine.

The Africans
or Chananites

Hierome.

Virgil.

For whatching
the Israelites
asked counsell
of God.

Howe many
waies & elders
asked counsell
of God.

Cap. i. A Commentarie vpon the

of her owne mynde to hym and to his Camels. Ionathas also the sonne of Saule had then the victorie promysed him, when the Philistines shoulde say, Come vp hither to vs, and contrariwise, if they shoulde byd him tary till they came downe thither. I haue called these extraordinary wayes because they were not commonly vsed, neyther are they often red in the Scriptures. Lottes also are of this kinde. There is mention made of them in the fyrst booke of Samuel, when Saule shoulde be declared King, all the tribes standing there before the Lord, Benjamin was caught, which R. Selomo expounding ascribeth the same place to Lottes, and sayth that the names of euery tribe were fyrst wryten in scrolles, and hurled into a certayne pottle, out of the which they were afterwarde drawen by the hand of the Prophet. This is his iudgement. Although R. D. Kimhi thinketh that iudgement was geuen by Vrim and Thumim. But howsoeuer it was it skilleth not much, for no man ought to doubt but that there were lottes vsed at that tyme. For Salomon sayth, that lottes were caste into a pot and gouerned by god. Yea and the promysed lande of Chanaan was no otherwise deuided vnto the people than by lottes. But by what meanes, in what places, or after what sort they were had, it is no place here to declare. It were to long to tell what Vrim and Thumim properly were. R. D. Kimhi speaketh aboundantly of that matter in the booke, which we now haue in handes, when he expoundeth the history of the concubine reuenged agaynst the Gabaonites, And I will set forth another time in a more fytte place what it shoulde seme to be. Neyther byd thys custom for asking counsell of God fozyth only in the tyme of Moyses law, but also in the patriarches tyme. For we learne in the booke of Genesis that Rebecka desyred an oracle. The heathen also asked counsell eyther of theyr Prophetes or els of their soothsayers. Balak king of the Moabites called vnto hym Balaam. They had moreouer Sibelles and Delphos, Apollo and Iupiter Ammon, and were euer to much geuen to diuinations, but such as were corrupted and false. Only amongst the Hebrewes wherof we are certayne the maner of oracles was pure: Because God was known onely in Iudea, as Dauid hath song.

The manner to
ask counsell of
Gods hand
was before the
lawe geuen.

The heathen
had their ora-
cles and diuina-
tions.

Why Iosua de-
uided the lande
not yet posses-
sed,

Moreouer it is demaunded why Iosua deuided the land to the xii. tribes at the commaundement of God whē as he had not at that time conquered the same: I answer he byd it that he myght leaue a testimoniall, howe certayne they ought to be of those things which God had promysed them, namely that they myght be as certayne of the possession of that lande whiche was promysed them, as if they had it already in theyr hands. It would seme to haue bene folysly done, if the obtaining of that land shoulde haue bene hoped for eyther by chaunce, or by mannes strength, or els by warlike power. For the which cause Cesar in his Comment. doth not vnworthily laugh & wonder at the madnesse of the Pompeians, whiche when they had not yet fought, would yet bargayne among themselves in their tentes concerning the diuision of priesthooches, dignities, patrimonies & Cesars goods. But thys distribution of the Hebrewes, which was ordayned by the commaundement of god, could not be frustrate. And moreouer the Israelites, when that partitiō was made by Iosua, had obtained already many victories, & had possession of a great deale of the land. Besides these things this ordinance was very profitable for this purpose, to take away fro the tribes controuersies for the limits of their land. Yea and they made war in better order, after that euery tribe knew who were their enemies that they shoulde fyght agaynst. And finally when as profite and rewards for labours are set forth, they do not a little stirre by men, stoutly to venter vpon any daunger and labour. By the same counsell vndoubtedly hath Christ our saviour the sonne of god, geuen vs already eternall lyfe, although we haue it presently but only begonne. For we must laboure & wrestle very much before we come thither, although the sight be not vncertaine to them which put their trust in God.

Cesar.

There

There are three causes alledged, why God would not by and by destroye all the Israelites enemies out of the lande of Chanaan. The fyrste is, because the Iewes at the beginning wer not so many in numbze, as coulde inhabite all the land, so that by that meanes if all the Chananites should haue bene destroyed, most part of the land should haue lye waste. Whereby many and sundry wilde beastes (wherewith the regions in the East abound) would maruelously haue encreased, destroyed the possessions, and brought no small damage and destruction to the Hebrewes. This reason is alledged of God hym selfe in Exodus. Another cause was that the Hebrewes myght thoroughly learne to fyght, and to be expert in warres agaynst their enemyes, and they coulde not doo that neyther in Egypt, nor yet in the wyldernes. The thyrde cause was, that they might therefore feare God more and more, for they vnderstandyng that they obtayned victories and possession of the lande as long as they obserued their religion, and contrarywise, how they were oppressed with most greuous misfortunes, troubles and miseries, when they forsooke the obedience and woozshipping of God, they myght at the least by thys meanes be styrryd vp not to faynt from theyr fathers lawes and most holy ordinaunces of God. I would to God the same causes, especially the two latter whych are described in the thyrde chapter of thys booke myght teache vs, why God wyl haue them whych are hys to be subiect in thys lyfe to so greuous and so many temptacions, namely that by fyghtyng and woozshippynge we myght be exercised wth fruite and profytte, callyng vpon God continually.

Why God destroyed not by and by all the Chananites.

But why God chose the tribe of Iudah, to begynne the battayle first agaynst the enemyes, many reasons may be alledged. Fyrst, that tribe was very populous, of great force, valiaunt of courage, warlike, and verie experte therein. Whych neuertheles I speake not, as though the election of God were moued by these gyftes: yea rather in that poynt the cleane contrarie is to be affirmed, namely that thys trybe was therefore valiaunt and warlike, because God hym selfe had destyned it to exercise those offices. Neyther is it to be doubted, but that both valiauntnes and warlike strength are hys gyftes. But that reason whych I haue declared is thus to be vnderstand, that these excellent gyftes which wer freely geuen of God to the tribe of Iudah, made it apt to begynne the battayle fyrst agaynst the enemyes. Neyther had it this kind of office comitted vnto it onely at this present, but also after ward when they should make war agaynst the Beniamites, God being asked counsel of, decreed that marchyng forwarde to battail should be by the tribe of Iudah, to geue to it that it might be as it were a chiefe captayne to all the other Israelites. In the booke of Numbers for pytching the Campes, it had the chiefe place. Also the kinglye power was attributed vnto it by the oracle of Iacob. And as the Hebrewes wyte, it was the fyrst of al the rest that passed ouer the red sea. But for thys it is woozthy to beare awaye the garland, because of that tribe Messias should be geuen not onely to the Iewes, but also to al the world. Neyther happened these priuileges and dignities to Iudah by order of birth. For it was reckoned the fourth amog the sonnes of Iacob. Ruben in deede was fyrst borne, but because of his vile incest, wherby he abstayned not euen from his fathers bed, he was throtwne downe from hys proper dignity, and in his steade as concerning the kyngdome Iudah was substituted. But the dignity of birthright was geuen to Ioseph. Wherefore his first tribe called Ephraim was not onely valiant & mighty, but also was exalted to the kyngdom of ten trybes: which kyngdome neuerthelesse was both vnconstant, and also abode not alwayes in that sample. But the principallity of Iudah is eueralasting, because it was not taken away from it euen to Christs tyme, and he commyng of that family, raygneth and shall raygne for euer. All whych thynges Iacob

The prayse of the tribe of Iudah.

The election of god carieth not for our gyftes and vertues.

Wherein Iudah excelled the tribe of Ephraim.

hym selfe confirmed wth hys noble p^{ro}phete, wherein he foze sayde to hys chyldren what thynges shoulde happen to them in the latter tymes. Wherfoze it is not to be maruelled, if his p^{ro}phesies be in some parte fulfilled now. For the spirite of god doth ener wel agree wth it selfe, as it whiche b^{ri}ngeth those things to passe, which are agreable to his p^{ro}phesies.

How farre the
oracle geue to
the Israelites
pertaineth vnto
vs.

Allegories are
not alwaies to
be v^{er}ucommeded

Allegories
must not be
rashly v^{er}sed.

Whither these
argum^{en}ts may
be brought fro
Allegories.

Howe those
thynges agree
with Christ
which seme to
be spoken of
Dauid & Sa-
lomon.

And that which is sayd here to be answered to the Israelites let vs thinke also to be answered vnto vs, that if we will be sure to obtayne the victo^{ry} agaynst the enemyes of mans saluati^on, we must haue him to be the captaine of our battayle, which by the holy p^{ro}phete of Iacob is called y^e Lyon of y^e tribe of Iudah. If by hys conduyng and name we wil syght agaynst the deuill, the fleshe, the world, death and hell, our victo^{ry} shall not then in any poynte be doubtfull but most certayne. And yet would I not haue the reader so thinke, because I haue put this allego^{ry} in, y^e therfoze I will vse many allego^{ry}es in this histo^{ry}, for I will vse them rarely and very seldome, not y^e I would haue they^{re} pleasantnes and elegancie be v^{er}terly dispised. (The old fathers certaynly delited very much in them, I will not say to much. Yea and we fynde them sometymes applyed in the holy Scriptures. For Christ in the gospell compared hymselfe allego^{ry}cally both to Salomon and to Ionas, and also to the serpent which Moyses at the commaundemente of God hong v^{er} in the wilderness. I will not speake of Paule who w^{ri}ting to the Galathians, made Isaac and Ismaell the sonnes of Abraham two peop^{les}, and p^{ro}nounced Sara and Agar to be two Testam^{en}tes, applying the Hebrewes to the Mounte Sina and the Christian Church to the Citie of Ierusalem) but euen as Allego^{ry}es are not v^{er}terly to be dispised, so are they not to much rashly to be v^{er}sed. For although it be free for euery man in this kynde of inter p^{re}tation, to deuise what things be lyf^{te}, so y^e he straye not from the rules of sayth and holy Scriptures, yet haue we not therby any strong o^o certaine argumentes for the confyrmation of the doctrine of sayth. Wherfoze there is smal p^{ro}fyte by the labour taken in them. P^{er}uerthelesse I except those which are put in the holy Scriptures, for they are to be counted the wo^odes of the holy ghos^t. Wherfoze they^{re} autho^{ri}ty is great both in p^{ro}uving & alledging of testimonies. But the other, wherein the wits of men haue dalied, although w^{it}h Godlynes, and in a ryght vnderstanding, because they are the inuentions of men, they^{re} coⁿclusions and argumentes are very weake. For men being the autho^{rs} of them myght both be deceaued, and also deceaue. But this Allego^{ry} by me broughte fo^oth, namely that the aunswere of God for the appoynting of the tribe of Iudah to be captaine of the warres doth no lesse belong to vs than to the Hebrewes, hath no small certanty and scarcely pertaineth to allego^{ry}es. For whatsoever they were that defended the people of God in the olde tyme, Christ was they^{re} hed and captayne. Wherfoze whatsoever they dyd in defendyng of hys members; they did it as his ministers and vicars. Wherby he which religiously reuolueth these actes in his minde, and then putting them asyde, doth behold the hed and chiefe captayne, by whose conduyng they obtayned the victo^{ry}es. He I saye doth not straye from the marke, which the holy ghos^t had in the holy bookes. After this maner those thyngs which are red in the holy Scriptures, both of Salomon and also of Dauid and seme to be spoken of them in respecte of the histo^{ry}, are not allego^{ry}cally applyed by the Apostles in the new Testam^{en}te to Christ seing y^e the holy ghos^t spake them purposely of hym. Wherfoze I haue not absurdely sayde, that the oracle geuen to the Israelites shoulde be thoughte to bee spoken vnto vs.

Behold I haue geuen the land into his hands. God sheweth fo^oth in this place his liberal & bo^utefull goodnes. He doth not only geue answer to y^e which he was dema^uded, but also addeth therunto a most notable p^{ro}mise. He first ap^opn^o

pointeth the tribe by name, which he wyl haue to make warre first befoze the other tribes against the Chananites. Then he promised to geue them the land of the Chananites whych he dyd to their great commoditie, for he made the Iewes moze cherefull to fight, in that he sayde that he woulde helpe them. Moreover, he wold not haue the possession of those regions ascribed vnto their own strength or power, but vnto him selfe. We shall not take it (saith he) but I haue deliuered the land into their handes. And he useth a verbe of the pterperfect tense, wher by the certaintie of his sayings shoulde be expressed.

Of this place we may iustlye gather, that in busines which we take in hande what so euer they be, God must alwaies be asked counsel of. And this maye be proued not onely by this example, but also by infinite other whych the treasures of the holie scriptures minister vnto vs, to which cometh a most strong reason. What so euer is not of faith (sayth Paul) is synne, wherby it followeth, that no man shoulde attempt any thing without faith. And that is no faith whych lea- neth not to the woorde of God. For as the same Apostle hath taught, saith com- meth of hearing, and hearing cometh by the woord of God, which woord we cannot haue by any other accustomed rule and ordinary way, than out of Gods oracles which haue bene set forth vnto vs in the holy scriptures.

We must aske counsel of God when wee take any thinges or affaires in hand.

From whence the woord of God is to bee sought.

And it wer good to marke the difference which is found betwene the asking counsel of God in the old time and ours at this present. They were very much carefull for the successe of thinges, and they almost despyed alwayes to knowe when they tooke warres in hand, or attempted anye other thyng, whether they shoulde speede wel or ill in them. And that was not hard for them to do, for they had an oracle prepared of God for them for that purpose. And God had promy- sed that he woulde answer them out of the mercy seate, what soeuer they shoulde demaunde or aske of him. But we, if we shoulde aske counsel of the holie scrip- tures for the successe and end of our enterpryses and purposes, concerning earth- ly infelicities and misfortunes, we shoulde seeme, and that not vnwoorthily, to play the fooles. For there is no place there at all, which answereth anye thyng for our singular and priuate thinges. But that onely remayneth for vs to en- quire for, whether that which we begyn or go about, be allowed to be iust, ho- ly, and acceptable to God by the testimonies of the holy scriptures.

Howe wee and the elders do di- uersly aske coun- sel of God.

Why we haue not oracles as the Iewes had

But why the Iewes had proper and certayne oracles geuen them for theyr matters, and we haue nothing answered vs particularly. I thinke there be no other cause, but because vnto that people a certain assured publique wealth was due by the immutable counsel of God, which shoulde endure to the time of Christ, and therefore there were prepared for it certaine extraordinary aydes aboue the power of nature, whereby it shoulde be kept and defended by God. But vnto vs there is no such promise made of any certain seate or publique wealth, seing that our church is disperfed throughout the whole world, whereunto is no cer- taine seate or place promised, and therefore it needed not, that concernyng hu- maine thinges our publique wealthes shoulde be particularly gouerned by cer- taine oracles & answers for tempoal thinges. Besides this, the volumes of the holy scriptures are moze aboundant in our tyme, than they were at that time with the Iewes when these thinges were done whych we nowe expounde. They had but the law onely, we haue receaued nowe the bookes of the Pro- phetes and of wise men, vnto which are added also al the writinges of the new Testament. And seing that those writinges are so manie & so excellent, it is no maruayle if we are not euery day instructed of god by new oracles & answers. Neyther ought we to thinke because of that, that God setteth lesse by vs than he dyd by the Iewes. I wyl not speake howe his spirite is geuen to vs tho- row Christ moze abundantly and moze openly, than it was in the olde tyme

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How we ought
to behaue our
selues in as-
king counsel of
God.

to the Jewes. Finally, our publique weales, dominions and kingdomes are en-
delued with many moze artes which serue for peace and warre, than the people
of the Hebrewes were. Wherefore it is no maruel if we being heaped vp with
so many other gyftes, be destitute of singular oracles. It shal be our part there-
fore about al thinges, when we haue any affaires to take in hand, diligently to
consider the woord of God, wherein is opened vnto vs bys commaundement
of Iwp, & afterward to embrace the same with a firme and stedfast fayth, wher-
by we maye bee vehementlye kyndled to cal vpon our heauenslye father, by the
which we may be able to fulfyl that which he hath commaunded, and to obtayne
that which he hath promysed.

3. And Judah said vnto his brother Simeon: Go vp with
me into my lot, that we may fight agaynst the Chananites, and I
wyl also go with thee into thy lot. And Simeon went with hym.

Why Simeon
is taken into se-
lowthyp wth
Judah.

The tribe of Iudah doth associate to it selfe the Simeonites to make warre a-
gainst the Chananites, which most euidentlye testifieth that the answer of God
dyd not speake of any one singuler man, but of the whole tribe of Iudah. For
neither Othoniel, nor yet Caleb had any brother which was called Simeon, and
therefore there is no mencion made of them by Gods oracle, but it comprehen-
deth the whole tribe of Iudah. But the cause why Simeon is called of Iudah to
be as a companion of bys warre, and that they twoo ayded one an other is, by
cause the possession of the tribe of Simeon was mingled and scattered among
the fieldes and countreies belonging to the tribe of Iudah. Neighbourhed there-
fore made them to defende and succour one the other. And this coniunction of
these two tribes is most manifestly gathered out of the .xv. chapter of the booke
of Iosua. Let vs learne hereby, that it is not agaynst the true sayth for vs to vse
usual aydes and mans strength, when occasion serueth, to obtayne the easelyer
those thinges which God of his goodnes hath liberally promised vnto vs. God
had promised vnto the tribe of Iudah, that he would geue the land of Chanaan
into their handes, which althoughe they of Iudah saythfullye beleued, yet were
they not afearde to cal vnto them the Symeonites whych were their neighbours,
that they myght bee ayded of them in their fight. For by that meanes they
thought they should be the stronger to ouercome their enemies. Christ hath no
other wyse confuted the deuyl, which counselled hym to cast him selfe downe hed
long, vnder the pretence of Gods promise, wherein he sayd, that he had now com-
mitted his health to the Angels, whych sentence he put forth out of the holye
scriptures. But the sonne of God answered, that God must not be tempted, but
he must rather vse statres which were made for that purpose, to serue to come
downe by. Moreover, al they are counted to tempt God, which trusting to gods
promises do neglect humane helpe, which are already or maye be easelye prepa-
red and gotten. Dauid in the latter booke of Samuel setteth him selfe forth vn-
to vs as an example, who beyng wonderfullye adourned wth the promises of
God, bled for al that in the insurrection of Absalon, not onely to flye away, but
also the diligence of Chusay the Arachite and of the Priestes. Peter and Paul the
Apostle as it is wrytten in the Actes of the Apostels, althoughe his onely confi-
dence was in Christ, yet he appealed vnto Cesar, & made a discession betwene
the Pharisees and Saduces, and testified that he was a Citizen of Rome. It is
euident therfore by these manifest examples, that we must vse the helpe of na-
ture and wysdome to obtayne those thinges, which God hath promised to geue
vs. Wherefore the yong men of our tyme are diligently to be admonished to la-
bour to attayne vnto languages, good artes and sciences, and that wth great
study. Which they may (when oportunitie serueth) vse in preaching and defen-
ding

Yong men are
to be exhorted
to good studies

ding the Gospell. For although God haue promised that the preaching of his word shall be fruitful through the benefite of his spirite: yet must enerie man instruct him selfe in his vocation according to his habilitie. Neyther ought men to bragge out of season (as phanatical men are accustomed to do) God according to his promise will be with vs when we shall speake. He hath promised in dede, and will surely performe, when tyme will not serue, or that a man can not either thinke or meditate what to speake. But if libertie be geuen, and leasure graunted to synde, dispose, and wisely to deuise those things which we should speake, then can we not be excused, but that we tempt God, when as we neglect to do these things. Yea rather let vs plucke all things vnto vs, what so euer they be, so farreforth as godlynes permitteth, and occasion offereth it selfe, to helpe our labour to obtayne those things which are already promised vs.

Furthermoze, this confutation of Iudah with Simeon doth admonishe the readers, that it is lawful in those warres which are taken in hand iustly to make a league, whereby Princes or publique weales may be ioyned together to defende honest thynges, as Iudah now ioyned herselfe with the Symeonites to fight against the Chananites. But this must be taken heede of, that such confutation and league be ioyned together without fault, neyther ought the godly to ioine them selues in league with the vngodlye. For the scripture reproveth Iosaphat, who otherwyle was a godly kyng, for making league with wycked Achab, and other kynges are often tymes reprehended by the Prophetes, for ioining them selues in league eyther with the Egyptians, or els with the Assirians. But surely this Simeon was of the same region that Iudah was, and both their endeouours tended to this ende, religiously to fulfill the will of God. I knowe there be some which by the example of Asa kyng of Iudah being well praysed, defende suche leagues made with Infidels. For he being greuously oppressed of Basa kyng of the ten Tribes, as it is wyrtten in the fyrst booke of the kynges, sent vnto Benadab kyng of Siria (as appeareth in the. xvi. chapter) a certayne somme of gold and syluer, and he made a couenant with hym of that condition that he shoulde invade the kyng of Israel, whereby he myght bee deliuered from his oppression. But they which affirme those thynges, should consider with them selues two thynges. First, that the kyngdome of the tenne Tribes had now fallen from God, and from woorthipping of hym. Wherefoze if an vngodlye kyng was stirred by agaynst it, the same is not for all that to be conferred with those, which confessing them selues to be Christians, do incense Tyrannes which are of a straunge religion agaynst other Christians. Besydes that, this dede of Asa kyng of Iudah is mencioned in the holy scriptures. But we cannot synde that it was allowed to be well done. Yea if we looke vpon the latter booke of Chronicles the syrtene chapter, we shall see that that kyng was most greuously rebuked of God by the Prophet for suche a wycked dede. For it is thus wyrtten: At that tyme came Hanani the Seer to Asa kyng of Iudah, and sayde vnto hym: bycause thou halte trusted in the kyng of Siria, and not rather put thy trust in the Lorde thy God, therefore is the hoste of the kyng of Siria escaped out of thyne hande. Had not the Ethiopes and they of Ludim an exceeding strong hoste with many Chariotes and horsemen? And yet bycause thou dydest put thy trust in the Lorde, he deliuered them into thyne hand. For the Lorde and his eyes beholde al the earth, to strengthen them that are of perfect hart toward him. But thou herein hast done foolishly, and therefore from hence forth thou shalt haue warres. &c. For I shewed befoze that we myght without daunger discommende this example which they bring of this kyng, when as God doth so sharpe chaste him by his Prophet. But we will entreate of this moze largely afterward.

Princes & publique weales may make leagues somtimes

The godly ought not to ioine them selues with the vngodlye.

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4 And Judah went vp, and the Lorde deliuered the Chananites and Pherezites into their handes and they smote them in Bezek to the number of ten thousand men.

The victorie whiche the two tribes obteyned ouer the Chananites is described, and accordyng to the manner of the holy Scripture, the same is set forth and comprehended in selue wordes, afterward the maner howe the thyng was done is moze amplye expounded. Now byesly is declared that they of Iudah obteyned the victorie and slew ten thousand of their enemies.

And the Lord deliuered the Chananites. The holy Scripture obserueth his olde order, to say that they whiche are overcome in battaile, are deliuered into their enemies handes by God, and speaketh thus to aduise vs, that victory is not the worke of our owne strength, but of the goodnesse and counsel of God. Wherefoze souldiours and emperours whē they haue the upper hand in battailes, they must byde them selues from boasting and gloryng, which Ieremy also faithfully geneth counsell to do. For he sayth, let not him that is mighty glory in his owne strength. Nebuchadnezar kyng of the Babilonians folshely despising this, was so vexed & tossed with madnesse, that he was almost chaunged into a dumbe beaste. Wherefoze the administration of the kyngdome was taken away from him, & he liued in great misery of long time, who out of doubt had not fallen into so great misfortune, if (as it was mete) he had confessed that what soeuer he had gotten was geuen him by the prouidence and counsel of God. But as Daniel mencioneth, he being puffed vp with the noblenesse and dignitie of his actes, most presumptuously and proudly bragged of them: so he sayd, that in the strength and might of his owne arme, he had established the kyngdome of Babilon.

Cicero.

Howe Cicero interpreteth the bowing of the Decianes.

In the booke of the Ethnikes thou shalt very seldome or peraduenture neuer fynde any suche kynde of speache. For men whiche are destitute of faith, do not ascribe those good thynges vnto god, whiche they thinke they haue attayned vnto by any labour or industrie. Yea and they ascribed the chaunces of warre not to come by the fauour of God, but by strength and pollicye, and sometymes by fortune. Wherefoze Cicero in his booke of diuination affirmeth that the victory of the Decianes whiche they gotte by bowing of them selues to the people of Rome, was an excellent and polittique deuise of warre. So farre is he from attributing it to the prouidence of the gods. They knew (sayth he) that y strength & force of the Romaine people was such that if they sawe their captaynes either to be in extreme daungers, or els to be slayne, or to be taken of their enemies, that they would by no meanes suffre such dishonour, and thincking with themselves by that meanes to stay the flight, they thrust them selues into the thickest of their enemies, setting besoze them the shewe of their bolue and religion. So that by that meanes the hartes of the souldiours in maner discouraged might be called agayne moze fierfly to fight with their enemies.

But we are taught by the holy Scriptures, that when we either see or heare of any that are conquerours, or els are slayne in battailes, we must by and by ascribe vnto God al that whiche is, or hath ben done, who (after the most accustomed phrase of the holy Scriptures) is sayd to deliuer them whiche are overcome into the handes of their enemies.

God without any iniury deliuereth some in to the handes of their enemies. The Chananites were deliued with most detestable wicked dedes.

When it is sayd that any are deliuered of God into the handes of their enemies we must thinke that that is done without any iniury. And as touchyng this place we know that those nations of the Chananites were full of most heynous wickednesse, and so that cause, god punished them most iustly. Whiche cause is confirmed by that whiche we read in the booke of Genesis, where God byingeth a reason, why he held the posteritie of Abraham so long tyme in Egypt, namely

namely bycause the sinnes of the Chananites were not yet full. And this is not to be forgotten, that God bleth according to his iustice to deliuer synners to be punished two manner of wayes, or to two sortes of enemies. For sometymes he doth this in geuing them ouer to be vered with lustes and filthy affections as to certain furpes of hell. And that is it which Augustine oftentimes sayth the sinnes are punished with sinnes. So Pharaos vnfaithfulnesse and cruelty was punished by hardning & stubborne of harte. And Idolaters as Paul teacheth to the Romaines: were geuen ouer of god to their owne filthy lust, so that they most bylie contaminated the selues with most horrible sinnes. But bycause this kynde of punishment is not sene nor felte of mad men, as it is mete, god therfore deliuereth the vngodly, into the handes of straunge enemies, to be vered, and at the length utterly to be destroyed. And that this order was obserued with the Chananites, the Scripture manifestly teacheth, for they were not onely addicted to Idoles, but as it is written in the xviij. & xx. chap. of Leuit: They miserably defiled them selues with incestes & most filthy lustes. They were first therfore deliuered of God into a reprobate sense, and then were they deliuered to their enemies the Hebzees, of whome they were spoyled both of their life, and also of their most riche kingdome.

God punisheth the vngodly with two kindes of punishments.

Augustine. God punisheth synners with synnes.

God deliuered them into their handes. That is, into their power. This is not onely an Hebrewe phrase, but also a latine: for we say, This is my hande, that is, it lyeth in my power.

And they smote them in Bezek to the number of ten thousand men. To smite is here, to kill. And seeing that the hoste of the Chananites was great & there were nowe slayne of it but onely ten thousand men, we must thinke that the rest fled away, in whiche flight as afterwarde shalbe declared Adonibezek was taken. But where as these two wordes Chananites and Pherezites are ioyned together in this place. They are thus to be taken, that if thou vnderstande the Chananites after the common signification, wherein were comprehended those 7. or 9. nations, then this name Pherezites should be added bycause of interpretation, that by it might be expounded that whiche before was not expessed in the word Chananites. But if by this word Chananites we shall vnderstand any one especial or peculiar people of those nations, then must we say that that host was gathered of both the peoples, of the Chananites & say and the Pherezites.

5 And they founde Adonibezek in Bezek, & they fought agaynst him and slewe the Chananites and Pherezites.

6 And Adonibezek fled, and they followed after him & caught him and cut of the thombes of his handes and of his feete.

7 And Adonibezek sayd: 70 kynges hauing the thombes of their handes and feete cut of, gathered their meat vnder my table: As I haue done, so God hath done to me agayne: and they brought hym to Ierusalem, and there he died, &c.

After mention made of the victorie it is here moze expessed by partes, for the place of the battaile is expessed namely Bezek: but where this Bezek should lye it is not very certain. For there was a certayne Bezek whiche was a city belonging to the tribe of Manasses whiche was situate 17. myle from Sichem as ye go to Bethsan. And Ierome testifieth that in his tyme there were two Townes whiche were called by this name. And it is not very likely that Iuda and Symeon would passe with their hoste to the tribe of Manasses, wher their purpose was only to ridde the Chananites out of their owne lottes. Unlesse peradventure, that king whiche was called Adonibezek although his kyngdome were in the tribe of Manasse claymed and vsurped by violent tyranny many places in the inheritance

Bezek.

Ierome.

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taunce of Iudah and Simeon. This kyng had prepared an hoste to go agaynst Iudah and Simeon, and to let them from recovering of their owne. Which thing being knowen, Iudah and Symeon made towarde him, that he should not entre into their borders. Wherefore it chaunced y they fought with him not farre fro his kingly citie Bezek, or els it is to be thought that this Bezek was a certain citie either in the tribe of Iudah or els of Simeon, wherof is no mencion made in any other place.

Malchisedech.
Adonisedech.

This kyng was called Adoni-bezek whiche is a compounde name, wherin y leter Iod is placed betwene two woordes as Malchi-sedech, Adoni-sedech, eue as R. Selomo testifieth. This king semeth to haue fled, so that he saue his hoste both slayne to the number of ten thousande men, and to turne their backs and flye, he would therfore saue him selfe by flight, but he was brought backe agayn by the Israelites and suffered most grieuous punishment, as he had iustely deserued. For they cut of the thombes both of his handes and of his feete. This word Bohan signifieth in the Hebrew a thombe, & it is in the feminine gender, wherfore it is said in the plurall number Behonoth. Although R. David Kimhi do interpretate that worde into syngers, and the Chaldee paraphrast doth interpretate it ankles.

Bohan.
Behonoth.

The law of rendering lyke for lyke.

And Adoni-bezek said: 70 kings. This tyranne acknowledgeth the iudgement of God, but whether he spake this of true faith or pure repentaunce, it can not be knowen by the woordes of our history. But it is most lykely, because he called not vpon God, implored not his mercy, neither shewed any tokens of true conuersion, that rather anguish did extorte from him this his true sayeng, than the godly feling of the minde. We gather hereby that the lawe of rendering like for like semeth euen to the wicked by the light of nature, iust & right, which at the length wil they or nill they are compelled to acknowledge the iudgements of God. For they haue certein principles of that which is right and honest writen in their hartes, although they expresse, not the same in dedes. But euen as Paul hath written to the Romaines they holde the truth of God after a certein sorte captiue in vnrightheousnesse, & when they knew the rightheousnesse of God, neither was it hidden from them, that they whiche do such thinges are worthy of death, yet for all that they not onely do them, but also they consent to them whiche do them.

The name Jehonah and the name Elohim.

Every citie in the olde tyme had their king.

Definition of a kyng.
Iustine.

It is not profitable to haue large kyngdomes.

As I haue done, so God hath done to me agayne. Because he spake of gods iudgements, therfore in naming of god he bled not this worde Jehouah but Elohim. By whiche worde the scripture bleseth rather to let forth the myght and iustice of god, than his mercy. This most cruell tyranne confelleth, that he had most cruelly cut of the feete of 70. kinges, and brought them to that poynte, y they were faine to gather their meate vnder his table. It is not to be laughed or bitted at as a lye, because in that prouince beyng not very large were 70. kinges. For it may be that at that tyme that custome was in vse, that every citie had his king. Neither ought the government of a king to be separated from other formes of gouernmentes by largenesse or bredth of borders, but in what societie or multitude of men soener it be, where as any one ma is lawfully made gouernour, so that he depend not of any other superiour power, the same man may by good right be called king, yea and as Iustinus writeth, every king before Ninus tyme was content with the boundes and limites of his owne citie. And such a custome if I should speake the trouth I can not but greatly commende. For what shall it profit kinges most amplye to dilate the territory of their empyre, when as afterward they are ouerwhelmed with ouer much weight therof, neither are they able to gouerne it by reason and counsell. But what should man do? The Monarches in these dayes are so set on fire with such great ambition,

tion, that they haue not a respect how many they are able to gouerne, but onely haue a regarde to this, how many they may reigne ouer. Neither doth this disease (whiche is the moze to be lamented) raigne onely in worldly princes, but it is also most filthily spred abroade in the Church where Bishops couet by all meanes to haue most large diocesses, of whiche (although they neuer looke to them) they may receaue most plentiful frutes.

The Bishops
seke to haue
large diocesses

But nowe I returne to the matter and aske the cause why the Israelites did cut of the thombes of the handes and feete of Adonibezek. R. Leui aunswereth to this interrogation, and sayth that it was therfore done, that the cruell Tyrant might be made altogether vnapt to do any thing, and especially to make warre. For they whiche are so maymed are neither able to drawe sword, neither to take or overcome any man in battaille. Whereby this so sharpe punishment other princes whiche were yet remainyng might easely be made affeard to lifte any weapon agaynst the Israelites. These thinges are somewhat lykely, but the wordes of the same tyranne teach vs that we must consider some deeper cause, namely that it was so done by the prouidence of god, that cruell and bloody princes should not at the length escape the iudgement of God, yea rather they should haue experience on them selues of that whiche they had committed agaynst others. And in that thing because it is good sometymes to be taught by the example of wicked men, God would now also admonish vs by this Adonibezek. He teacheth vs that we should not muche staye in inferiour causes whiche are nerte vnto vs, but rather by these examples straght wayes to lift vp the eyes of the mynde to consider the wonderful and most highe iustice of the decrees of God. The selfe same most cruel tyranne doth not ascribe vnto the Israelites that they had seabled hym by cutting of his handes and feete, but by and by sayeth. As I haue done to other, so God hath done to me agayne. Which same thing also Christ hath taught vs, for this also was his sentence, With what measure ye meate, with the same shall other meate vnto you.

Wherefore Adonibezek was so
maymed of the
Hebrewes.

We must not
staye in the in-
feriour causes
but rather con-
sider the highest
causes.

Of this late of rendyng like for like, let the cruel tyrannes of our tyme be affeard, whiche neuer make an end of killing, tearing, and burning of holy and innocent me, as though we wisdome neuer admonished them: By what soeuer a man sinneth, by the same also is he punished. Neither haue they at any tyme heard Habakuc the holy prophet cryng thus. Because thou hast spoyled many nations, others also shall spoyle thee. Those be bloody tyrannes, when they do so extremely rage, being altogether vnmindful of humane chaunces, neuer thinking how the same thinges may happen vnto them selues, wherwith they do so cruelly afflicte others. For if they would remember this, they would vse them selues moze mekely not only toward innocent men, but also euē to them which are guiltie & iustly condemned by them. Let vs learne in all thinges whiche shal happen, what soeuer they be, to consider as well the iudgements of god as also his goodnesse, and thereby we shall get good matter either of repentaunce, or els of thankes geuyng.

We must not
staye in the in-
feriour causes
but rather con-
sider the highest
causes.

Why tyrannes
do so cruelly
rage?

But there is a doubt, why the Israelites killed not this king by and by, and why they brought him to Ierusalem, there to die miserably: I aunswere, to testify vnto all men, that he being wounded was not gloriously killed in the battaille, for his horrible tyrany deserved not so famous an end of this life. Neither is it to be merueiled that when he came to Ierusalem he was not holpen by the diligence and remedies of Physicians: for the Iewes did it not of cruelty, but because they were affeard to violate the commaundement of god, who commaunded that all their enemies the Chananites should be slayne euery one, amongst whom this Adonibezek deserved not one death but a thousand: besides that, it was done that his most shameful end might be an example to all me. He woorthily

Why Adonibezek was not by
and by slayne
of the Iewes.

ther.

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therfoze being maigned and despised, departed this life in a most famous title. But it semeth to be demaunded, for what cause when he had so vilie maymed 70. kinges he would also haue them vnder his table to gather their meat there? He did it surely to the setting forth of his victories, and also whē he should eate meate, he would not onely refrefhe his body with meate and drinke, but he would also reioyce his haulty and proude minde after a certein horrible sort, he thought to him selfe that he had the fruition of no vulgare pleasure, when as in his dayly banckets he renewed after a sorte by that terrible sight the victories which he had hitherto gotten. We read of the like example of one Sapor king of the Persians, who when he had taken in warre Valerian the Emperour of the Romaines and father of Galien he bounde him wth an Iron chayne and dzeu him with him, & set his feete vpo his backe, as oftē as he would get by vpo his horse. Tamerlanes also king of the Scythians, caried about with him a tyzanne of the Turkes taken by him and inclosed in an Iron cage. By these and such like examples we se that the mindes of cruel tyzannes are wonderfully sicke of the diseases of bayne glozy and cruelty.

Sapor king of the Persians.

Tamerlanes.

Tyrannes are infected with boasting and cruelty.

Punishments are rather to be diminished than augmented.

Three kindes of death in the lawe of God.

The Hebrewes vsed an extraordinary punishment in their tentes.

From whence this word cruelty is deriued.

The definition of cruelty.

And hereby we gather that to much cruelty doth greatly displease god: and therof I thinke it came to passe that as wel by gods lawes as by māns (I speake but of those which are counted iust & honest) certein punishments were prescribed for crimes according to the grienousnesse of the, whereby iudges had y^e less libertie geuen them to exercise tyzanny. Wea & the lawyers added this rule, that punishments should rather be diminished by iudges than augmented: which is for all y^e to be vnderstād, as much as the nature of the faulte & comoditie of the publicque wealth suffereth, which I therfoze speake, because some times those conditions which comonly they call circūstances, make the crime so terrible and horrible, y^e the iudges must nedes there augment the punishments which haue ben prescribed by the lawes, & that to the entēt to feare alway others frō so grienous mischieuous dedes, & so David when Nathā the p^{ro}phet declared vnto him an execrable & horrible thing, he decreed a moze grienous punishment against him that was guiltie, than the law had ordeyned for common thieues & stealers of cattel. I haue therfoze made mencio of these, because there were in y^e lawe three kindes of death appointed for euil doers, I meane, hanging, stoning, & burning, vnto which some Hebrewes addethe fourth, namely the punishment of the sword: but because there is no mencion made therof in the lawe (as farre as I know) I haue therfoze left it out. We read that Adonias, Ioab & Agab king of Amalech & many other were thrust thorough with swordes, But we finde it not prescribed by any lawe or p^{re}cept that the guiltie should be put to death by the sword. Seing I say the matter is so, we se that the childzen of Israel vsed nowe in their tentes a certein extraordinary kinde of punishment against the king Adonibezek. And I beleue they did it not wthout the instinction of god. For god would punish the cruelty of this tyzanne wth an exquisite punishment, which was neuertheless of rendzing like for like, which kinde of wicked doing to the entēt we may the easelper auoyde, it shall not be grienous vnto vs to speake somewhat of it.

This word cruelty is deriued either of this latin word Cruor, which signifieth blood, wherin cruel mē like wild beastes do delite, either of Crudz carnes which signifieth rawe flesh, which fierce & barbarous people sometimes do eate, & may be defined to be a vicious habite wherby we are inclined to sharpe & hard things aboue reason. And sometimes it happeneth y^e cruelty is cosited for a pleasure, wth which wicked affectio or habite how tyzannes haue sometimes ben infected, it is manifestly to be sene by many exāples. This holy bistory setteth now before our eyes this Adonibezek, & the euāgelicall bistory maketh mencio of Herode. The Ethnike poetes haue made report of the cruelty of Atreus & Thyestes: and

and the most horrible wicked act of Xerxes king of the Persians is set forth by Seneca in his third booke de ira, 4. c. vii. chap. which Xerxes when a certain man named Pichius, who had well deserved at his handes, came vnto him and desired him to spare him one of his sone which he had, and he had him as though he would graunt him his request, to chose him whom he lysted to abide at home from battaile. And he did as he was bidden. But this most cruell tyranne commaunded that the yong man whom he had chosen should be drawen one syde of him one way, and an other the other way, so that at the length he was tozned a sunder, of the whych one part hee commaunded to be fastened in one corner of the way, by the which the souldiours shoulde go, and the other in an other corner, saying that after this sorte he purged his hoste. But not long after he was with much dishonour overcome and beaten of the Grecians, and constrained to lie through heapes and dead carcases of his own men. Silla banished an infinite number of Citizens of Rome, but at the length he was most horribly eaten vp of Lysse. Euen after the lyke sort dyed that most cruel Herode, as it is manifestly declared by Iosephus. Vnto this most wicked vice, clemency is directly contrary, which as a wonderful vertue doth maruailously wel agree wth princes, & is a singular ornament of Christian men. Augustine in his booke of 83. Quest. in 4. Quest. 31. defineth it thus. It is an habite wherby men styred vp to hatred agaynst any man, are through goodnes kept backe. This vertue is a meane betwene cruelty and foolish mercy. I call it foolish mercy, by which our mynde is so moued wth other mens miseries, that it declineth from sound counsell and iust reason. And we are overcome with this affection for this cause, by reason wee woulde neuer suffer such thinges wherewith we see others afflicted iustly and worthily, and because we our selues abhorre from such thinges, we therfore leaue off from punishing & guilty. Mercy in dede is an affection profitably planted in our hartes of God, wherby we are styred vp to helpe and defende others. But we must take heed, that by it we be not made so soft and effeminate, wherby we should commit any thing agaynst the commaundementes and wyl of God. The holy scriptures reprobeth Achab king of Samaria, because he spared Benadad king of Siria. Of whom he said: if he be on lyue, he is my brother. They condemne Saul also by the voyce of Samuel the prophet, because he saved Agag kyng of Amaleck on lyue. And euen as it was said vnto an other by the messenger of God: Thy soule shalbe for his soule, so Saul being a litle before placed by God in the kyngdome, was depriued therof. What shal we do then? Shall we not forgiue synnes? Seneca in his second booke of clemency and. 6. chap. writeth: Pardon (sayth he) is a remission of punishment due, by which he is forgiven which ought to haue bene punished. Wherfore he thinketh it is not a wyse mans part to geue pardon, because a wyse man wyl neuer commit any thing whych ought not to be done, or leaue any thing vndone which ought to be done. This reason of his seemeth to be very good and effectually enough. But least we should be deceiued therby, we must here set a profitable distinction of persons, that is of God, of princes, and of private men. No man ought to doubt, but that god may forgiue whom he wyl, wher as he is not bound to any other mans lawes. Wherfore in forgiueynge he is not sayd to remit that which he ought to haue punished. Besydes this, he hath not so forgiven men their faultes, but that he hath punished them in his onely begottē sonne Christ. But we must otherwile thinke of the Magistrate, to whō it is not lawfull to forgiue the punishmentes of synnes, because he is commaunded to geue iudgement by the lawes. To whom neuerthelesse it is graunted eyther to release or to aggrauate the punishmentes according to the wayght and quantity of the crimes. Wherfore when he that is guilty is not without hope of amēdement, neither hath geuouly offended, the magistrate is contented wth an easier punishment, & sometimes he addeth som reprove or som sharper admonitiō.

The cruelty of Xerxes.

Silla.

Augustine.
What clemency is.
Certain foolish mercy.

Mercy is a profitable affectiō

Depositerous mercy is condemned in holy letters.

Whether syns are to be pardoned.

Seneca.

God may forgive synnes.

A Magistrate ought not to suffer faultes unpunished.

Seneca.

Many executi-
ons at a dispo-
nour to the ma-
gistrate.

Howe private
men should for-
geue injuries.

Wherefore let him neuer leaue synnes unpunished, & the same mā in punishing is not cruel, yea he rather correcteth, amendeth, & healeth. Which worke is both iust and also most milde, so far is it that it should be ascribed to fiercenes or cruelty. I wyl also adde this by the way which is written of the same Seneca, that to haue many executions is no lesse dishonour to the Magistrates, than many copies are to the Philistines. But now concerning private men, me thinketh it must be answered thus: It is their duty to forgeue injuries don to them selues, neither can Seneca his saying take place in them, namely that a wise man wil leaue nothing vndone that ought to be done, because reuengement is forbidden them by the law of almighty God. And they are commaunded after a sorte to punish such as sinne against them, in admonishing (I meane) and reproving them. And they are wylled to be content with that punishment when those which haue offended them are amended and made whole. But contrarily if they perceiue that they be stubborne, they by the commaundement of God ought to complain to the church, by whom at the last they are excludet, vlesse they wil be obedient to it. And when they are excludet out of the church, they maye also be accused to the Magistrate. In which thing yet is nothing committed against clemency, because this is the mynde and purpose of them which accuse, namely vtterly to take away euyl according to Gods commaundement by al meanes possible. And these thinges are now sufficient concerning cruelty and also clemency.

They which
worke of faith
obtain the pro-
mises.

Because Iudah and Simeon obtayned the victorie according to the promises of the oracle, it shalbe our part diligently to consider and marke, that they which worke with faith by the word of God do without doubt obtaine his promises. For God hath not left those destitute of his ayde, which haue endeouored them selues to go forward faithfully in their vocation. The promises of God surely are constant, and although heauen & earth should at any time vary or be chaunged, yet shal they alwaies be firme. And therefore when as man is pronounced to be a lyer, God contrary wise must bee confessed and celebrated as moste true. Neither is there any thing found so hard or difficult, but that by faith it maye be performed. Wherefore it is very well written in the xi. chap. to the Hebrewes, that the saintes by faith haue overcome kingdomes, and obteyned the victorie. What sentence certainly hath a principal respect vnto these histories of the Judges. This ought to be so manifest and playne vnto vs, that for the obtayning of the promises of God, we ought to attribute nothing to our own workes and merites. Yea, let vs rather bee assured, that what so euer happeneth vnto vs, that the same cometh onely of the goodnes of God, which promised the same.

We attayn not
to the promises
of God by me-
rites.

Our endeuour also and labour are required therunto by the scriptures, as we see here also to be done, where the victorie is geuen to Iudah and Simeon when they fought, and not when they ceased. Not because God could not haue geuen them the victorie ouer their enemyes, although they had done nothing, as sometimes he dyd: but he hath decreed, to bring vs by the crosse and labours after his accustomed maner, to the rewardes which he freely promised. Neither yet for al that, that our studies and labours are required as causes to obtayne the promises, when as God doth geue vnto vs freely, and of his own mere liberality those thinges which he hath promised vs. This is principally true in those promises, which do wholly passe mans capacity, as are eternal life, and regeneration. For they being the chiefe and last endes of our vocations, doo farre and muche passe the dignitie and pryce of our workes, though they bee most perfect. And there is a certayne profitable and necessary distinction, which is not to be forgotten, namelye that some promises are of the lawe, and other some of the Gospell. And this is the nature of promises of the Gospell to be offered vtterly freely to men. But to promises of the lawe some worke is euer anered. And it is required to be most

Promises of
the Gospell and
of the law.

most perfect & absolute in all pointes. Which because we can not performe, we altogether fall down vnder our burthen, neyther can we attaine to these promises of the lawe in respecte they are of the law. Thou wilt say that this kinde of promises of the law is vaine: Not so, how is it if they be not geuen in vaine if none can attaine vnto the? They are to this end set forth, y^e m^e utterly leauing the confidence of woorkes, should hope to obtaine the by fayth in Christ: Which when it is done, they are chaunged fro promises of the law into promises of the Gospell. And although they be freely graunted, yet in attaining vnto the we put our endeuor & studie no lesse than if they were promises of the law. But yet as touching those good thinges which endure but for a time and passe not mans strength & labour and the rewardes of them are temporall it is not to be denyed but y^e our woorkes are much anapleable. For it is sayd that they are oftentimes gottē by them. Although also in obtayning them y^e fauor of god is needeful therunto, which is aboundantly bestowed on the which woorkes by y^e word of God & by faith. Which thing is manifestly sene of y^e readers of this hystory: for it declareth that god graunted y^e victorie to a fewe Iewes being straungers and young souldiers, agaynst strong & warlike men, many more in number than they, of a monstrous stature, and inhabiting most strong fenced cities and castles.

8 And the childzen of Iudah fought against Ierusalem and tooke it & smote it with the edge of the sword and set the cite on fyre.

9 Afterward the childzen of Iudah descended to fight against the Chananites, that dwelte in the mountaine, and in the south and in the lowe countrey.

10 And Iudah went agaynst the Chananites, that dwelt in Hebron (and the name of Hebron befoze was Kirjath Arba) and they smote Sesay Ahimman and Thalmay.

11 And from thence they went to the inhabiteurs of Debir (and the name of Debir befoze was Kirjath Sepher.)

The things which are now red vnto the xlii. verse are most part transferred hither out of the booke of Iosua the x. chap. and are now declared by a certain brieue rehearfall of things, and it is done to this end, that we might vnderstand that y^e tribe of Iudah had obtayned Ierusalem when Iosua was yet lining so that it was the easier for him to lead away Adonibezek captiue thither. And these be the things which are repeated in this place out of the booke of Iosua. The conquering of Ierusalem, Hebron, and Debir, the matrimony also betwene Achsa & Othoniel and y^e departure of the Kenites from the cite of Palmes. That at these things (I say) are now declared by a certaine repetition, it is thereby manifest, because it is witten in the booke of Iosua, that the king of Ierusalem was taken, & we read in the end of the x. chap. that the same cite of Ierusalem came into the bandes of the people of God, and that the childzen of Iudah dwelt in it with the Jebusites. Besides that these things which are now rehearsed of Hebron are contained in the x. xi. and about the end of the xlii. chap. in the booke of Iosua. And y^e hystory of Achsa and Othoniel is red in the x. chap. of the same booke. This repetition therfore of parentheses extendeth to these wordes: And Iudah went with hys brother Simeon, &c. In which place y^e autho^r returneth to make mention of the actes which the tribes of Iudah and Simeon toynded together vnder at this time performe. Which thing also by this appeareth the more manifest, because straightway is declared how Gasa was taken, which cite is sayd in the xi. and xlii. chap. of Iosua to haue yet remained in y^e hands of the enemies, & is numbered among those cities which were not conquered vnder Iosua. Wherfore the wordes of the p^{re}terperfect tense which are red in this repetition are to be interpreted in that time past, which we call the p^{re}terplus perfect tense, that the

Promises of the law are not vaine.

In euangelical promises although they be freely geuen yet must we work as though they were legal.

This rehearfall of things in the booke of Iosua

How farre this parenthesis extendeth.

The p^{re}terperfect tense is expounded by the p^{re}terplus perfect

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order of the history might be made more playne and manifeste.

They smote them with the mouth of the sword. This is a Metaphor in this manner of speche, very often tymes vsed in the holy scriptures, wherein by the mouth of the sword we ought to vnderstand the edge thereof, because it seemeth to deuour and consume those things which are smitten, in manner lyke a mouth. And when it is said that They set the city on fyre, we must vnderstand it by this figure Hypallege, when the thing is cleane contrary, so fire is brought into the city, and not the city into the fyre. Neither ought this to be vnderstand thus, as though they had then burned the whole city. For it is written in the booke of Iosua, and afterward it shal be expounded in this booke, that that city was after that inhabited by the tribe of Iudah and Benjamin, and also the Jebusites, yea and the castle thereof which was very well fenced was not deliuered vp to the Israelites, tyl in Dauid his time, as it is declared in the latter booke of Samuel. Nevertheless ought that to moue you because it appeareth not in the booke of Iosua that the city of Ierusalem was taken. For although this be not plainly and manifestly spoken, yet may it be vnderstand by those things which are there intreated of, namely that the king of Ierusalem was taken, and that Iudah dwelled in that city, neither could he yet cast out the Jebusites from them. All these things I say are signes that the city was taken at that tyme, although it was not yet possessed fully and in all partes.

The city of Ierusalem was taken when Iosua was yet a yonge.

It seemeth also somewhat obscure, that it is written that Iudah descended, when he should go fight against the Chananites, who dwelled on the mountaynes. When as we accustome in going to mountaynes to ascend, and not to descende. But we must vnderstand that those countries were full of mountaynes. Wherefore when the host remoued from one mountaine to an other, it must needs descend first into the valley, from whence it might afterward ascend vpon an other mountaine. Thou wilt peraduenture aske whether Iudah at that tyme conquered the plaines, the valley which was betwene them verely. He assayled them in dede, but he could not overcome them. For we shall heare in this chap. that those which were not overcome of Iudah in the valley, had yron Chariotes, so that by that meanes they were not overcome.

And Iudah went against the Chananites, that dwelt in Hebron. These things are now therfore repeated, that we should vnderstande that it was not of necessity that the city Hebron should be taken of Iudah then when the Israelites were in this iourney on warfare, which they tooke in hand after the death of Iosua, namely at that tyme, wherein the publique wealth was gouerned by elders without any certaine Judge, Iosua being yet aloue.

Why Hebron was called the city Arba.

It is not certain that Adam and his wyfe were buried in Hebron.

And the name of Hebron before time was called Kiriath-Arba, and they smote Sefay, Ahimman, and Thalmay. The reason of the name of this city is not of every man taken a like. The cause of the diversity is this word Arba which in his vsuall and proper signification signifieth the number which the Latines call Quatuor, & the Grecians τεσσαρες which is foure. Now some suppose the number of foure to be referred to the foure couple of men with their wiues, which they say were buried in that city. Yet the holy scriptures make mention but of three: for in the booke of Genesis 23. chap. we reade that Abraham and Sara were buried there, & also in the 35. & 49. chap. of the same booke we reade of Isaac and Rebeckas buriall there. And lastly in the 50. chap. we fynde that Iacob was caried thither, & he him selfe before that had there buried his wife Lea. But concerning Adam & Eue his wife, which they haue added vnto these, we can finde nothing thereof in the holy scriptures. For that which they alledge out of the 14. chap. of Iosua maketh nothing to the purpose, for the word Adam in that place is not the name of the first man. Wherefore they can gather nothing

out of that place, but that Arba was a certaine great man among the Anakims. These are the wordes there: Ha Adam Hagadol be Anakim Hui, that is: he was a great man among y^e Anakims. But our interpreter translateth it thus: Ada was counted the great among the Anakims. Wherby it appeareth y^e he thought that Adam was a proper name. But he was two wayes deceaved: first he dyd not marke that the article Ha is ioyned to the word Adam, which is neuer ioyned with proper names. Wherfore it must needs be a common name, whych must be referred to that word Arba, so that name was put a litle before. The other error is because we reade no where that the first man was reckoned amongst the Anakims, that is to say Gaiantes.

The opinion of others is that Hebron was called the City Arba, because it was inhabited of .4. Gaiantes, namely Sefay, Ahimman, and Thalmay unto which three brethren they adde Annak their Parent. But the opinion of these men is easely confuted, because that in the .14. chap. of Iosua toward the end, it is by manifest wordes declared that this word Arba is the proper name of a Gaiant. Wherfore it is manifest enough that this word must not be referred to the number of four. And by that meanes not onely this latter sentence, but the first also is confuted, which would haue this name Arba to haue a respect to the foure couple of men with their wyues, buried in the old tyme in that City. And undoubtedly for the same cause also, the opinion of others is not to be allowed, which do thinke that the City was so called, because although it were but one City, yet it consisted of foure Cities, and that this word Arba is all one wyth this greeke word τετραπολις which is foure Cities. Wherfore I Iudge it best to thyncke that it was so named of the buylder thereof named Arba, who how he came by that surname it is vncertaine. Onely this we maye gather out of the scriptures, that what so euer he was, he had three chyldren which are called in this place and also in the booke of Iosua, Sehai, Ahimman and Thalmay. And it is very lykely that they were deade long tyme before Iosua. And when they were now dead, then was there mention made of them, because their families which seme to haue bene of a wonderful huge stature were destroyed by Caleb and Othoniel. And this is the reason why I suppose that these three brethren liued not in Caleb and Othoniels tyme, because this City as it is wrytten in the booke of Numbers, was a most auncient city, and was buylt. vii. yeares before zoham that is, Thamin the kingly City of the Egyptians. And in zoham dyd Moyses and Aaron worke the wonders before Pharao. And if so be it was the kingly and noble city then, it must nedes be built long time before. Wherfore if Hebron were built before it, and had the name thereof of Arba, how could his chyldren be on lyue at this time? It cannot be so. Besides this, Abraham had a lodging in this City, & bought there a double cane. And from that time to Iosua his tyme wer almost .400. yeres. It is not therefore very lykely, that the sonnes of him which builded so auncient a city should lyue tyl Iosua his tyme, vnles any man wyl sayne that the same city was built long time before, & called by another name, & then in proceste of tyme casting away the first name, it should be named by this most strong and mighty Gaiant. But whether it be thus or no, neither skilleth it much, neither semeth it curiously to be sought for.

But this might somewhat moue some, because Arba, wherof we now speake, is called in the .15. chap. of Iosua, the father of Enak. For if he had .3. sonnes which were named as well here as in the same booke of Iosua, it wil then be doubtfull who that same Enak was. In which thyng (sayng the iudgement of a better learned) I would thinke might be answered, that it was not a proper name but a comon, wherby at that time men of huge stature, but such as were noble & excellently adourned, wer called. For this word Enak in hebrew is to gyrd or to

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compasse, and is chiefly referred to chaines which are woꝛne about the necke foꝛ comelynes sake. And thereof is this name Enak deriued, & in the plural number hath both the masculine & feminine foꝛme, & it signifieth a chaine, and is transferred to noble & woꝛthy men, whom thou mayst call chained. Wherfoꝛe Sclay, Ahimman & Thalmay may be called the sones of Arba, who was not called the father of them onely, but also the father of Enak, bycause euery one of his sones was noble, & woꝛe a chaine, oꝛ was a Giant, foꝛ Giants also were called Enakim, either bicause they woꝛe chaines, oꝛ els bycause they were of a notable stature of body, foꝛ it may be that that woꝛd was applyed to all kynde of ornaments. Of them is mention also made in the booke of Numbers, 13. chapter.

Why giants were called Enakim

By how many names giants are called in the holy scriptures

Seeing we are now by chaunce in hande with giants, and that there is often mention made of them in the holy scriptures, it shall not be vnprofitable, somewhat to speake of them. Fyſt we muſte knowe that they are called by diuerſe names in the holy scriptures as Enakim, Eimim, Zemasmim, Nefalim, Rephaim. Why they were called Enakim manifestly appeareth by those things which we haue spoken befoze. And they were called Eimim, of the terroꝛ which they bꝛaue into others by their loke, They were called Zemasmim, of mischief, bicause they trusting to their owne power and might, were dispisers of lawes, iustice, and honesty, and euer went about wicked actes. Foꝛ Zemah in Hebrue signifieth mischief. They were also named Rephaim. Bycause they made men which met them to be after a soꝛte amased, foꝛ that woꝛde signifieth sometimes the dead. Lastly they were called Nefalim as oppressoꝛs, bycause they assailed al men tyrannously, of this woꝛde Nafal which is to fall oꝛ subuerſe. Some thinke that they are sometimes called Geborim: but bycause we vs to referte y woꝛde to power, and properly strong men are called Geborim, therfoꝛe I woulde not put it among these.

When giants began. Augustine.

Furthermoze if thou wilt demande when giants beganne to be, if we may folloꝛe Augustine de ciuitate Dei, the. xvi. boke and xxi. chapter. We must say that they beganne befoze the floude. And therfoꝛe we beleue him, bycause he hath pꝛoued it by the testimonye of the holy scriptures: foꝛ it is wꝛitten in the bi of Genesis that giants were at that time on the earth: whose kind although it was kept after the floude, yet as he beleueth they were not in so great number. Besides this it may be doubted concerning their pꝛocreation and parents: foꝛ there are some whiche thinke that they were not begotten of men, but that Angels oꝛ deuils were their parentes. And this sentence they say is confirmed by that which is wꝛitten in the booke of Genesis. The sonnes of God seeing the daughters of men that they were sayze, they tooke them to wiues, and of them were boꝛne most mightye men oꝛ giants. Concerning this fall of the Angels many of the old wꝛiters agree that it was bicause they vsed company with women, and among other is Lactantius in his second booke and xv. Chapter. Foꝛ his opinion was (as it is there wꝛitten) that God feared least Sathan to whom he had graunted the gouernement of the woꝛlde shoulde utterly haue destroyed mankind, and therfoꝛe he gaue vnto it Angels foꝛ tutoꝛs by whose industrie & care it mighte be defended. But they being pꝛouoked as well by the willnesse of Sathan, as also allured by the beauty of sayze women, committed filthines with them. Wherfoꝛe they were thꝛowen downe from their dignitie and made soldiers of the deuill. This was Lactantius opinion, but yet he sayth not, that Giants were boꝛne of those copulations of Angels with women but earthly deuils which abide on the earth to our greate hurte. Eusebius of Cesaria in hys. b. boke de preparatione euangelica, doth nothing in a manner disagree from them. Foꝛ he also sayth that Angels which fell, begat of women whom they filthily loued those deuils, which afterwarde troubled the woꝛld many wayes, and to the

Whether Giants were begotten of men

Lactantius.

Eusebius of Cesaria

he referreth al these which the Poets and hystoriographers haue writtē to haue bene Gods, & haue eyther in Metre or in Prose made mention of their battailes discordes, lustes, and sundrye and grievous tumultes. But Augustine in his 20 booke de ciuitate Dei. xliii. Chap. thinketh that this opinion of these old men can not be gathered out of that place of Genesis. For he sayth that those which are there called & sonnes of god, were in very dede men, namely coming of & Noe of Seth. For whē they worshipped god truly and sincerely, and called vpon him holily and purely, being adorned wth his fauor & grace, they are called by & scriptures & sonnes of God. But whē at & length they began to burne in filthy lust with those women which came of the stocke of Cain, and by that meanes fel in to fellowship with the vngodly, taking them to their wiues and cleaving also to superstitions and wicked worshippings, they were chaunged from & sonnes of God not only into men, but also into fleshe. And thus will I say by the way. Aquila translating these wordes out of Hebrue, They wer not (saith he) & sones of God, but the sonnes of Gods: for this cause so called (as I suppose) because their progenito^{rs} were holy men, but their children miserably fell from god and godlines by inordinate loue of women. And Symmachus translateth it, The sonnes of the mightye. But nowe to Augustine againe, he constantly affirmeth that there can be nothing gathered out of that place of Genesis concerning the carnall copulation of Angels with women, but thinketh rather, that farre contrary may be proued by the wordes of God written in the same place. For whē the scripture had there sayd, that there were Giants on the earth, and that the sonnes of God (as it is sayd) were gone out of the right way, and Giants were brought forth, there is added: And god sayd, my spirite shal not abide in man for ener, because he is fleshy. By this sentence he declareth, that those which so termed were called men, and not only as they were by nature, but also they were called fleshy, wherunto by their filthy luste, they did so much cleaue. But they which be of & contrary opinion do thinke that they haue a strong witnesse of Enoch which was the vii. from Adam, of whom Iudas maketh mention in his canon: call Epistle. For in the booke which is intituled to be Enochs booke it is writtē that giants had their of springes of Angels and not of mē. But Augustine answereth vnto this, and sayth that that booke is altogether Apocrypha, & therfore such fables as are rehearsed in it, are not to be beleued. It is not to be doubted he sayth but that Enoch wrote some godly thinges, when as Iudas the Apostle manifestly testifieth the same: But it is not necessary that we should beleue that all thinges which are written in that Apocryphal booke shoulde be of his writing. Forasmuch as they haue no sure authoritie. Neither, although Iudas brought thence some one certaine sentence, as it is supposed that therfore he by his authoritie hath allowed the whole booke: Unless thou wilt saye that Paule allowed all the thinges which were written by Epimenides, Aratus and Menander because he brought one or two verses out of the. Which thing Ierome in his exposition vpon the first chap. of the Epistle to Titus declareth to be a very absurde thing and worthy to be laughed at. And now as concerning Enoch, it seemeth marvelous, how he being but the vii. from Adam coulde write of those thinges of the alteration betwene Michael and the deuil, for the body of Moyses, when as if there wer any such thing (as there is no doubt but there wer) they must needs haue come to passe a thousand and almost 500. yeares after. Unless we will say & those thinges wer reuealed at that time by some notable strength of prophecy. Neither is it to be forgotten, that those which do thinke that giants had Angels to their parentes & not men, do therfore seme to suppose so, because they thinke it is not possible, & huge giants can be bozne of mē of vsual bignesse & stature. Therfore some of the haue gone so farre, & they haue affirmed that the first mā was a giuant, and & Noah also & his childre were Giants because they

Augustine,

Men of the
stocke of Noe
were called the
sonnes of God.

What was the
fall of the sonnes
of God.

Aquila,

Simmachus.

Enochs booke
Augustine,

Ierome,

The reason of
them which
thought giants
were not bozne
of men,

C. llii.

beleued

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beleued not that $\frac{1}{2}$ kind of mē could be either before or after $\frac{1}{2}$ flood, except their first progenitors had bene such, if it were thought they should be borne of men.

Augustine.
A woman giant

The naturall
cause of $\frac{1}{2}$ great
nature of giants

How huge the
giants were

How huge the
giants were

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But Augustine proueth that to be false & sayth, that a litle before the ouerthrow
made by $\frac{1}{2}$ Gothes, there was a woman at Rome of a giants stature, who be-
ry many out of diuerse countreys came to see. Which womans parents neuer
thelesse exceeded not $\frac{1}{2}$ comon accustomed stature of other men. But as touching
the cause of this huge bignesse of giants, if we should loke vpon nature the can
we bying no other reason, but a strong naturall beate, & also a moisture which
abundantly & largely ministrerth matter, so $\frac{1}{2}$ beate doth extende $\frac{1}{2}$ same not
only into length, but also it poureth out & spreadeth it both to breadth & also to
thickness. Giants therfore began before the flood, they wer also before the acco-
panieng of the sonnes of god with the daughters of men, & after that also conti-
nued their generation. Men therfore begat them, and had a naturall cause such
as we haue sayd. There were also some without doubt after the flood, so there
is mencion made of them in the booke of Num. Deut. Iosua, Iudges. Samuel, Pa-
ralip, and other holy booke. Concerning their bignesse & stature we may partly
geffe and partly we haue it expessedly described. The coniectures are bycause
Goliath had a cote of mail weing b. m. scles, and a speare like a weauers beame,
and the Iron or top of his speare weighed 600. scles. We coniecture also that
Og kyng of Basan was of a wonderfull bignesse and that by bys bed, which
being of Iron contayned 9. cubites in length. And the Israelites compared with
Enachim seemed as grasshoppers. These be signes wherby we may iudge how
bigge these men were. But the bignesse of Goliath is described properly and di-
stinctly in the booke of Samu. For it is sayd that he was 6. cubites and a hand
breadth highe. And a cubite with the Grecians is two fete, but with the Latines
a foote and a halfe. Some alledge the cause of this difference to be, bycause the
measure may be extended from the elbow to the hand, being some tymes closed,
and sometymes open or stretched forth. And thus much as concerning the sta-
ture of giants, so farre as may be gathered by the holy Scriptures. But we
read among the Ethnikes farre more wonderfull thinges, & such which seeme
to some incredible. Philostratus writeth in his booke of noble men, that he sawe
the carcase of a certain giant which was 30. cubites long, and an other 22. cu-
bites long, and certain other also 12. But the comon stature of men in our tyme
passeth littell above 5. fete. And the measure of a foote agreeth both with the
Grecians & with the Latines, so they both geue to euery foote 4. hand breadthes:
and euery hand breadth containeth the breadth of 4. fingers, that is, the length
of the litle finger. But if the last fingers, the thombe 3. faye and the litle finger
should be stretched abroade, then euery foote containeth but two hand breadthes.
I thincke it not amisse also to declare here what Augustine writeth in the 15.
booke de ciuit. Dei. 9. chap. where he reponeth those which obstinately contend
that there were neuer any man of so wonderfull huge a stature, and testifieth $\frac{1}{2}$
he him self sawe vpon the coaste of Vtica a tooth so great, that being deuised, it
might easely be iudged to be an hundred fold bigger in soyme and quantitie the
vsual teth in our tyme are, he also declareth in the same place, that there were
in oldetyme very many such bodies of men, by the verses of Vergil which are
written in the 7. booke of Aeneas, where he sheweth how Turnus tooke vp so
great a stone from the groude and chawed at Eneas that 12. such men as the earth
haingeth forth now of dayes could scarcely lifte, which place he tooke out of the
6. booke of Iliades of Homere. We may adde also vnto these, the verses which the
same Vergil hath writte in $\frac{1}{2}$ first of the Georgikes, he shall wonder at the great
bones digged out of the grauen. Moreouer Augustine bringeth Pliny the second,
who affirmeth in his 7. booke, that nature the longer it proceedeth in her course,
the

the lesser bodies both it bying forth dayly. And he maketh mention also of Homere whiche made complainte sometymes in his verses. To whom I might adde the testimonie of Cipriane against Demetrian. But if I should be asked the question, whether I thought that the bodies of men whiche were brought forth after the flood are lesse than those whiche were before the flood, I would peradventure graunt vnto it: but that they haue alwayes decreased from the flood euen to our tyme, I would not easely consent to that, and especially bycause of Aulus Gellius wordes whiche he wrote in the third booke, where he sayth, that the measure of the growth of mans body is 7. fete, whiche seemeth also to be the measure at this day in me of the bigger sort. But lest I should dissemble any thing, we read in the Apochryphas of Esdras the 4. booke about the ende of the 5. chap. that our bodies are lesser now, and shalbe every daye lesse, bycause nature is alwayes made moze weake. And the same doth Cipriane (as I haue a little before sayd) seme to affirme. But why I would not so easely assent thereunto, this is the cause, so; that I can se almost nothing altered in our time from the measure whiche Gellius desmeth. But now to Pliny agayne who sayth in his 7. booke, that in Crete, when a certayn mountaine was rent by an earth quake, a dead body was founde standing whiche was 46. cubites long, whiche some belened to be Orions body, other some Othus. It is also left in writing that the body of Orestes being digged vp by the commaundement of an oracle, was 7. cubites long. But that whiche Berosus affirmeth, that Adam & Seth his sonne were giants, and Noah also with his children, as it is put without testimony of holy scriptures, so may it also be relected.

Cipriane.
Whether the
bodies of men
haue decreased
from the flood
to our tyme.

Aulus Gellius

Pliny.

Berosus.

Now it seemeth good to declare, so; what cause god would haue some men sometymes to be bozne with so huge bodies. It was done so; this cause Augustine thinketh in his booke before alledged 23. chap. to leaue a testimony vnto vs, that neither the beauty of the body, neither the bignesse of stature, nor strength of the flesh are to be accompted among the chief good thinges, when as they are no lesse commune to the godly sometymes than they are to the vngodly. They surely whiche are desirous of godlinesse will iudge that spirituall good thynges are farre to be preferred before them, partly bycause they are an helpe vnto vs to saluation, and partly bycause they make vs moze noble in dede than others. And that giants had no helpe by their huge stature to saluation, he confirmeth it by that which Baruch the Prophet hath writte in the 3. chap. There are giants from the beginning of the worlde, famous men, expert in warres: those hath not the Lord chosen, neither hath he geue them the way of knowledge, but they haue perished bycause they had not wisdome. Also if a man shall read ouer the holy scriptures, he shall neuer almost fynd that they took in hand any good or godly cause, whiche they would defend, and so; the whiche they would fight: yea he shall rather se that by their perversenesse and pryde, they haue alwayes ben agaynst God. so did Og king of Basan behaue hym selfe, so also did Goliath and his brethren. All these were most deadly enemies to the people whom God loued and had chosen from the rest to be peculiar to hym selfe. There is an other thing also besides, whiche may much confirme our faith, so; the holy scriptures do alwayes declare how such monstrous giants were filthily overcome in battle, and that by feble men and very vnexpert in warlike affaires, namely by David being yet but a shepheard, & the people of Israel whiche were the but yong beginners in matters of warre. wherby the spirite of god both admonithe vs to be of a constante and valiaunte corage when so; godlinesse sake we must fight agaynst such monstres. We must haue no regards there to our owne strength, seing that the holy oracles do so often declare, that it is god whiche deliuereth such beastes into their handes whom he defendeth. Whiche thinges seing they

why God
would haue so
huge giants
some tymes.

forme and sta-
ture anayle no-
thing to, salua-
tion.

Giantes toke
not godly cau-
ses in hande to
defende.

Giantes were
overcome in
bataile of
weake persons

Cap. i. A Commentarie vpon the

are so, this without doubt cometh to passe, that we should be by no means be af-
 feard of tyzannes, whiche are almost alwayes agaynst God, and trust to their
 owne great might, when they defend vngodly partes, and thinke that they can
 robbe and spoyle as they list them selues the flocke of Christ which is feable and
 weake: seeing the might of gods word & power of his spirite will make vs migh-
 tie and inuincible agaynst them though we be neuer so lowe and weake of na-
 ture. Moreouer if we should follow humane reason, beyng compared with the,
 we should easely seeme either woymes or grasshoppers: but being hedged & sen-
 sed wth the might of god, we shall not only be superiours, but also, (to speake as
 Paul speaketh to the Romaines) we shall ouercome also. For Christ will ayde vs,
 who bindeth the strong armed man, & taketh away the most riche spoyle which
 he had gathered, he hath luckly wrestled with the deuill and his members, & we
 by him shall haue good successe in our warres, and shall obteyne a farre more no-
 ble victorie than that whiche the Poetes haue sayned that their gods obtayned
 of the Ciclops Titans, and other giauntes, whiche were (as they fable) destroyed
 by the lightnings of Iupiter at Phlegra. It is a playne token why grauntes in the
 old time & mighty princes now of dayes do wth the wise men of this world resist
 god: surely because they cleaue & trust to much to their owne strength, whereunto
 they ouermuch stick, there is no mischief which they dare not enterpryse, there
 is nothing which they thinke is not lawfull for the to do. But god bouchesafeth
 not by such men to accomplish those thinges whiche he hath decreed to bring to
 passe, but to set forth his might & power farre abroad he vseth rather to accom-
 plish such thinges as he hath decreed to do by David and any abiect persones.

Why Giauntes
haue resisted
God.

God accom-
plisheth his thin-
ges by humble
persons & not
by giauntes.

Whether Og
were the last of
all the giauntes.

The Moabites
also drave Gi-
auntes out of
their coastes.

Why this citie
is called the ci-
tie of Letters.

Why this citie
is called the ci-
tie of Letters.

Of this thing I would thinke that I had spoken enoughe, but that there is
 a certein place remayning to be expounded: namely how it should be written in
 Deut. that there was no more of the giauntes remayning but only Og king of
 Basan. I am not ignorant what R. Salomo fableth, but his exposition is so chil-
 dishe, & so woorthy to be laughed at, y^e I am ashamed to rehearse it. I iudge ther-
 fore that it was not spokē absolutely & simply, that there were no more remay-
 ning but he, as though there were no more giauntes in all the world but he:
 but it is meant that he onely was remayning in those places namely beyonde
 Iordane. Moreouer we must vnderstand that not onely the Israelites destroyed
 the giauntes out of those regions but also the Moabites as it is written in the
 second chap. of Deut. drave them out of their coastes, which must also be thought
 to haue ben brought to passe by them thorough the fauour of God: for it is in
 the same place written that god gaue vnto the Moabites those regions to inha-
 bite. Now will I returne to the wordes of the holy hystory.

And from thence they went to the mountaynes of Debir, and the
 name of Debir before was Kiriath Sepher. It is commonly translated the
 citie of letters, and therefore would they haue this citie so called, because the first
 letters wer found there, or els because learning or good studies flozished in that
 Citie, as they do at this daye in vniuersities, where good sciences are openly
 taught. Some thinke that lawyers liued there, whiche kept the records of
 iudgements. There be some also whiche write that there was a notable libra-
 ry there. R. D. Kimhi affirmeth that Debir in the Persian language signifieth a
 letter, but y^e worde Sephir in Hebrew signifieth not properly a letter or a figure
 but rather a litle booke or scrolle written vpon. The Hebrewes do make mention
 that Othoniel did in this place expound certein rules of the lawe, whiche before
 that tyme were almost blotted out, and of that dede was the citie so afterwarde
 named, but this cā scarce be probable, because it seemeth that that citie had that
 name before the Israelites possessed it. We must know moreouer that this citie
 also was taken when Iosua was a lyue, whiche is shewed in his owne booke.
 And that by no means can be sayned to be sayd there by preuenting or (as they
 say) by anticipatiō. For it is written in the .ii. chap. And Iosua came at y^e tyme &
 destroyed

destroyed the Enakims from the mountaynes, namely Hebron, Debir and all the mountaynes of Iudah. If these things should haue ben mentioned in y^e place, as things whiche should come to passe sone after the death of Iosua, then had it not ben well spoken, to haue sayd, And Iosua came at that tyme. And this I thinke the reader shall playnly see p^{ro}oued, if he will not thinke it paynfull, diligently to read ouer the 10, and 15. chap. of Iosua.

12 And Caleb sayd: He that smyteth Kiriath Sepher and taketh it, to him will I geue Hachab my daughter to wife.

13 And Othoniel the sonne of Kenaz Chalebs y^{ou}nger brother toke it: and he gaue him Hachab his daughter to wife.

Here is wont to be demaunded, how these cities Hebron and Debir should be w^{ri}tten in the booke of Iosua to haue ben taken of Iosua, when as it is here put that Chaleb conquered them, whereunto I aunswere that all that warre was gonerued by the conduite of Iosua, who was the chief and p^{ri}ncipall gouernour of the whole hoste, but the p^{ri}ncipall setting forward agaynst Hebron and other places adioyning thereunto was committed vnto Chaleb the chief of the tribe of Iudah, and that not without a cause. For he, as it is w^{ri}tten in the xiii. chap. of Iosua, desired to haue that parte assigned peculiarly vnto hym for his inheritaunce: whiche requeste he easely obtayned. For he required the same, trusting to God bys p^{ro}misses: for when he was sent with other spyes to v^{is}ite the lande of Chanaan, he faithfully made relation of the things as they wer in dede, & not vnfaithfully as his fellows did. Neither was he an autho^r of the peoples se^{di}tioⁿ as the other were, yea he rather encouraged the peoples myn^{de}s, and diminished those things whiche his fellows had amplified concerning the sence of the cities, of the giaⁿtes also, and of the strength of the Chananites. For he regarded not maⁿs strength, but with a singular faith, most constantly rememb^{re}d the power, the goodnesse & p^{ro}misses of god. Wherefore god being angry with the rest, destroyed them in the wilderness, so that they came not to the p^{ro}miss^{ed} lande. But he p^{ro}miss^{ed} Chaleb for his faithfulness: this inheritaunce, whiche when he afterward demaunded, he put Iosua in remembraunce of the thyng befo^{re} done, and of the p^{ro}misses of God. And the place where the p^{ro}mise is contain^{ed} is in the 14. chap. of Num. there God p^{ro}miss^{ed} him that land wheron his foote should treade, whiche wordes the Iewes thinke thus to be expounded. The rest of the spyes being amased for feare of the giaⁿtes, and putting small confidence in god durst not entre into the citie of Hebron, whiche Chaleb him selfe searched with a valiaunt courage. The p^{ro}mise therfore of this possession was made vnto him in the second yea^re after the deliue^ry out of Egypt. Chaleb surely declared a valiaunt & noble hart, when as he did not only require the possession of these places, but he enterprised also to conquere the^m for al that they were fenced & inhabited with most strong giaⁿtes. Wherefore we must beleue, that he tooke in hand such & so great an enterprise not by his owne power but by gods p^{ro}misses.

And here ariseth no small doubt, howe Chaleb being of the tribe of Iudah, could obtayne y^e citie of Hebron whiche by lotte belonged to the Leuites. For god had comaunded that certain cities as wel beyond Iordane as on this side, should be had for refuge sake, that thither might flye as many as had slayne any man by chaunce, and not of p^{re}tensed purpose. And the possession of those cities whiche were therfore appoynted belonged to the Leuites. Wherefore it was not lawfull that Hebron should be geuen to Chaleb, seing it was numb^{re}d am^og the cities of refuge. These things are true, but we must vnderstand in the meane tyme, that the Leuites myght possesse but their cities only, & the suburbs adioyning to the walles of them. But as for the grounde or dominion whiche they call at this day Lordship, it was not graunted them to haue. Chaleb therfore desired to

Chaleb desired to haue these regions assigned him for his inheritaunce.

Chaleb was a faithfull spy.

God p^{ro}miss^{ed} Chaleb the land wheron he should treade.

Hebron was one of the Cities of refuge.

The cities of refuge bel^onged to the Leuites

The Leuites had the citie of Hebron, but Chaleb had the grounde and Lordship.

posse^ss

possesse the grounde, but as for the citie whiche he had in his handes, he let to the Levites as the lawe commaunded. It is most certain that there is mention of the citie Hebron in the booke of Gen. when as it is there written, that Abraham lined in the groue of oaks of Mamere, & the same had (if we may beleue Jerome) a precious turpentine tree, which grew there from the beginnyng of the world, and continued till the time of Constantine the great. It is said to be 12000. paces distaunte from Ierusalem. David reigned in it some while, before he was anoynted king ouer all Israel. Neither haue we any thyng to do to write nowe of the auncientnesse therof, seing I haue somewhat spoken of it before.

The conquering of Debir was harde.

And Chaleb sayd: he that smiteth. This whole hystory is declared in the 15. chap. of the booke of Iosua, word for word, wherby it appeareth that it is most certain whiche I before admonished you of, namely that all these thinges are now mentioned by a certain repetitio. The conquering of Debir semeth to haue ben paynesfull and daungerous, and meruelously much desired of Chaleb, when as he offereth so ample & noble a gift to the conquerour therof: namely his owne daughter to wyfe, being him selfe the prince of the most noble tribe of Iudah.

Hebron was called also Iephuna.

R. Salomoh.

Howe the Hebrewes use this worde Sonne, sometymes.

Many of the Hebrewes had two names. What Othoniel was.

Othoniel was also called Iambes.

And Othoniel the sonne of Kenaz Chalebs younger brother tooke it. It is certain that Othoniel obtayned the victorie: but whether he were Chalebs brother, or his brothers sonne or some other kinne to him it can not be gathered by these words. But how they were kinne it were good to know, partly for his knowledge of the hystory & partly to vnderstand whether the matrimony which followed betwene Othoniel and Achsah were lawfull. In the first booke of Paralip. and second chap. the father of Chaleb is called Hebron, whiche man was the third fro Iudah: for Iudah had Pharez by Thamra his sonnes wife: and Pharez begat Hebron, which was called by an other name Iephuna, for which cause Chaleb is very often written the sonne of Iephuna. Of whiche thing I can not tell what sonde inuention R. Salo. writeth, namely that he was so called, because he disagreed from the mynde and counsell of the other spyes. Panah signifieth in Hebrew to depart or to decline, wherfore he thynked that this surname was geuen to Chaleb for the cause now alledged. Neither maketh that any thing against it (as he sayth) that he is called the sonne of Iephuna, when as in the holy scriptures it is a comon vse, & this phrase, the sonne of death & the sonne of perdition, are all one with these, he is worthy of death, and a man lost. And by the same kynd of speech (saith he) & sonne of declination & turning away is all one in this place, as if he had ben called declining & turning away from the counsell & wicked will of the rest of the spyes. I will not deny peraduenture but that this opinion of R. S. is pretty, but yet I thinke it maketh nothing to his purpose. For other seme to speake more simply whiche say that Hebron was also called Iephuna. Wherfore Chaleb was sometymes called the sonne of Iephuna and sometymes the sonne of Hebron, neither is it a rare thing or vheard of in his holy scripture, that some one man should be called by two names. Nowe we see what Chaleb was, namely the fourth from Iudah the sonne of Jacob: wherfore we must speake somewhat of Othoniel. He is here written to be the sonne of Kenaz, and so is he likewise in the booke of Iosua, and also in the first booke of Paralip. and 11. chap. where he is called Iambes also, and renowned to haue bene noble and very excellent, his mother called him Iambes, because she bare him with most bitter payne, for so doth that name signifie in Hebrew: whiche the father as an vnlike name chaunged, and in stead of Iambes named his sonne Othoniel. We read that the same happened vnto Benjamin, whose mother as she was dyeng, named Benoni, whiche name because it was not very pleasaunt nor luckye, Iacob turned and would haue him called Benjamin for Benoni. Neither was Othoniel notable only in strength and feates of warre, but he was very godly and religious, for in the booke of Paralip. and in the place now alledged his prayers are described.

scribed, wherwith he most faithfully called vpon God. Wherefore the scripture testifieth that his prayer was heard, the Hebzeus haue added therunto y he was excellently wel learned in the law of the Lord. And these thre vertues in one man are most rare, namely to be a good warrior, to be religious, and learned.

Three excellent conditions in Othniel.

But now seeing his fathers name was Kenaz, & Chaleb had Hefron or Jephuna to his father, how neere of kyn were they then? Some hold opinion that Kenaz, when Hefron or Jephuna was deade, married his wife, who had not onely her with him, but also kept her sonne namely Chaleb, being but a litle one, whō she had by her first husband, then they say he had Othniel by her, whereby they conclude that Othniel and Chaleb came both of one mother, but not of one father. Wherefore Othniel was by nature the sonne of Kenaz, but Chaleb was called also the sonne of Kenaz, because he & Othniel were brought vp together with Kenaz. R. D. confuteth this opinion, because it is neuer red in the holpe scriptures that any Israelite tooke his surname of his mother, and much lesse of his stepfather: For every one in that publique wealth tooke alwaies their surnames of their fathers, as the Gersonites, Merarites, & Leuites. And by the booke of Paralip. he saith may be knowen that that maner was so styl kept & obserued. This reason if it be true in dede, as it semeth to be probable refelleth a certaine opinion of others, which say that Chaleb had a brother, a great deale elder than him selfe, who was called Kenaz, with whom Chaleb was brought vp lyke a son together with Othniel Kenaz sonne. Wherefore they seming after a sort to be both of one age, & being nourished vp together, were easely counted brethren, namely the sones of Kenaz, wher as in dede Chaleb was Kenaz brother. Wherefore it came to passe that they wer both of them called the sones of Kenaz. This I say doth R. D. Kimhi iudge absurde: for if no man could attayne to any kynde of surname by the mother or stepfather, then vndoubtedly coulde he not haue it by the brother. But the same R. D. Kimhi thinketh that they were brethren euery way, because they had both one father and one mother. And therefore both of them are called the sonnes of Kenaz, but not by their next Parentes, but by the name of the family, saying that both brethren were bozne of one and the selfe family, what shal we then do? We are not holpen by the history which we haue in hand, & we cannot dissolue the question by the places conferred euery way together. Yea and the Jewes agree not in it among them selues, neither doo they onely vary one from an other, but our writers also write nothing like one to another of it. Lyranus doth utterly deny that they wer brethren, which neuertheles Paulus Burgensis affirmeth, yea & that moze is, Lyranus agreeth not w hym selfe, for as in the interpreting of the booke of Iosua he denyeth that they were brethren, so afterward vpon the first booke of Paral. in the second & fourth chap. he graunteth they wer brethren. But when I moze diligently weigh the reason why in the booke of Iosua he contendeth that they were not brethren, I gather it to be this, because he thought y if they had ben ioyned together with so neare a bond of kined, y ther could haue ben no marriage, whereby Othniel shoulde haue had to wife Hachlah his brothers daughter, seeing y it was forbidden by y lawe (namely y. 18. & 20. chap of Leuit.) y no mā shoulde mary his aunt. Wherefore he thinketh it must nedes folloiw, y the niepce by the brother is prohibited, because that we are ioyned w the same degree of kined to the aunt, by which y vncl is ioyned to y niepce by the brother. But if Hachlah & Othniel wer brothers children, then shal this absurdity be wholly auoided: for marriage betwene these was neuer forbidden by Gods lawes. But Burgensis a man otherwise very wel learned, contendeth y they wer utterly brethren, & saith y the vncl might by Gods law mary his niepce by y brother, & that the Jewes the selues which otherwise are most diligent obseruers of outward lawes do kepe this custome at this day. He saith mozeouer, y it cometh to passe oftentimes, as concerning marriages, y in degrees either of consanguinity or affinity, ther is found the like distance betwene persons, of y which neuertheles the one is forbidden, & the other grauted.

what kin Chaleb & Othniel wer together.

R. D. Kimhi.

The surnames among the Israelites wer taken of the fathers.

The Hebzeus and our me differ among the selues of the kindred of Othniel & Chaleb.

In mariages
the first order
of kindred maye
not be peruer-
ted.

And often tymes the prerogative of the men and baser condicion of the wyues altereth the thing. For in matrimony man is the head of the woman, as Paule hath said in the first to the Corinth. Wherefore ther must alwaies bee a regarde had, that in mariage the order of kindred bee kept, least the order which was before should be perverted. For it is meete that mariages should obserue and not violate honesty of order among men. Which honesty should be violated if euery man might take to wife his Aunt, his uncles wife, or mothers sister. For because that women ioyned vnto vs by this degree of kindred are to be reuerenced as mothers. But if they be made wyues then by the law of matrimony, they are made subiectes, and are bound to honour, to obey and reuerence their husbands, whom otherwise they ought to haue had in place of childre. Which semeth nothing els, than to commit thinges repugnaunt to nature. But if it be contraryly done, then is there no perverting of order incurred. For hee which is an uncle either by fathers syde or mothers syde shoulde be honoured and reuerenced lyke a father, when he taketh to wyfe his niepce, the husband is made her head, and shalbe honoured and obeyed of her no lesse than if he wer her uncle, eyther by the fathers syde or mothers syde, neither commeth there any perturbation of order by coniunction of matrimony. These thinges Burgenis alledgeth. Wherefore this place doth not onely admonish, but in a maner also cōpel vs, somewhat to entreate of degrees prohibited in contracts of matrimony. What will I leaue at liberty whether Chaleb & Othoniel wer brethren, or whether they were ioyned with any other affinity together. This is most certain if Othoniel wer the sonne of Chaleb his brother, the mariage then was very lawfull. But the state of the question is, whether it wer lawfull for Othoniel by the common lawe to marie his brothers daughter.

In the law are
not rehearsed all
the degrees in
which mar-
riages are prohibi-
ted.

This seemeth first to bee agreed vpon, that in the 18. & 20. chap of Leuit. are not rehearsed all persons or degrees, in which mariages are prohibited: for there is no mention made of Graundmother, when as neuertheles al men will confesse it to be most filthy, if anye man shoulde take to wife his Graundmother, which is farre aboue him in his yeares. The wife also of the Graundfather is not mentioned of: & though the wife of the uncle by the fathers side be spoken of, yet is there nothing spoken of the wife of the uncle by the mothers syde. Yea, & that we moze maruaile at, there is no prohibition for the father to marie his daughter, when as al men confesse that these mariages are most incest. Wherefore it is to be thought, that in that place are set forth by the holy ghost certayne degrees prohibited, & those not many, but yet such, that by them as by certain exquisite and manifest rules we may iudge of the like. Wherefore we must thinke that those thinges which are spoken of the mother, are also commanded of the Graundfather or Graundmother or wife of the Graundfather, seeing that al these are to bee reckoned for Parentes. Those thinges also which are spoken of the wife of the uncle by the fathers syde, do manifestly declare, what is to be done with the wife of the uncle by the mothers side. For as much as these alliances or degrees are of one space or distaunce one from an other. Wherefore I am of this opinion, that I thinke the prohibitions mentioned in the law, are therefore set forth that by them we might evidently vnderstand, what is meete to doo in the lyke degrees. I graunt neuerthelesse, concerning Paulus Burgenis reason, that they doo muche moze violate the law which do contract matrimones with persons forbidden, and therewithal perverting also the order of kindreds. For it seemeth to me that he doth farre moze vilpe which marieth his Graundmother, than he which marryeth his niece by the brother, although I thinke that bothe these matrimones are not lawfull.

Who syn moze
griuouslye a-
gainst the de-
grees prohibi-
ted.

It is vncertain
whether the
Iewes doo as
byde in & right
obseruyng of
their lawes.

What the Iewes do in our time I passe not much to know: yea I much doubt of that which Paulus Burgenis taketh vnto him as a thing sure & manifest, namely that the Iewes are at this day most diligent in obseruing of theyr outward lawes. For me thinketh that I shoulde doo well in not geuing to them

more dignity of religion than to Christians. Wherefore as it is manifest inough that we haue for mens traditions very much strayed from the right obseruation of the commaundementes of God, and also from the right knowledge of the scriptures: so is it also lykely that the same hath happened vnto the Iewes, especially in this our age. Wherefore I am not inuisious against them, whē as I wyl not geue more to them, than to our selues. Neuertheles I wil not omit that the Rabines haue added to their prohibited degrees in the law many more as wel in ascending as descending, which I see the most learned man Paulus Fagius hath declared in his annotations vpon Leuit. nether can I be perswaded that they wer added by them for any other cause, but onely because they thought that those degrees wer comprehended in the degrees expessed by God. Wherefore to geue iudgement of any lawfull mariages, that shal not be sufficient in my iudgement, if the degree wherein they are contracted, shal not be prohibited by manifest & proper wordes in the law, neither the order of kindred peruerter, for it maye be that the like degree, & of the same distaunce be forbidden by authority of the law. Neither doth the scripture as far as I can see, alledge in any place & reason concerning peruerter of order, although (as I haue before said) I doo not utterly abspect that reason. Some man peradventure will saye: what matter is it for vs of this age, either to know or els to obserue those preceptes which are contained in the 18. & 20. chap. of Leuit. seeing that we after the coming of Christ are no more bounde to the ciuill lawes of the Iewes: I confesse that the Christians are not bound to the ciuill preceptes of the law: but yet I ascribe those preceptes which are there geue for mariages not to ciuill lawes, but rather to mozal. And I thinke that I maye bring a reason out of the same place to confirme my sentence. For God, when he gaue those lawes, added these wordes therunto: Take hede therefore, that ye defile not your selues with whoredomes & such incestes, as the Gentiles haue done, whom I haue bzauen out of those regions which I haue now geuen vnto you, for for because those nations haue ben polluted with so grieuous wicked actes I haue therefore so destroyed them, & will do so like vnto you, except ye shal diligently auoid those thinges, which I commaund you as touching these euils. I thinke no man will doubt but that the Chananites which receaued not the law by Moyses, neither wer Citizens of the publike wealth of the Israelites, could not by that law be condemned, because they obeyed not the lawes of the Hebrewes. They wer subiect only to the law, which is called mozal. Wherefore seeing God for that cause reproveth them, because they wer defiled with such filthy lustes & incestes, & affirmeth that for the same cause he depzied them both of their lande and lyfe: it is manifest that these lawes must bee loyned not to ciuill preceptes but to mozal, which al men are bound to obserue.

Neuertheles this semeth at the first sight to be against this sentence, because Abraham (a man otherwise most holy) is thought to haue married his Wzother daughter namely Sara. Amram also had Iochabed his aunt to wife, of whom he begat Moyses, Aaron, & Mary. And it semeth that so godly & holy mē would not haue done this, if the mozal law (as we haue saide) had bene against it. To this we answer, first of the law of nature was much blotted by corruption & wickednes, which ouerwhelmed al mankind sone after synne, & for the cause they which contracted such matrimonies, thought peradventure that the same wer lawfull, and therefore although they cannot altogether bee excused by that ignorance, yet it is to be thought that they committed lesse synne, than those which durst do such thinges after the lawe was geuen. I adde moreouer, that amonge the fathers certayne thinges are now and then spoken of, which other men must not take example of, whē as they are sometimes to be interpreted as prerogatiues or certain priueleges geuen to the. But how soeuer it be, we may not (as I thinke) much labour to excuse the fathers in althings. Although I know there be which do say that Sara was not the daughter of Abrahams bzother, but som other way of

The Iewes haue added many other degrees to the degrees expessed of god

What we must haue a respect vnto, in iudging of degrees.

The scripture declareth not by manifest wordes the peruerter of order, which is to be taken heede of in mariages.

The Chananites are reproveth because they had defiled the selues with incest

Abraham & Amram seeme to haue married prohibited wyues.

The law of nature was darkned by synne.

It is not certayne whether Abraham & Amram married prohibited wyues.

Cap. I. A Commentarie vpon the

kyn, and therfore she might be called his sister after the auncient maner of speaking, as though she were of some kindred vnto him, but yet not so nere kyn, but that they might mary together. And in like maner they say of the kindred of Amram and Iochabed. But I wyl omit these thinges, seing that the whole matter may be made playne by these two kinde of answers befoze alledged.

The ten comādementes were blotted in the hartes of men befoze the law.

Plato.

Jerome.

matrimony

It might also be demaunded, if the pzeceptes of Patrimonye be mozell, and pertaine to the lawe of Nature, why God woulde also constitute them in hys lawes: Bycause the lyght of nature was come to that poynt that it was not sufficient, the brightnesse of it was daylye moze and moze blotted in the hartes of men: which thing both manifestly appeare not onely in these, but also in the tenne commaundementes, where it is commaunded that men should abstayne from theft and murther, and yet we reade in hystories that robbing on the sea, and also on the lande got suche dominion, that they were counted ful of honour and dignity. Plato in hys fyft booke of lawes thought, that concerning pzeccation of chyldezen we should abstayne from Mothers, Graundmothers, and the degrees aboue them. Again from Daughters, Piepes, & degrees beneath them. But as for other persons be made free. Hierome testifieth in his seconde booke against Iouiniane, that the Scottes in his tyme had no certaine mariages, but they accompanied with their women as they lusted them selues, even suche as came first to hande. He sayth mozeouer, that the Medes, Indians, Ethiopes, and Persians confusedly contracted Patrimonyes with their mothers, sisters, daughters, and Piepes: which semeth neuerthelesse to disagree with that which Heroditus writeth of the Persians. For Cambyces (as he testifieth) desired to marie hys sister, for the which thing he asked counsel of his Lawyers and wyse men, and demaunded of them whether that matrimony wer lawfull or no. To whom they answered, that they in dede had no law, by the which it myght be lawfull for the Brother to marie the Sister, but yet they had an other law among them, whereby it was lawfull for the king of the Persians to do what so euer him selfe lusted. Surely they answered wel in their first part of their answer, but in the latter part they most filthily flattered the tyranne. Whobeyt the thyngs whych are writen by this Hystoriographer (although sometymes he wypte fables) and those thinges which Jerome writeth, vary not. Bycause the vulgare people being now corrupted with fylthy and wycked custome, contracted suche matrimonyes, the wyser sorte neuerthelesse, in whom the lawe of nature dyd shyne, vnderstoode that the same were not lawfull, althoughe beyng blynded wth concetousnes they abstained not from them. Whom Paule to the Romaines hath greuously reprehended, saying: which men, though they knowe the righteousnes of God, not onely doo suche thinges, but also haue pleasure in them that do them. And these matrimonyes by their own nature are so well known to be vnlawfull, that they dyue an exceeding great hozroure into them whych do beare that such thinges haue bene done: yea and they them selues which haue commytted the same, when their lust allwaged, seemed to abhorre those whom they haue polluted. The Poetes make mencion of Cynara and Myrrha hys daughter, both after the father vnderstoode that he had accompanied wth hys daughter, yea, euen vnwares so hated her, that he persecuted her al that euer he might. Ammō beganne so to hate hys syster Thamra whom he had defyled, that he commaunded her to bee violently thrust out of hys syght. Thou shalt also neuer almoste fynde if thou looke in hystories, that incestuous mariages or carnal copulations came to good ende. Ptholomey kyng of Egypt tooke to wyfe by fraude and guile hys syster Euridices, which the Hystoriographers and especially Iustine haue manifestly set forth to haue had pl successe. Anthonius Caracalla who maried hys stepmother, and Nero whych committed fylthy fornication with hys mother, came not onely to a most unhappye ende, but accordyng to their desertes they were wonderfully hated of the people, and were openly called Spōsters of humang

Incestuous persons haue after ward abhorred those who they haue polluted.

Cynara & Myrrha,

Incest almost haue euer had horrible endes. Ptholomey.

Anthonius Caracalla. Nero.

mane nature. Wherefore we graunt both, that these commandmentes which do prohibite those sinnes pertain to the law of nature, and were soz iust cause renewed by God in his mozell lawes.

It may also be manifestly pough declared by an other reason, y incestuous mariages were forbidden by the light of nature, seing that they were earnestly forbidden by the Romane lawes, which were counted among the excellentest & honestest lawes, & these by name, wherby any man should marrye his niepce by the brother. Although Claudius Cesar whē he would marry his brothers daughter Agrippina, caused the syll law to be abrogated, and to be decreed that enery man might haue his brothers daughter to wife. But there was neuer a one at Rome except it were one or two which would follow his example. And y Romaines obserued the first law which was most honest. Nevertheless we muste vnderstand, y diuerse persons were prohibited by the lawes of the Romanes, of whom the law of god hath made no mention, and yet their prohibition was not without a reason. Wherefore the Citizens of Rome were bound to obserue the, although by the light of nature they could see no cause why they should so doe, which lawes were wont to be called a peculiar kinde of lawes, because it semeth to be priuate for certain places. I will make the thing moze plaine by examples. The Romaines would not as it is written in Codice that matrimonies shoulde be contracted betwene the tutor and pupill committed to his charge. Bycause they saw that this would easely come thereby, that that tutor which had consumed his pupils goodes, least he should be compelled after his tutorship to render accompt of those goodes, might sollicite the mayden to mariage, which being obtained, he should be free from geuing accompt of her goodes. This surely was a good law, but yet it was not perfectly obserued. Cicero otherwise a graue man, was euill spoken of for the same cause: for being farre in other mens debt, when he had forsake his wife Terence, he married his pupill, of whose goodes & affayres he had charge ouer as a tutor.

The Romanes decreed also, that no president of any prouince should take to wife eyther to himselfe or to any of his, any out of the same prouince wherein he gouerned. For they knew right wel, that it might so happen, that the Pretor Proconsul, or President in a prouince cleaving to his families and kynfolke coming to him by his wife, might make new tumultes, and at length be alienated from the publique wealth. They saw also a great danger to hang thereon, least he should not be iuste and seuer in geuing iudgement, because he woulde gratifie his kynfolke moze than others. Lastly mariages shoulde not haue remayned at libertie in prouinces, because Magistrates might in a manner compel the of the prouince to contracte matrimonies either with theselues, or w their friends. We see also this most honest law violated. For Felix which gouerned Iewrye vnder Nero, as it is written in the xliii. chap. of the actes of the Apostles, had Drusilla a Jewe to wife. But what neede I rehearse that these lawes of a small weyght were not obserued, whē as that people had shakē of, even those lawes which we called mozell and are known by y law of nature? Cicero declareth in his oratio for Cluentius, y one Salsia a most wicked womā, was so prouoked w filthy lust, y she instigated her sonne in law Aurius Melinus, to whō she had before married her daughter, to repudiate his wife, wherby he shuld marry her self in stead of her daughter: which thing at y length she got him to do. And whē y dede was counted ful of dishonesty, yet was it not punished by the lawes, neither do we rede that y matrimony, whiche Cicero contendeth to be contracted by no good grounds, by no authoys, & altogether vnluckely, was dissolved by y power & commandement of y magistrates. Wherefore hereof cometh agood reason also, why god would againe inculcate by a law those things whiche by y light of nature were iudged honest. For y bonds, barres, & windowes of nature, were broke by y impotent lust of mē, therfore it was necessary they should be bound w an other bond

Romaine lawes forbade y marriage of the brothers daughter.

The Romaine lawes in prohibiting marriages had certain lawes not mentioned by God.

The tutor might not marry his pupill.

Cicero.

A president myght not marry a wife of his prouince.

Felix had a Jewe to his wife.

Cicero.

The monstrous lust of Salsia.

Matrimonyes
ought not to be
contracted in
contrary religio
Augustine.

The pope hath
griuously sin-
ned concerning
these lawes.

She that is
left of a kunn-
man ought to
be maried.

For the Israelites were no more shamefast in keeping of natural honestye, than were the Romaines. Neither is this to be left out, that god had certayne proper things in his law, whiche may be called peculiar thinges: for all men were not bound vnto the by the lawe of nature, but the Hebrewes onely. For he woulde not haue them to contract matrimony with the Chananites, Hamorrites, Iebusites, &c. And other people seme not to haue bene bounde to the law, neither should we at this day (if there were such nations still,) be letted, but that we might soyne our selues in matrimony with them. Although the cause of the law, ought at this day to be holden: which cause is, that matrimonyes shoulde not be contracted with them which be of a contrary religion. For it is not conuenient that the Godlye shoulde be soyned with the vngodly. I know that Augustine writeth concerning vnlawfull marriages to Pollentius in the second booke and of the Sermon of the Lord vpon the Mountaine, that there is not a place in the new Testament, wherin by expresse wordes, matrimonyes with infidels are prohibited. But of this matter I will not write much at this present, seeing that I haue largely entreated of it in the Epistle to the Corinthians. This will I saye moreouer, that a good man ought in contracting of matrimonyes, to follow chiesly that which is honest, and not lightly to depart fro commendable orders & vsuall customes which are not agaynst the word of god. And if there happen peradventure any doubt, let him not thinke it much to aske counsell of his magistrate, otherwise he shal rashly put both himselfe, his wife and his childzen to daunger. For if he be maried in any of the degrees prohibited by the peculiar law, he shal not then be counted a husband, but a whozemonger, and his wife a harlot, & their childzen bastardes. Howbeit the magistrate, although concerning matrimony he maye forbid certayne other contracts besides those which God hath forbidden, yet can he not, neither ought he to remitt any of those which God hath commaunded, & whiche he hath prohibited by his law, yea he must most diligently see that he burthen not the people to much, or without an earnest cause, as we see the Pope hath done, who hath two wayes sinned in this thing: first in that he durst vsurpe the office of making of lawes in a common wealthe, which vndoubtedly pertaineth not vnto him, Secondly because in his lawes he followed not the word of god, but without reason forbade first all degrees euen to the seventh, which when he saw afterward was not obserued, and all was full of confusion, he cut of his prohibitions to the fourth degree. In which thing he is yet constant & hardened, if there come no money in, but if money be offered (wherof he must haue much brought hym to fill his filthy cofers) he setteth at libertie as pleaseth him, both his own lawes and the word of god.

This we must also knowe, that God had in his lawes an other decree whiche may lawfully be called peculiar, because it extendeth no way to other nations, neither ought it to be in force at all tymes. And that was, that when any husband deceased without childzen, the brother which remained on liue, or some other next of kynne, should mary the first mans wife left, so that the first child which shoulde be begotten of that marriage shoulde be counted the sonne of hym that was dead, and shoulde fully succede him as touching his inheritance. For God would not in that publique wealthe, that men shoulde altogether be extinguished, and he provided that the same distinction of landes shoulde be kepte as much as might be. And seeing the same is not vsed in our publique wealthes, neither hath God commaunded that it shoulde, it therfore pertaineth nothing vnto vs. Wherfore we must keepe oure selues vnder the generall and common lawe, namely that no man presume to mary the wife of his brother being dead although he dyed without childzen.

Let vs also knowe that in the beginning, when onely the familie of Adam liued on the earth, brethren were not forbidden as they were afterwarde

For brethren were diuened of necessity to marry their sisters. But afterward when men were increased in number, shame shewed it selfe forth, and they began by the instigation of God, or by nature, either to abstayne from prohibited persons, or at the least to know that such consunions were full of ignominy. But what tyme they began first to abstaine, it appeareth not by the history. Peraduenture the Heathen Poetes haue declared that necessity of the elders whych compelled the sample of the first Parentes to constrain the brother to marry the sister, when as they fable that their Gods had their sisters to wyues: for the chiefe of them, namelpe Jupiter had Iuno, whych in Virgil speaketh thus of her selfe: But I whych walke the Quene of the Gods both syller and wyfe to Jupiter.

The Gods of the Heathen married their sisters.

And although the woorde of God, and instinte of nature were sufficient by them selues to make vs to abstayne from the foresayde consunions, yet are there many good causes of prohibition alledged by diuers wyters. Augulline in his. xv. booke De ciuitate dei. xvi. chap. writeth that the same abstinence was very profitable to dilate moze amplye the bondes of humane fellowship.

Causes why manye degrees in mariages are forbidden. Augulline.

For if mariages should be included wpyth in the walles of one family, there should come no kynreds with others. Furthermoze, it is not meete, that one and the selfe man should occuppe the persons of diuers kynredes, namelpe that one man should be both vncle and husband of one woman, and the same woman to be both Aunt and wyfe of one man. Which reason Cicero also hath touched in his syft booke De finibus, and also Plutarch in his. 108. pobleme. And they being both Ethnickes could not haue sene this but being illustrate by the light of nature. This also is the thirde reason, because these persons, from whom we should abstain, do dwel together often tymes in one house. Wherefoze if there should be manye married folkes together, they woulde not vse them selues so grauelye and seuerely as domestical shamesfastnes requirerh. Plutarch in the place before sayde, hath set forth two other reasons, besydes those which we haue declared: One is, because betwene kynnsfolkes, discordes are to be feared. For they woulde soone complayne that the right of kynred should be taken away: whych saying I doo vnderstand thus, if eyther she or he which should overskyp the nearer degree, and marry with the degree farther of, she which were nearer woulde thinke that she had iniury done vnto her, as though in overskipping her, he woulde put her to shame: as it is a common vse in wylls and Testamentes, where they which are nyghest of kynne maye not noz oughte not to bee forgotten of hym which maketh the wyll. And in the lawe for rayfing by seede to the brother already deceased, the syft place must be geuen to the nyghest of kynne, who if hee refused to vse his right, was made ashamed, as that law doth moze amplye declare the same. Wherefoze seying discordes betwene al men are to be abhorred, much moze are they vtterly to be detested betwene kynnsfolkes. Plutarch also bringeth an other reason, because women are weake, and therefore they haue neede of many & sundry patrones, wherefoze when they are married to strange men, if they should be euill handled by their husbandes, as often tymes they are, they haue al their kynnsfolkes easely for Patrones: but if they be wyues to their owne kynnsfolkes, and happen to be euill entreated of them, they should then haue very fewe to defende their cause. For other kynnsfolkes woulde not bee so ready, for their sakes to fall out with their owne kynne, which they woulde not be greued to doo wpyth strangers.

Plutarch. The causes of strife betwene kynnsfolkes ought to be cut of.

Women for that they are weake ought not to haue their patronies diminished but increased.

But nowe that I am in hande wpyth Plutarch, I remember that whych he hath wpytten in the syft pobleme, and I thinke it is vnprofitable to declare it, although it seme to disagree from that whych Augulline wpyteth in his. xv. booke De ciuitate dei. xvi. chapter of the matrimony of Brothers and sisters chyldren. For he affirmeth there, that before his tyme, the same was lawfull, although those kynndes of mariages semed very rare, because men after a sorte

Of the matrimony of brethren and sisters chyldren. Plutarch.

Cap. I. A Commentary vpon the

eschewed to contrakte with persons so nigh: but he saith that ϕ licence was afterward taken away. Which I surely can not perceave in ϕ Romane lawes, which were publikely receaved & allowed: which yet wer used thorough out Aphrica. Wherefore it maye seme obscure to some of what lawes Augustine speaketh, wherby he sayth that in his time those kindes of matrimonyes were prohibited. But we must understand, that in his time the law of Theodosius the elder was of force, who was the fyrst among the Emperours that I know of, which prohibited matrimonye of this degree. Which also Aurelius Victor and Paulus Diaconus do testifie. And that is found at this day writte in the booke called Codex Theodosianus, concerning incestuous mariages, by these wordes. Let this sentence remaine concerning them, whosoever from henceforth shall defyle hymself with the mariage of his cousin Germaine, or of his sisters daughter, or of his brothers daughter, or of his wifes daughter, lastly of al whose mariage is forbidden and condemned. But that law is not in these dayes found in ϕ Digestes, neither in the booke of the Code, nor in the Authentikes. Which neuerthelesse Clother the king followed, as it is red in the lawes of the Almaines, entituled of vnlawfull mariages, yea and it is confirmed by the ecclesiasticall Canons and decrees in Gracian. 35. Question the second and third, also by the counsel of Agathen in the 61. Canon. And Gregorye the fyrst in the same place is found to be of the same opinion in the chap. Quidam ex Romana, &c. This answereth to the sixth interrogation of Augustine Bishop of Cantorbury, and affyrmeth that those which be ioyned by the degree of cousin Germaines, ought to abstaine from contracting of matrimony one with an other. Yea and long before Gregorye his time, Ambrose hath in his 66. Epistle ad Paternum, condemned the mariage of bethzens children, & he testifieth that it was forbidden by the law of Theodosius which I haue also brought. And if I should vse coniecture, I thinke Theodosius did it by the perswasion of Ambrose, who had a singular respecte to publique honestie. Neither was that law so seuer at that time, but that sometimes it might be released as he declareth in that Epistle to Paternus. In that Ambrose affyrmeth there that such mariages were prohibited by Gods lawe, It can be made probable to none, which shall attentively consider the wordes of the law of god, and doings of the fathers. How the Romanes haue behaued themselves, toward their cousins, as concernyng matrimonyes in the old time, this I haue obserued Ligustine sayth in the 2. booke and 5. decade of Liuy, that his father gaue him his Uncles daughter to wife. Cicero also writeth in his oration for Cluentius, that Cluentia had lawfully maryed her cousin Germaine M. Aurius. And M. Antonius the Philosopher tooke to wife Faustina his cousin Germaine, as Iulius Capitolinus testifieth. And before Rome was builded the mariages of Turnus and Lavinia were in hand, which came of two sisters. Howbeit Plutarch writeth in the place aboue mentioned, that at the fyrst when Rome was builded, it was forbidden by a lawe, that they whiche were nigh of kinne shoulde not marrye together. But yet he writeth that the lawe for bethzen and sisters children, was vpon this occasion released, because a certayne man being both honeste, and also well beloued of the people of Rome, when he was greuously oppressed with pouertye toke to wife his sisters daughter which was ryche, and welthye, for the whiche cause he was accused of incest. But the matter being decided, he was quyt by the iudgemente of the people of Rome: for he was greatly fauoured in the cite. Then after that, it was decreed by the consent of the people of Rome that from thence forth it shoulde be lawfull for bethzen and sisters children to marry together. These thinges I thought good to declare of this kinde of matrimonye both out of Gods lawes, and the old & new lawes of the Romanes, and also out of the fathers and ecclesiasticall Canons.

Wher-

Whereunto I will adde that there be very many Cities professing the gospel which do not admitte the marriages of brethren and sisters children, as Surike, Berna, Basile, Schapulin, Sangallum, Biema, &c. In the kingdome also of England when I was there, that degree was excluded from matrimony. Wherefore in places where the magistrate forbiddeth these marriages the faithful ought for those causes which I have before declared to abstaine from them.

But now I will go to the present matter, If Othniel as I have before sayd were cousin unto Achsa, he might marry her by the lawe of God: but if he were her brother, it was not lawfull by the comon lawe. But he married her. Wherefore we must needs saye one of these two things: either that it was a faulte, for the fathers as we have before sayd were not alwayes free from sinne: or elles that god would haue this done by a priuilege or certain prerogative, which we may not for all that take example by. Neither is this to be forgottē, that after the accustomed manner of Scriptures, they which were any way of kinne together were called brethren, as Loth is called the brother of Abraham, & the kinsfolkes of Iesus Christ the sonne of God are called in the history of the gospel his brethren. So may it also be in this place that Othniel may be called the brother of Chaleb, when as he was but only some other waye of kinne vnto him. And the interpreters do vse this exposition oftentimes, which I would not disallow, but if I se this particle in the text, The younger, which is not wont to be added, but when sisters and brethren in dede are compared together. But now will I go to other things which are to be considered in this history.

Kinsfolkes in scriptures are called brethren

Chaleb had promised him which should conquer the citie of Debir, his daughter to wife. What if any wicked persone had performed that, should he by the vertue of the promise haue ben made his sonne in lawe of Chaleb: surely it seemeth not. For what other thing had this ben, than to bettaye his daughter: Wherefore it may appeare that he promised rashly. For a wise man ought to foresee those things which might happen. Now be it we must consider that there were not at that tyme such wicked and flagitious men among the Israelites, for as long as those elders lyued, which gouerned the publique wealth together with Iosua, as it shalbe declared in this history, the people feared god. Wherefore it folloiweth, that they vsed to put those to death by the lawe which were guiltie of very grieuous crimes. Wherefore there was no daunger lest any such man should conquer the citie, to whom for that act Hacalah should be given to wife of due tye. But if there remayned certaine smal and common faultes in him which had conquered it, the same might be recompenced by his other vertues. For there is is none so absolute and perfect, but that some times he may fal. Wherefore there were some hope of amendement of life. And the conquerour might be so nigh of kynne, as peradventure this Othniel was, that he could not marry the daughter of Chaleb. Wherefore it seemeth that at the least in that part it was a rash promise. But I do not thinke it can be accused of rashnesse, for as much as all promises ought among the godly so farre forth to be of force, as they do agree with the word of god, which thing if Iephe had diligently considered, he would neuer haue suffered hym selfe to haue committed so vnworthy things agaynst his daughter. This condition surely in all couenants and promises ought to be counted for a most constant rule.

Whether Chalebs promise were a rash promise.

A constant rule of all humane promises.

We gather also hereby, that it is lawfull to go about a wife by iust wayes and meanes, as we se Othniel now to haue done: and as also holy David did, who did not only kill Goliath the giant, but also he gaue Saule an hundred forty kynges of the Philistines, for the obteyning of Michol to wife. We are hereby taught also, that wise parentes ought to seke them a sonne in lawe, not by riches not by power or nobilitie, but by vertue. Now of days they do not so, and therefore the miserable daughters are very often tymes betrayed by their parentes, and very many marriages haue unhappy successe. Wherefore I can not discom-

A man by iust meanes may go about a wife.

Howe a sonne in lawe should be sought.

mend

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The sayeng of Themistocles. mend the sayeng of Themistocles, who being demaunded why he had preferred a poore man to be his sonne in law befoze a riche and wealthy man, he aunswere: that he had rather haue a sonne in law whiche wanted money, thā to haue money wanting a man.

It is lawfull to set rewardes for good dedes. We learne mozeouer by this hystory, that it is lawfull for princes to stirre vp men contragiously to enterpryse honest actes, and whiche they ought otherwise of dutye to haue done, to set forth vnto them some rewardes. For we see that Chaleb did so now, and also Saul, when he promised his daughter to hym whiche could kill Goliath, and we remember Christ hath promised them an hundred fold in this life, whiche for his sake should leaue father and mother, children and brothers. Wherfoze we must knowe that good & honest actions, are by them selues sufficient to be sought for, so much as in this worlde nothing can happen moze sweeter, thā to obey god, & with a good conscience to be ioyned vnto him, in liuing vprightly accoꝝding to his commaundementes. Wherfoze admitte we should obtayne no other thing, yet a sufficient reward & gayne should be rendred vnto vs, if we may haue a quiet and pacified conscience, and be inwardly filled with spirituall ioye, but god (such is his goodnesse) would mozeouer set forth vnto vs giftes and rewardes. For he seeth the disposition & nature of a mā to be feable and slowe to all thinges that be good, healthfull and honest: he would therfoze stirre vp the same by promising manifold & sonndy rewardes, whiche kinde of remedy we had not needed, if we had continued perfect and absolute, as we were created. Alho I pray you, nedeth with reward to be stirred vp to drinke whē he is thursty, or to eate whē he is hungry? surely no body. Wherfoze neither nede men, if they hungred and thursted for righteousnesse, (as they ought to do) a reward to stirre them vp to it. A mother also vseth not to be intised with rewardes to geue sucke, to feede, and care for her oꝝwn child, that it perish not. Wherfoze the promises of god are therfoze necessary vnto men, because they by reason of synne haue wared colde from a vehement affection and zeale toward godly and holy woꝝkes, we be altogether dull and sluggish to the offices of godlinesse and righteousnesse: wherfoze God of his gentlenesse would adde spurres of promises: which appeareth most manifestly in the law, where almost for euery commaundement are both threatninges & also promises added. Wherfoze seing holy men haue done this oftentimes, seing also the lawe of God hath done so, and the same is found in the new testament, we may conclude without doubte that it is lawfull. For then is that whiche we do, to be allowed, when it agreeth with the example of god him selfe, and rule of the scriptures, or els with the excellent actes of holy men.

Why God set forth rewardes and giftes.

Promises and threatnynges are added in lawe to the commaundements.

Whether it be lawfull to do good for rewardes sake.

How mā is appointed, to an end.

But now must we se, whether he whiche doth good woꝝkes, and perfoꝝmeth y^e whiche he is bounde to do by the lawe of God, ought to be moued with hope of the reward, or whether rather he should only haue a regard to goodnesse, righteousnesse and gods pleasure? To aunswere to this question, I thinke that thys must be the first grounde, that a man is not only appoynted to some certein end, whē as god doeth nothing rashly or by chaunce, but also he is appoynted to many endes, which neuerthelesse are so ioyned together, y^e they do mutually serue and helpe one an other by a certein oꝝder. First we are created to set forth the gloꝝy of God: then that by the sight and perfect knowledge of God we shoulde come to be happy: and that whilest we liue here, we should lyue together among our selues in an acceptable fellowship to God. Souldiours do therfoze beare weapons and make warres, to defende honest and iust causes, and that in that soꝝte by whiche God in his lawes hath commaunded to be defended, which men mozeouer ought so to be encouraged to bzing this thing to passe, that though there were no other reward or gift comming vnto them, yet ought they to enterpryse it. Mozeouer men vse to fight to defend their country, wiues, children, kinnsfolkes, & friendes. And if so be that they besides these looke for iust skippes, whereby

whereby they may honestly noyſſe both the ſelues & theirs, no man will counte that for a vice in them. For the Apoſtle hath ſayd in the firſt Epiſtle to the Cor. Who goeth on warfarre at his owne coſt? But now to deſcend to things moze particular, when any mā tempereth him ſelfe from any grienous wicked act, he ought to do y firſt to the extent he may obey the cōmaundementes of God, as it is mete. Then that therby he may eſcape either eternal oꝝ ciuile puniſhementes. Moreover that he may not offend the myndes of the byethzen, and plucke them backe from a holy conuerſation and pure liſe, by his wicked example, and finally that by his wickedneſſe he prouoke not the wrath of God, either againſt him ſelfe oꝝ his familie, oꝝ againſt the people. Wherefoze it is maniſeſt, that the end of our actions is not ſimple, but ſundry and manifolde.

For what things we may auoyde wicked actes.

And this being thus finiſhed and concluded, we muſt diligently take hede, that when many endes are ſet befoze vs, we may preferre that befoze the reſt, whiche by good right excelleth the reſt. For if it ſhould be otherwiſe done, and if thoſe thinges whiche are hindermoſt and of ſmaller valew ſhould be preferred befoze the better, we ſhould be iuſtly condemned for peruerting the oꝝder of thinges. Wherefoze we muſt take hede, that we direct not God him ſelfe oꝝ the woꝝſhipping of him, either to our owne commoditie, oꝝ els to any other endes.

Whiche end is to be preferred befoze the reſt.

For the ſhould that ſurely happen vnto vs whiche Auguſtine doth ſo ſoze deteſt, y we ſhould haue the fruition of thoſe thinges whiche we only ought to uſe, & contrariwiſe we ſhould uſe thoſe thinges whiche we ſhould haue the fruition of, than whiche peruerſeneſſe in humane actions no worſe thyng cā be thought. Wherefoze when it is demaunded, whether it be lawfull in well doyng to haue a reſpect to the gayne oꝝ rewarde. We can not well deny but y it is lawfull: ſoz as much as god him ſelfe hath promiſed a rewarde to them whiche lyue godly: neſther did

Auguſtine.

What is the chief peruerſeneſſe of humane actions.

God that for any other cauſe thā by his giſtes and allurements to ſtirre vp men to iuſt, good, godly and holy woꝝkes. But although we do not vniuſly in hauing a regarde vnto the rewarde offered vs by God, whē we are occupied in good woꝝkes: yet this is diligently to be taken hede of, that we be not moued onely by cauſe of the rewarde whiche is offered vs. Neſther is this ſufficient, ſoz if a mā would ſay that he would in doing good both obtayne the rewarde ſet forth, and by the ſame woꝝke obey God, he muſt take hede, that he attribute not the chief partes to the giſt oꝝ rewarde, by cauſe alwayes (as I haue already ſayd) that among the endes eche of them as he is moze excellent by nature, ſo ought it to be preferred in the firſt place. And in this there nedeth a ſingular diligence: by cauſe it oftentimes happeneth, that we deceaue our ſelues, ſaiſy ſuppoſing that nothing is moze excellent oꝝ dearer to our mindes than god, from whom neuertheleſſe we are by litle and litle withdrauen and plucked backe by reaſon of too much deſire and delite of rewarde oꝝ giſt. Wherefoze it after ward happeneth, that we come to great miſeries therby: For when god perceaueth y we moze eſtyme thoſe thinges, whiche ought to be of leſſe eſtimation with vs, he withdraueth them away, leſt they ſhould moze and moze plucke vs away from him. Whiche thing happened many tymes to the Iſraelites, fro whom God ſometymes toke away riches, libertie, and the promiſed lande, to call them agayne to him ſelfe, whom they leſſe eſtimated than their riches, poſſeſſions, and alſo Idols. Wherefoze thoſe thinges being marked and obſerued whiche I haue rehearſed, I doubt not but that it is lawfull ſoz godly men after the ſincere & earneſt deſire of God to do good ſoz rewarde and giſt.

Neither is the rewarde onely to be deſired, neither y chief partes muſt be aſcribed vnto it

If we preferre other things be ſoze god we incurre into grienous puniſhementes.

Neſther am I ignorant that Bernarde wiſteth in his litle booke of louyng of God, that charitie by it ſelfe can not be empty, although it behold no rewarde. &c. By which woꝝds he putteth vs in mynde of two thinges: both that y woꝝkes of charitie in them ſelues haue ſo much delectatiō, pleaſure and commoditie, as may be ſufficient ſoz them whiche lyue well, although of that their well doyng they ſhould haue no other rewarde geuen them of God. And that we in louyng of

Bernarde.

of God should looke for no other reward, but this, that he according to his goodnesse wil not suffer, but faithfully to render those things which are to be rendered vnto vs. And therfore no man ought chiefly to be moued with the desyre of the rewarde. And he addeth, that he doth farre preferre the loue of the wyse toward her husband before the loue and obeyssaunce wherewith the children loue the father. For as much as the sonnes do so loue their father, because they hope they shal be enriched of him by his inheritance: wherfore their loue (as he thinketh) is not so pure. But the wise if she be such a one as she ought to be, she wisheth good to her husband for his owne cause and his owne sake, although she hopeth or looketh to obtayne no good at his hand. Many haue thought that the sentence of this father ought to be allowed, & haue gone about to make playne the same by a certain distinction not so circumspectly inuited by them in my opinion: for they affirme that we may measure God or his nature by our worthynes, or that we may beholde him, according as our perfection & brightness is. Whereouer they say that we must do what soeuer we do, for his sake in the first consideration, and not in respect that he is our chief goodnesse and felicitie. And this they thinke that Bernarde ment by the wordes now alledged. For they bying these wordes which he writeth in another place, namely that he suspected al that loue wherewith we loue any thing besides God. But these men do not marke that by this distinction, which is founde out rather by the iudgement of men, than by the veritie of the Scriptures, that they are agaynst the sentence of God. For he sayd vnto Abraham as it is written in Gen. I am thy reward and that very ample: walke thou therfore before me, & be perfect, vndoubtedly by these wordes God offereth him selfe vnto vs, not imagined by him selfe, or plucked away from our commodities, but in respect that he is our rewarde.

A comparison of the loue of the children & of the wife.

We must worship god also in that he is our felicitie & blessednesse.

To looke for a rewarde set forth vnto vs by God is not only of such as are imperfect.

Augustine.

We may loue gayne and rewarde for gods sake.

Whereouer, as I sayd now at the first, god would not adioyne promises, gifts and rewardes to his commaundementes, in vayne or without effect, but aduisedly and moste wisely. Did he that I praye thee that we should close our eyes and ouerskip them? I thinke not. Neither canst thou say that they serue for the ruler sorte, and such as be not yet absolute and perfect: for I will demaunde straight waye of thee, whether Abraham, Moyses, Dauid, the Prophetes and Apostles were not so perfect, as either the nature of men in this life can be, or is required of vs: If thou wilt say they were imperfect, then can not I tell what excellencye or perfection of men thou saynest to thy selfe. Paul certainly setteth forth him selfe vnto others as a perfect man, in such sorte, as a man may in this lyfe be perfect, when he wote he ye perfect as I am perfect. I speake not how the Scripture yea god him selfe pronounceth Moyses to be most meeke, he commendeth Dauid also that he was made according to his will and harte. Wherfore if thou wilt graunt that these were notable excellent and perfect men (as men may be in this world) neither canst thou deny the promises and rewardes offered to them of god. This without doubt followeth that men of the excellent sorte may in well lyuing and doying lift vp their eyes to the rewarde.

And I thinke Augustine hath trimely made manifest this thing where as he sayth in his booke of confessions, he loueth thee not (speaking to God) whiche loueth any thing besides thee, which he loueth not for thy sake. By these wordes is gathered, that we may loue gayne and rewardes for gods sake: for it is lawfull to embrace the meane endes for the last and chief goodnesse. Neither are we forbidden but that we may sometymes wishe for meat, drinke, and cloth, and such thinges as are nedefull for this lyfe, yea and Christ hath commaunded by expresse wordes that we should aske them, and he hath promised them to those whiche seke for the kyngdome of God: for he hath sayd, first seke the kyngdome of God and these thinges shal be ministred vnto you. Wherfore it is true, that these may be so hoped for, regarded and receaued of God as gifts and rewardes, and not as the principall thinges. For they also are to be referred to a farther end,

end, according to Pauls most wholesome admonition, who hath written: whether we eat, or whether we drinke, or whether we do any other thing, let vs do it to the glory of God. And finally saying God him selfe, his glory, beneuolence & fauour are the roote and foundation of other promises, and of every rewarde, so often as we shall beholde these other thinges, for as much as they are comprehended in those former thinges, we must neuer suffer to haue one separated from an other, but in the latter continually looke vpon those whiche are first. Wherby as Augustine hath geuen vs counsell, we shall loue nothing besides God which for his sake we should not loue. And thus much of this said question, now we will returne to the history. For as muche as it is now manifest that it was lawfull for Chaleb to set forth a rewarde to all them, whiche should conquer the citie of Debir, to encourage them to performe that, whiche they ought other wise of duty to haue done: it was counted no sinne in Othoniel (of whome we now entreate) couragiously to fight for the obtayning of a wife, whiche he knew other wise to be acceptable to God.

14 And it came to passe, as he went, she moued him, to aske of her father a fiede and she lighted of her Asse, and Chaleb sayde vnto her: What wilt thou?

15 And she answered him, geue me a blessing, for thou hast geuen me a drye lande, geue me also springes of water. And Chaleb gaue her springes both aboue and beneath.

In the xv. chap. of Iosua, where all these thinges of Achsah and Othoniel are rehearsed in maner, by so many wordes, onely thre differences are perceaued in the word. One is, that which is here Techitioth and Alioth, is there Techitith & Alich. Moreover there it is said Tinnah & here is Hicah. Lastly there is Scadah & here is Hachadah. R. D. Kimhi hath noted these thinges. For the interpreters of Hebrewes are most precise, yea in obseruing the very prickles, I would they were as quicke in sight & diligent in rendering reasons of annotations. Hachlah persuaded & prouoked her husband, to aske the field of Chaleb her father, which I therefore tell you, because the Latine translation is corrupted. For it hath that the husband persuaded the wife to aske the field of Chaleb. Furthermoze by this we may consider the sharpenesse of the witte of a woman. She therefore moueth her husband, to aske the field, because she was persuaded with her selfe, that her father would not deny him that whiche he should aske. She thought moreover that if her husband obtayned the field, she should easely by her selfe afterward obtayne the waters, whereas if she should haue asked them both at one time (namely the field and the waters) it might peraduenture be hard to obtayne both together. But if the field were first geuen to her husband, her father might be contented very hard, if he should deny his daughter the waters, she requiring the of him. And in asking she wisely watched a fittetye, namely when she should be brought to her husband: for then parents are wont to shewe the selues more gentle towards their childre, when they see y they shalbe by & by taken fro the. Wherfore thought she they were at other times hard, the yet they somewhat relent. In this reason of the petition I haue followed Levi the sonne of Gerson, who expoundeth that Hachlah would therefore haue her husband to aske y ground first y she might the better afterward desire the waters. But R. D. Kimhi, in interpreting of y booke of Iosua, sayth, y he, namely Othoniel would not aske it, wherfore the woman her self was constrained by her selfe to aske her father. And this seemeth to be y meanning of this interpreter, Chaleb had before geue vnto his daughter y field, as laud for her dowry, y soyle wherof was dry & barre, wherfore y witty mayde toke occasio to aske, y it might be fertile throughte water. But howsoeuer it be, it skilleth not much, let vs only deligently marke this, y Chaleb was liberal & honozable. For

what is the foundation of earthly promise.

In latter promises the first are continually to be beholds.

David Kimhi.

The policy of Achsah.

Levi the sonne of Gerson.

D. Kimhi.

Cap. I. A Commentarie vpon the

that he graunted his daughter both the waters above, & the waters beneath.

She lighted of her Asse, & she lighted, to declare her due obeysaunce towar-
des her father, and to make her petition the moze acceptable, and she so lighted
that she kneeled on the grounde with her knees, as the Hebrer word signifieth.
For the Hebrer use that worde, Sanach, when they will signifie a stake or
wedge or any such thyng to be bynne. To be shorte, she asked vpon her knees
those thinges whiche she desired. Rebecka also, as it is written in the booke of
Gen. whē she saue Isaac to whom she was brought for to be hys wife, she light-
ed of her camelle wheron she sat. Neither let vs mervayle that Achsah being

Asses are very
bles in Siria.

Rivers & foun-
tainnes of wa-
ters are muche
set by in Siria
Why & D
brought hys
people to dyte
regions.

the daughter of a pynce rode on an Asse: seing that in Siria Asses are very muche
bles: for this kynd of beast, whiche is of his owne nature cold, is moze bled in
hotter countreys, than in regions towarde the north. And as we shall heare
in this histoye, fifty sonnes of a certain iudge rood vpon fifty Asses. Mephibo-
seth also the nephew of Saul the kynge, and Balaam the Prophete bled this kynd
of beast. Neither is it in bayne that this request for waters is so diligently de-
scribed in this place: for as muche as Siria hath grounde fertile enoughe, but that
it wanteth water here and there. Wherfore it cometh to passe that rivers and
fountainnes of waters are muche esteemed in those places. And God of purpose
brought his people to these so dyte regions, neither would he haue them dwell
in watery places, that they wayting for water might continually depend vpon
hym, and thereby might haue the better occasion, to pray the oftener to the hea-
uenly father, and the moze seruently to obserue his commaundements. Neither
hath God him selfe left this his counsell vnmencioned of in the holy scriptures.

The Hebrer
maydens which
had dowryes
landes, myght
marpe out of
their owne tribe

Such thinges as Chaleb geueth his daughter, belong (as some thincke) either
to the dowry or to the augmentatio therof, whiche might be done by the ciuile
law of that nation. For it was not forbidden, & wiues might not geue ground,
and landes to their husbands in the name of a dowry, so that they marped in
their owne tribe and familie, as now Achsah was geuen to Othniel, who assu-
redly was of the same tribe and familie that she was of. But if she had marped
in an other tribe, it had not ben lawfull for her to geue groundes and landes to
her husband by the name of a dowry. For God had commaunded, and that di-
ligently and precisely, that groundes and landes in especiall commyng by inheri-
taunce should not be alienated from their families for mariages sake. And the
daughters of Zaphed gaue an occasion of this lawe making, as it is written
in the booke of Num. the 27. and 36. chap. For those maydens, hauyng no bze-
thyen, obteyned of God by Moyses, that they might not be put beside their fa-
thers inheritaunce, but that in the deuisiō of the lande of Chanaan those landes
might be assigned vnto them, whiche should haue ben geuen either to their fa-
ther or to their bzythyen. But this was expessedly commaunded them that they
should not marpe out of their owne tribe and familie.

Whether hus-
bandes in the
olde tyme recei-
ued dowryes
of their wyues.

But whether husbands receaued dowryes of their wyues befoze the law, it
is vncertain. The seruaunt of Abraham rather gaue giftes to Rebecka thā recea-
ued, for as muche as he brought with him golden and siluer vessels in the name
of Abraham and Isaac to be geuen to his wife. But there is no mētion made of
the maydens dowry. Jacob also serued for his wyues, so farre was he fro recea-
uyng any thyng of the in the name of a dowry. Seche also the sonne of Hemorh
inordinately louyng Dina the daughter of Jacob, with whome he had commit-
ted fornication, sayd vnto the sonnes of Jacob: Increase her dowry as ye list, &
I will refuse no condition, so that I may haue your sister to wife. How be it I can
not tell, how & custome of the auncient fathers in not taking but geuyng dow-
ries to wyues whiche they should mary, ought to be comēded, yet I thought good
to rehearse those thinges which I haue read of this matter by & way. And to be-
lieue Magadorus of gpn in Magadorus (as it is in Plautus) in his comedy Aulularia when he should
take to wife the daughter of a poore mā, being also without dowry, commen-
deth

Magadorus of
Plautus.

beth bys counsell by these woordes. If (sayeth he) other men would do after my example, the Citie would then be in better concoorde, and enuie should not be so ryse among vs, as it is. They, namely the wiues will feare vs the more, and we shall kepe them with much lesse cost, &c. When I consider these things, they seme to be very wisly spoken. For now & then it happeneth, that one citie is after a sort deuised into two parts, whē as the daughters of pooze men are without hope, to mary with them that be moze riche, either bicause of the smalenesse of their dowery, or els bycause they be altogether without dowery. For they obtrayne that neuer but by a certain happe, or els very rarely. Wherefoze the richer and mightier sorts are much enuied & grievously hated of the poozer sorte. Besides that, wiues that haue good doweries do not feare their husbandes, yea they contemne and despise them, countyng them as vnwozthy to be matched with them in mariage. Lastly their oznaumentes and lustes can not be satisfied but with extreme charges Plutarch sayth in the Apothegmata of Licurgus, whē he was demaunded, why he had comaunded by a law that virgines should mary without dowery, he answered, to the intent some should not be left vnmarried for pouertie sake, or other some should be to much laboured for, and esteemed bycause of their riches, but that euery man diligently considering the manners of the maydens, might chose him a wise by her vertue. He sheweth also in the 30. probleme, that a byde bzought to the bydegromes house onely a distaffe and a spindle. The Decem viri of Rome decreed also, by the lawes of Solon, that a woman should be without a dowery, and should bring from her fathers house onely thze garmentes & also certayne vessels of smal pzece, bycause they would declare that the fellowshipp of mariage is not confirmed by money, but by the loue of childezen. These certainly agree very trimme with that whiche is witten of Paul and Vulpiā in the Pandectes of gifte betwene the husband and the wife. It is witten also of the Egyptians, that if they receaued dowery of theyr wiues, they should be then counted, as their wiues bondemen. Whiche custome did manifestly teache, that it seemeth both full of ignominie, and also vnprofitable, to seke a dowery for wyues, when as nothing is moze noble than liber- tie, and nature hath ordayned that the husband should rule the wife. And it is witten that the Spaniardes had a custome that the wyues should bring to theyr husbandes a distaffe with flaxe on it, in steade of a dowery. I coulde make mention of a great many besides, to shewe, that all the men in the olde time allowed not, that husbandes should haue doweryes geuen them when they married their wyues. But certainly the lawes of God make mention very oftentymes of a dowery. And I am assured that it was vsed somewhere befoze the lawe. In Exodus, he which had defiled a virgin, was bound to mary her, so that her father were content: which if he were not, then was he compelled to geue her a dowery, as the lawe sayth the dowery of virgins is. Furthermoze in the first booke of kinges. ix. chap. Pharaο gaue for a dowery vnto Salomon which had maryed his daughter Gazar, a citie whiche he had taken from the Chananites. Besides this the Romane lawes, whiche otherwise are most ful of equitie of all other lawes, do make much mention of doweryes, and haue many whole titles, in whiche this thing onely is entreated of.

But now seying we are come thus farre, it were good to desygne what a dowery is, that thereby we may the easier knowe, howe much of godly men is to be attributed vnto it in contracting of matrimonyes. A dowery is a right to vse things, whiche are geuen to the husband by his wife, or by others in her name, to sustayne the burthens of matrimonye. And althoughe a dowery be properly sayd a right of vsyng, yet notwithstanding those thynges whiche are geuen vnto the mā, are oftentimes called by this word dowery. But the end is chiefly to be marked in this definition, namely to sustayne the burthens of matrimonye. It semeth also that seying the husband bestoweth very muche in nozysyng his

G. li.

Wife,

Plutarch.



The lawe of Decemviri.

The custome of Egyptians.

The manner of Spaniardes

The definition of a dowery.

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In error con-
cerning dowry

Friendshyppe
grounded on
profit and plea-
sure is weak.

Agaynste to
great dowryes
and such as be
agaynst all ver-
tue & honesty.

Why the dow-
ry ought to re-
mayne for the
wyues.

A dowry is
not the price
of matrimony.

ἄντιδωρον.

wife, and honestly maintaining her, iustice and equitie require that somewhat be recompented vnto him agayne. Wherefore soz as much as a dowry hath this foundation of iustice, there is no doubt but that it is a thing lawfull. But in it is an error not to be suffered, because some are not ashamed to say, that by a dowry conkozde betwene man and wife is the easelier obtayned. This both reason and experience teacheth to be most false. Who is ignorant, that that kinde of amitie whiche hath a respect onely to profit, and whiche is founded only vpon pleasure, is very fraile and transitory? Moreouer experience teacheth, that marriages so contracted that no other thyng be considered but onely beauty of the wife, & the dowry, haue very ill successe. Wherefore those are reprehended by the common prouerbe, Qui vxores oculis & digitis ducunt, such as marry wiues with their eyes and fingers: that is whiche are moued onely with beauty and money. Wherefore iust lawes ought not to take away dowryes, but severely to forbid, that they be not too much encreased, so that they be not contrary to vertue and honesty. Wherefore the Romane lawes commaunded those dowryes to be cut of, whiche were greater than the abilitie of the gener could beare, as it is written in the Digestes of the lawe of dowryes. And contrarywise we must take heed, that the parentes or tutors being overcome with couetousnesse geue not lesse than honesty requireth, as it is written in the title de dote inofficiosa. And because dowryes are geuen to sustayne the burthens of matrimony, those can not be excused, whiche when they haue receaued them of their wiues, are not affeard afterwarde to vse their wyues vnworthily. They be besides that vniuile because they violate the lawe of God, by whiche they ought to loue their wiues as them selues and their owne body, when as they will not conveniently helpe them with their owne goods. Yea there be some, whiche if they were not letted by publique lawes would consume, sell and vtterly alienate their wiues dowryes. And y that should not happen, lawes, chiefly the Romane lawes haue diligently prouided for: for they decree that the dominion of the dowry should remaine with the wiues althoughe the husbands had y fruit & vse thereof as long as y marriage should last. But what, I pray you, shall I say of the, which do suffer so grievous & intollerable burthens of matrimony to be dayly augmented, in too much coking & flattering of their wiues? Surely they sinne most grievously, soz as much as now neither their own patrimony, neither their wiues dowries can be sufficient, they will so abound euery way in ornaments & sumptuousnesse. How best godly husbands & holy wiues ought to appoint all thinges moderately. But why thinck we haue y lawes ordained so many thinges, & by so many ways concerning dowries? Because they would kepe y citizes wout hurt or damage, wher they marry & are ioyned together in matrimony. For it is expedient for the publique wealth, y if the husband do dye, y dowry may remaine whole vnto y wife, wherby if she will she may marry agayne. Or if y wife dye before, y dowry may serue to nourishe, apparell & bying vp the children gotten by matrimony. But thou wilt aske, wherfore are dowries sayd to be geuen by this title to susteyne the burthens of matrimony? Least the same dowry should be counted a price, as though wiues & marriages were thinges to be sold. For whiche selfe cause in the digestes, giftes betwene the husband & the wife are prohibited, namely, that in matrimonyes already contracted, giftes betwene the husband and wyfe should not be receaued. Furthermoze when as diuorcements were geuen by that ciuile lawe, if giftes betwene man and wife had ben lawfull, marriages should most easely haue ben dissolved. For if one of the married would not geue vnto the other as much as he would demaunde, he should by and by haue ben repudiated. The men in dede might geue certayne giftes vnto their wyues before the marriages, whiche were called ioyntures, as some certayne recompencings of the dowry. But when they were once married together, the Romane lawes permitted not that they should geue giftes one to an other. Of whiche thing

thing Plutarch also hath made mention, out of whom neuerthelesse is brought an other reason, that which I shewed to be taken of the lawes. These be the wordes in the 35. & 36. precept of matrimony: Certain bodies are said to consist of seuered things, as an host, & an nauy, other bodies of things ioyned together, as a house and a ship: other some are vnited & congeled together as all liuing creatures are. Wherefore matrimony which consisteth of liuing creatures is vnited and settled together. But the matrimony which consisteth either for dowry sake, or for childen longeth to bodies ioyned together. And the which consisteth for pleasure & carnal copulation, may be numbred among the seuered bodies. For there man & wyfe may be said to dwell together, but not to liue together. And as in liuing creatures the temperatures of humors run through out all the partes: so marriage must mingle bodies, money, frends & kinnsfolkes together. And the maker of the Romane lawes forbade persons coupled in matrimony to take or to geue giftes one to another, not to the entent they should not be partakers of any one thing, but that they should thinke all things to be common, &c. But these things are to be vnderstand of free giftes & not of dowryes, which other wise were both lawfull & also much vsed in the Romane publique wealth. For the daughters of Scipio, Curius and Cincinnatus had dowryes out of the tresor, because of the pouertie of their parentes, to the entent they should not be married without dowryes.

Pea and the generall councill holden at Orleans (as it is rehearsed in the 30. Questi. 5. chap. Nullum sine) decreed that no matrimony should be contracted without a dowry. Let the dowry (sayth it) be according to the habilitie, neither let any person presume to marry but publicly. This Canon I gladly allow in that it condemneth secret mariages: but in that it decreeth that matrimonyes can not be contracted without a dowry, for as much as it is not confirmed by the testimony of the word of God, I can not admit it. For there are & haue bene very many which haue married wiues cleane without any dowry, yea & those men of so great honesty and authority, that it should seme very rash to condemne their fact, seeing the holy scriptures are not against it: neither do I iudge that matrimony should by any meanes be denied to those women which are without dowry, if they haue neede of matrimony. Paule furthermore testifieth, that matrimony shadoweth the continuation of Christ with the church: wherefore if we should looke vpon the truth, the church had nothing which it could offer vnto Christ in the name of a dowry, yea rather (as Ezechiel teacheth) God found it rolled in bloud and myze. The fathers in the old testament seme to haue had wiues sometimes without dowries. Wherefore it semeth to be decreed, that men may and that it is lawfull to receaue dowryes when they are geuen, & that the same custome is honest, so that the iust meanes be not exceded, and he which marieth be not allured to matrimony by the name of the dowry as the principall cause. The manners and godlinesse of the wyfe ought chiefly to be regarded, neither ought any man by any to persnade himself, that if he shall marry a wife without a dowry, he shall therefore haue her the better and the quieter, seeing (as Ierome declareth in his first booke against Iouinian) Cato Censorius had Actoria Paula to wyfe, who was borne of a base kindred, who was poore also and without a dowry, and yet so that she was as a diamond, wake, and prouid vnto the same Cato.

Certaine mayden had dowryes out of the tresor.

The generall councill holden at Orleans.

It is false that matrimony can not be contracted without a dowry.

Ierome. The wyfe of Cato.

16 And the children of Keni Moyses father in lawe, went by oute of the citie of the Palme trees, with the children of Iudah, into the wilderness of Iudah, that lieth in the south of Arad: and went and dwelt among the people.

In the conquering the citie of Hebron and Debir there is mention made also of the children of Moyses father in law: they were Ethniks in dede by kinde,

Of the Kenites

G. iii.

but

Cap. i. A Commentary vpon the

but they wer loyned wth the Israelites in will and sayth, from wh^o also in h^e fyrst offspr^{ing} of kindred they wer not straungers: for as much as they came of Madian the sonne of Abraham by his wyfe Keturah. And the same Kenites constantly abode with the Heb^{re}ues tyll they captiuitie into Babilon, for as much as the Rechabites came of the Kenites, as it is w^{rit}ten in the booke of Paralipomenon. But why they were called Kenites it is vncertaine. But some thinke y^t it came of this, bycause the sonne of Iethro, namely Hobab, the brother of Moyse's wyfe, was called Kin by an other name. He therfore in the beginning with his family dwelled together with the Beniamites in the fieldes of Iericho, when the Israelites passing ouer Iordane vnder Iosua possessed the city of Iericho. But after when they sawe that the tribe of Iudah possessed the cities of Hebron & Debir, they went vnto th^e, and dwelt moze comodiously in h^e plaine of Harad, although they had no certayne houses, but liued continually as it were in tentes.

The cite of
Palme.

Strabo

The field of
Iericho belöged
to the tribe of
Beniamin.

Kimhi

Although some suspecte the cite of Palmes to haue bene Engaddi, yet mozte part of the expositours interprete it to be Iericho, with whom Iosephus de Antiquit. Hebr. agreeth, and also Paraphrastes Caldaicus, yea and the booke of Deut in the xxxiii. chap. testifieth the same. For as muche as that cite had a notable grove of Palmes of a hundred furlongs, which thing Strabo also testifieth. And yet we may not thinke that h^e Kenites reedifyed the cite of Iericho: for it was accursed by the commaundement of Iosua, who amongst other thinges published this (as it is to be belened) in the name of God, namely that he which should attempt to repayre it, should w^{ap}pe himself vnder the curse which came to passe in very deepe: For in the time of Ahab the wicked king, one Aiel builde it by a gayne, but to his own great hurt. For his two sonnes Abiram & Segub perished wh^{en} h^e cite was in repaying, as it is w^{rit}ten in h^e first booke of kings. xvi. chap. But the countrey or ground thereof belonged by diuision vnto the tribe of Beniamin. And these Kenites as it semeth had pitched tentes there, eyther for warfare, or els for keeping of shepe, in which they liued for a time eyther about h^e cite or els betwene h^e decayed places of h^e city. And there was a regard had vnto th^e in distributing of h^e land, & in assigning of fieldes (as Iosephus also testifieth) according to h^e promise made vnto th^e by Moyse, which is w^{rit}te in the x. chap. of Num. And it is thought to be very lykely y^t their lot was in the tribe of Iudah which being not yet possessed by the childezen of Israel, they dwelled (as it is said) in the land with the Beniamites in the field of Iericho. This exposition semeth full and manifest inough.

But Kimhi followeth an other opinion, and thinketh that the childezen of Israel, when they after they had conquered Hebron and Debir in the time of Iosua, had determined vtterly to destroy the cite of Iericho, vnderstanding that the Kenites dwelte there lyke straungers as I thinke (bycause they came of the stocke of Madian) befoze they ouerthrew al the city, they called them away, that they might not perish with the other Chananites. The same curtesie dyd Saule shewe vnto them, when he should make warre agaynst Amelek, as it is w^{rit}te in the fyrst booke of Samuel xv. chap. For he commaunded the Kenites to depart, least they shoulde be destroyed with Amelek: and he shewed a cause, namely bycause they were good and gentle vnto the Israelites comming by out of Egypt. Kimhi addeth mozeouer, that Amelek and the Kenites were of a farre contrarie affection toward the Israelites. For the Kenites loued th^e wonderfull wel. But Amelek hated th^e deably. Wherfore en^{er} as god had bound himselfe by an othe, y^t warre should be continually made agaynst Amelek: so would he haue h^e Kenites recöpened allwayes with benefites. This interpretation should be very lykely, if this departing of h^e Kenites fro Iericho, were not put by our hysto^{ry} after Hebron and Debir were conquered. But Iericho was conquered of Iosua fyrst of all after he had passed ouer Iordane: and certainly befoze he had gotten Hebron & Debir Besides thys oure hysto^{ry} entreateth eyther of the Kenites whiche remayned

in Madian, of els of those which had soyned theselues in fellowship with þe people of Israel. It seemeth þe this can not be spoken of the first, whē as Jericho is not in Madian, yea it is farre distant frō thence, but if we shal vnderstand this to be spoken of those which came with Israel, how shuld it be vnderstand þe they dwelt in Jericho, before Iosua toke it: & moreover it is not found in þe texte of the history, þe they were called forth as Kimhi writeth: but it is playnly written þe they went frō thence to Iudah. Wherefore I can better agree with Iosephus, who writeth þe they therfore departed frō thence, because in þe deuision of the land, & distributing of fieldes (as I haue before sayd) their inheritance fell about the tribe of Iudah wherfore they got the vnto it when Hebron & Debir were conquered. But why frō the time they came ouer Iordane euen to this time they dwelt rather about Jericho thā in any other place, seing the scripture speaketh not of it, I am cōtent to lacke the knowledge therof.

Iosephus.
Why þe Kenites
departed from
Jericho.

But because this Kenite (as many Hebrewes confesse) was the father in law of Moyses, which thing also Ierome confyrmeth in his booke of traditiōs of Hebrewes questions vpon the first boke of Samuel & vpon Paralip. we must therfore call to memory Iethro, of whom is mentiō made more largely in the boke of Exodus. That Iethro was he to whō Moyses came when he fled out of Egypt, who was also either prince or priest of Madian. For þe Hebrew word Cohen signifieth both, & therfore the holy histories writeth of þe sonnes of Dauid þe they were Cohenim þe is princes, & highly exalted amongst magistrates: for so were kynges wont to exalte their chyldren. Although Aben-Esra affirmeth Moyses father in law to haue bene priest of Madian. And sayth þe he ministred not to ydols, but to the true god: for the pure worshipping of god was not so peculiar to the people of Israel, but þe there were godly men in other places, which worshipped god sincerely. There is no doubt but þe Melchisedech was such a one, whō the scripture calleth the priest of the high god. Moyses defended the daughters of this Iethro frō the shepherdes at the wel, by which meanes he was made his sōne in law. And after ward when he led his shepe not farre frō the mount Sina he was called of god, to deliuer the people of Israel frō the Egyptian bondage. Wherefore he asked leaue of him to depart & went his way to Egypt, & frō thence after wonder full workes of god, he led the people into the deserte, and fought agaynst Amelek in whose land Kenite the Madianite dwelt. And when Moyses had obtayned the victorie, Iethro, who was not with Amelek in the warre, came vnto Moyses his sonne in law, & reioyced at his happy successe in the battaile, he did sacrifice, and communicated together with his sonne in lawe, & the rest of the Israelites in geuing thanks to god. He gaue also vnto Moyses wholesome counsell, not to weary himself in hearing al causes: But rather that he shoulde haue men chosen out, which might both heare & also determine cōmon and light causes, & such as wer harder, to be referred only to him: and he for þe most hard matters to aske counsell of god, and loke what god had answered & commaunded, the same to be decreed for the people. Whē Iethro or Kenite had done these with Moyses in the wilderness after the warre of Amelek before the law was geuen, he returned into his own countrey as it is written in the xliiii. Chap. of Exodus.

What this
word Cohen
signifieth.

ii. Sam viii.
Aben-Esra

But concerning his returne into his own countrey, there are two opinions, both of the Hebrewes & our men. Some say that he returned to dispose and set an order in his domesticall things, and to make preparation for his familie to journey with the Israelites. Which things being al finished almost in one yeares space, he returned to his sonne in lawe, and went together with him and the Israelites to the land of Chanaan. And so they say, although it be sayd in the history that he departed before, yet it is truly put in the boke of Num. that Moyses spake with him, in the second yeare from the departure out of Egypt, when the tabernacle was then finished, & orders appoynted, wherby the Hebrewes shoulde go forthward. For he desired him, not to depart frō him, but to be as it were an eye

Of the returne
of Moyses
ther in law into
his countrey.

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to the Israelites in this their journey into strange countries, for that he knew all the places of y^e desert very well, because he was borne in the countrey adjoining vnto it. Not because the pyllers and cloudes led not the Israelites safely & soundly, but because this man was very cunning in pitching and camping an hoste. Moyses would therfore (as they say) haue him to instruct the troupes of Souldiours which shoulde goe forth, and to prouide that they going forthwarde, shoulde abyde ioynd together, and shoulde keepe the iuste manner of warlike order. Whereunto this also was a helpe, for that by reason of his knowledge of the countreyes he coulde easily admonyshe the Israelites of the nature of those places, and howe farre distant and nyghe they were together. Howbeit other say, that Iethro so returned to his house, after he had reioyced with Moyses that he returned not vnto hym agayne: for as it is to be beleued, he was very aged, and therfore he spent the reste of his age with his neyghbours and familie in Madian, exercising his office epyther of a prince or els of a prest. Neuerthelesse they thynke y^e he left a sonne with Moyses, called Hobab, to the entente he might be thoroughly instructed by Moyses his kinsman, and by Aaron, and other excellent men of the Hebrewes, in Godlinesse and knowledge of worshipping of God. Therfore they will haue this man to be he, whō Moyses spake vnto in the .i. of Num. and made ouersear for pitching of the camps. Besides y^e they say y^e this mans sonnes & familie were now at this present called Kenites. And I my self, to say what I thinke true, do much agree with this latter sentence.

Balaam the
Prophet.

For Balaam the Prophet in the .24. chap. of Num. propheted peculiarly of the Kenites, that they shoulde haue their habitations in the most fenced places, and y^e they shoulde there abide, til they were led away captiues by the Asirians, & he ioyne them (as it appeareth manifestly in that place) with Amelek: for (as I sayd befoze) they inhabited al one land with the Amelekites. Wherefore it is gathered that Iethro so departed from Moyses into Madian, to dwell there continually. And so it might be that Balaam the Prophet ioynd the Kenites with the Amelekites, of which Kenites neuerthelesse part were with the Israelites, for as much as Iethro (as it is sayd) left his sonne with them.

Besides this in the .i. chap. of Num. Hobab was desired of Moyses, to come & go with the Israelites, whether they went: who refused to goe any farther, because he was mynded to returne home into his countrey. For he was left there of his father to be better instructed in the worshipping of God, and he abode with the Israelites tyll they were readye to depart thence, And then he thought to haue returned into his countrey: but being desired of Moyses, he consented at length to iourney forth with y^e Israelites. But these things could not haue bene so, if we shoulde thinke y^e Hobab had bene Iethro, which after he had deuised & set his things in order shoulde haue returned againe to Moyses, with y^e minde & purpose to haue gone forthward with y^e Israelites. For what neded Moyses to haue entreated hym to do that, for which cause he came from his owne house to doe? Why shoulde he haue chaunged his purpose to retourne into his owne countrey, whiche he had befoze utterly forsaken? Lastly why shoulde he afterwarde haue denyed to goe, which he had befoze decreed with hymself to do? I know in deede there be some but not many which affyrme, that Iethro was that Hobab with whom Moyses spake in the booke of Num. which thyng let the affyrme for me, howbeit I thought good to declare what I iudged most likely.

And that the familie of the Kenites dwelled long among the Amelekites or very nyghe adjoining vnto them, the spysse booke of Samuel testifieth, where it is written that Saule called forth the Kenites, least he shoulde haue destroyed them together with the Amelekites. Wherefore it semeth that parte of the Kenites dwelled with the Amelekites, & part with the Israelites, of whiche both of the were alwaies most frendly to y^e Hebrewes. And god declareth y^e he had excellently adozned the in their publique wealth, & that wth three principal giftes.

For they excelled in the study & knowledge of the law. They were also notable in obtaining of a great victorie. Lastly they lived vertuously and godly. And concerning the study of the law, wherein they flourished, the first booke of Paralipomenon and seconde chapter toward the ende, is a wittnesse vnto them. For there is mention made of them with the family of Iambes, that is, of Othoniel, and they are said to haue bene scribes: wherby it appeareth that the tradition of the Hebrewes is not to bee despised, that in the doctrine of the lawe, they were the disciples of Othoniel: for they are reckoned in his family. And it is a very common thing, to count disciples in the place of children. Ierome also in his questions vpon Paralipomenon alloweth this opinion, which (as it is said) seemeth to agree with the scriptures. Neither do I thinke that for any other cause there is mention made of them in this place among the actes of Othoniel, but onely because they lyued together alwaies with his family most louingly. They are also counted with the tribe of Iudah, although they were not of the stocke of the Israelites. Wherfore they amongst other were a figure of the calling of the Gentiles. The other notable ornament of theirs in that publique wealtie was that noble victorie, which is declared in the .4. chap. of this booke. For Iahel, the wife of Aber the Kenite slew Sisara the captayne of warre of Iabin king of Chanaan, and God would by the hand of a woman of this familie graunt great health to the Israelites. Lastly that they were wel manered, and obseruers of their fathers commaundementes, the family of Ionadab the sonne of Rechab hath declared. They dronke no wyne, which at that tyme was the maner of the Nazarites, and notably despising earthly thinges they dwelled not in houses, but lyued in tentes, and exercised the arte of a shepherd which is most simple. For which thing they are very much commended of Ieremy the Prophet, and adourned with a most ample promise about the Iewes, because they had geuen more seruice & obedience vnto him namely Rechab their parent, than the Hebrewes had done vnto God himselfe, which neuertheles dyd continually boast in that father and holy progenitors. Wherfore we knowe that to be most true which Paul hath taught to the Romanes, that they in dede had Abraham to their father, whiche followed the steppes of his sayth, they were not Iewes by nature, but by wyl and faith were made Profelites, and in godlynes and holynes farre passed very many of those which were by nature Iewes.

Three thinges
God seemeth to
haue geuen to
the Kenites.

1.

Ierome.

Why mention
is made here of
the Kenites.

2.

3.

Example of the
Rechabites.

We gather moreouer hereby, that it muche auayleth vs to ioyne our selues with good men, and with the fellowship of the godly. The Kenites which were the posterity of Hobab, if they would haue rested (as the most part of men do) in their owne countrey, and in the place where they were borne, they had fallen at length into the ignorance of God and of his lawes, wherby they should easely haue bene lyke vnto their neighbour Amalek. But because they despising theyr owne thinges, and kyndled with the faith of the promise of God, ioynded themselves vnto the Israelites, therfore God gaue them suche good successe in theyr thinges. We ought to remember with our selues the most honest cause of the peregrination of these men. For al good men trauaile not into strange countries for one purpose. There be very many, which do therfore often tymes leaue their countrey, because they may not worship God there after the sincere & lawfull manner of worshipping, yea they are grievously troubled there, if they endeavour them selues therunto. So Abraham was called out of his lande and from his kynred, lest he should styl haue gone forward with his elders to contaminate him selfe with idolatry. So Christ also said, if they shal persecute vs in one city, let vs flye vnto an other. But ther be other, which though they be not letted at home from the true godlynes, yet for al that they wil go see those places, wher they thinke they may yet get more profyt, and be more certayne instructed in thinges deuine and necessary for saluacion. For which cause Plato is commended, because he came to the Egyptians, & went to a part of Italy, that is great

It is very profitable
for men
to ioyne them
selues to good
& godly persons.

What are the
most honest
causes of peregrination.

Plato his peregrination is
prayed,

Greace;

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Greace: he went also vnto diuers nations, as though he should follow wisdoms fleeing from him. So in like wise Saba the queene is commended in the holy scriptures, which traualled from so farre countries to heare Salomon: after this manner the Kenites (of whom we entreate) folowed the people of Israel: for although at home they knew & worshipped one God, whose Priest their father also was, yet neuertheles they desired to be still moze instructed, and moze absolutely to receaue the lawes, institutions and worshipping of God.

Hercules.

They are also very much worthy of praise, which do for this cause only traualle into other countries to profit others, and to helpe and deliuer them from the miseries wherewith they be oppressed. After which sorte the Poetes haue sayd that Hercules wandred through the world, by his might to destroy wicked and hurtful men, which miserably afflicted mankind. Neither did the Apostles traualle throughout the whole world for any other cause, than to deliuer men out of the mouth of the deuyll, and by the preaching of the Gospel to loose them from their chaines of errors. Christ also for this selfe same cause would traualle and iourney among men, that by his doctrine and death he might deliuer mankind from eternal destruction. Wherefore the Kenites may be numbred with these: for they also adioyned them selues companions with the Israelites, to helpe them through the deserte. For (as it is said) they hauing good knowledge of those places, might stand the Iewes in great neede. These counsels are plainly iudged good and honest, for whose causes peregrinations which are taken without compulsion, are honest and prayseworthy.

There maye be other reasons also of peregrination, which as they be not alwaies to be refused, yet are they nothing to be compared with these, eyther in praise, or els in worthynes. Wherefore let goodly men take hede when they iourney into farre countries, that they apply them selues as much as is possible vnto these causes & reasons now mentioned. And as God hath not defrauded these Kenites of the fruit which they looked for, but made them partakers and that plentifully of those good things which he had prepared for his people, so saying also he is now the same God which he was then, we must beleue, that he will not suffer him selfe to depart from his accustomed manner and perpetuall goodnes, so that we obserue the good and iust causes and reasons of peregrination.

Seneca
What is chiefly to be observed in peregrination.

But in that thing we haue neede of great warenesse and diligence, namely that chiefly (as Seneca hath wel admonished in his. iij. epistle to Lucillas) we depart from our selues, that is that we laye awaye our wicked affections, bycause the chaunging of places do lytle profit, if we cary about together with vs the same affections, which we had before. And chiefly helpeth to the renewing of godlynes, that we bee made other from our selues. For what had the good lawes, honest maners, and chaste religion which the Iewes professed, profited the Kenites, if they would haue brought their owne things with them, and continued in the same wherein they were conversant before? Wherefore they which do traualle into other countries for studie and godlynes sake, ought not to haue thys purpose before them, to behold the Cities, buildinges, rivers, fieldes, vineyards, woods, playes and qualities of men: For all these thynges although they somewhat delite the beholders, as chyldren which with pleasure do marvaile at euery new and straunge thing, yet they do nothing, or very lytle helpe. The chiefe cause ought to be, that they onely studye aboue al other things to be made better, as touching godlines & doctrine. For if they shal despise this, they shal be sayd to wander, rather than iustly to iourney. Let them not therfore retaine with them any longer those euils which are to be auoided, yet let them aboue all things iourney from the ignorance of God, from the vnskilfulnes of the holy scriptures, from corrupt affections, and from wicked and pernicious examples. This is the iust cause of peregrination, which the Kenites by their dede do declare vnto vs. If the Lacedemonians had had a regard to thys, they would not by the lawes

lawes haue prohibited peregrinations: But I suppose that they regarded thys, which they marked so to come to passe for the most part, that the citizens in tra-
uelling into strange countries, learned of the strangers whom they went to see, not their vertues and wisdom, but rather their vices and errors, and after-
ward being infected with many euils, they returned into their country, where they destroyed their Citizens by a certayne pestiferous contagiousnes. Whych
thing surely no man doubteth but that it is a grieuous euill and discommodity to a publique wealth. And yet we may not therfore decree that al peregrinations
are hurtful. For there can be found no City, no people, nor no publique wealth in the world, which hath not many things vnperfect in maners & lawes, which
may be amended and corrected by the sight and knowledge of others. Lycurgus
certainly which made that law, profited much in traualing into strange coun-
tries. And the Decemviri of the Romanes went them selues into Gracia, to the end they would know the lawes of that people, and by that meanes they
wonderfully provided for their publique wealth. And thus muche for peregrina-
tion.

The Laccha-
montians probi-
beted peregrina-
tions.

Why peregrina-
tions do pro-
fit.

Lycurgus.

Decemviri of
the Romanes.

And now let vs finish this history, iudging that the children of Kenite were
of that stocke which wer begotten of Hobab in y^e wilderness among the chyldren
of Israel: And that Hobab was the sonne of Moyse father in lawe, & bys wifes
brother germaine. Neither ought this to moue vs because it is saide in the .v. of
Num. Chothen because as Aben-Esra there testifieth, that woordes signifyeth
not onely a father in law, but also the brother of the wife, and some haue trans-
lated the same woordes there not for a father in lawe, but a kynsmen. But these
Kenites departed out of the fields of Iericho, that they might obtayne possession
with the tribe of Iudah. And therfore they are sayd to haue dwelled with the peo-
ple. For first they folloved them in iourneying with them, & now by the same
right they are sayd to haue dwelled with them. And they ascended, because Je-
richo was situate in a valley, and betwene it and Ierusalem was a deserte lon-
ging to Iudah, which as it is very lykely had in it woody places, and mete for
pasture. And that it was so, it is easely gathered out of the Gospell of Luke,
where Christ put forth a parable, namely that a man descended from Ierusalem
to Iericho, and fel into the handes of theenes. And certainly if he descended, it is
manifest y^e these ascended, when they folloved the tribe of Iudah going toward
Ierusalem. And because the place was full of wooddes, it was an easy matter (es-
pecially in the time of Christ when the common wealth of the Iebzues was be-
come much out of frame) for it to be full of theenes. There certainly (as farre as can
be perceaued) the Kenites receaued their lot. And I thinke I haue spoken inough
as touching this history.

Aben-Esra

The situation
of Iericho.

17. And Iudah went wyth Symeon his brother, and smote the
Chananites dwelling in Zephath, and utterly destroyed it, and cal-
led the name of the City Bozma.

18. And Iudah tooke Haza and the borders therof, and Ascalon
with the borders therof, and Ekron with the borders thereof.

Now we are come to that place where the long parenthesis (which I before
admonished you of) endeth. And what soener followeth after these woordes:
The children of Iudah fighting against Ierusalem tooke it, &c. to thys
place, are declared by a parenthesis. For al those things happened not after the
death of Iosua, but when he was yet lyuing. And now the history retourneth to
that setting forward to battaile which they of Iudah and the Symeonites tooke
in hand, styred up by the oracle of God. And therfore it is written: And Iudah
went wyth Symeon his brother, and smote the Chananites dwelling

Here the above
said parenthesis
is ended.

Cap. I.

A Commentarie vpon the

The bowe of
Cherem that is
of the curse.

Why the cytye
of Jericho was
made a curse.

Whether the
destruction of
cities pertayne
to the worship-
ping of God.

God by these
curses proued
hys people.

The forme of
the curse.

The end of the
same.

The matter of
the same.

in Zephar, and vtterly destroyed it, and called the name of the Citye Horma. The Hebrues did not vtterly thowd none nor destroy certain cities which they possessed, but dwelled in them. Wholbeit som they cursed and cleane defaced. And their bowe was called in Hebreu, Cherem, of the thing that was promised, deriued from this woord Charam, which is to waste, to destroy, to kill, to deface, & to gene vnder curse. The Grecians called that woord *anathema*: They called *anathema* also, *anepheuma*, and *anoxiuea* as thinges consecrated and put apart. And it may be that so they called them, because they were hanged by in temples, and were seperated from the vse of men, neither was it lawfull to remoue them out of that place. Wea and men somtymes wer called by that name. Paule also vsed that woord many tymes, for he saith to the Galathians: Let hym be accursed whosoener shal preache any other Gospel. And to the Romanes he wished him selfe to be made a curse for the bryethren. And to the first of the Corinethians he saith: he y loneth not y lord Iesus, let him be accursed, Maranatha, wher he taketh this woord *anathema* for this woord Cherem, that is, a thing seperated and seiogued vtterly from mans occupying or vse, so that it was wyched either to touch it, or to put it to any vse. Wherefore we haue a testimonye in the booke of Iosua, the 6. chap. of the city of Jericho. And it semed to haue bene so accursed because it was after a sorte the first frutes of the Cities that were taken. For after they were passed ouer Iordane, it was the first of al the cities that was conquered, and that by no mans helpe, for that the walles therof fel downe of their owne accord, and through the woorking of God. And therefore it was mete that the spoiles therof should altogether bee consecrated vnto God. But that semeth to be vtterly farre from the worshipping of God to destroy both cities and men, and these seme to haue a shew of cruelty, rather than of religion. To that I answer, that the destruction of towne in dede of their owne nature, belong neither to religion nor yet to godlynes, but so farre forth as they are referred to the glory of God. And that may happen two maner of wayes. As wher that destruction is counted as a certayn monument of the seuerity and iustice of God against those nations which he for their wickednes would haue destroyed, or as a certain testimony of Gods goodnes and mercy towards the Israelites, whom in that expedition he mercifully helped. Wherefore the ouerthrowing of the city, houses, men, and brasse, did shew the iustice and seueritie of God. And the consecration declared the goodnes, helpe and mercy shewed to that people. Whereouer God would by that meanes proue the obedience of his people in abstaining from the spoiles which wer consecrated vnto God. For we know that souldiours when they haue gotten the victorie, are hardely restrained from the pray. But they which obeyed not the curse published, wer most grievously punished: which the holy history of Iosua declareth to haue happened vnto Acham, because he blarped vnto him selfe some of the spoiles of Jericho. We know also that Saul for this cause was depriued of his kyngdome, because he had reserved Agag the king, and certain oxen and fat cattel of the pray which wer bound by the bow of the curse.

Of the forme and end of the curse we haue spoken enough. For the forme is the destruction of cities, men and beastes, and the consecration of gold, siluer, yron, brasse, precious stones, and costly thinges, which wer appointed onely to the vse of the tabernacle. But the end was that they might be monuments of Gods goodnes and iustice, and also an exercise and trial of the Israelites. Now resteth somewhat to speake of the matter and efficient cause therof.

The matter was, what soeuer was found on lyne in those cities, for al that ought to be killed, and the buildinges and other garnishinges of the city ought to be cleane destroyed: but as for the ornaments and riches, they were (as it is sayd) consecrated vnto the worshipping of God. But ther is to be marked, that none wer volwed vnto so horrible a destruction, but such as were already declared

red and known to be enemies of God: for it is not lawfull to kyll Innocentes. Wherefore they sinned most grievously which so vowed Paules death, that they would neither eate nor drinke tyl they had killed him. And at this daye they be haue them selues moze than wickedly, which saye that they haue vowed them selues most cruelly to kil al the Professours of the gospel. *Iephie,* *Agamemnon.* *The efficient cause of a curse* Pea, and Iephie with out doubt was deceaued, which because of his kynde of vowynge thought that his daughter should either be slaine, or els compelled to perpetual virginity. *Agamemnon.* Agamemnon also is to be condemned, which (as Cicero declareth in his booke of offices) vowed vnto Diana the fairest woman that should be bozne in his kyngdome. And to perfoyme this foolish vow, he sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. But the efficient cause of the vow Cherem, sometimes is God, as it is wrytten in the. vii. and. x. chap. of Deut. For ther it is commaunded that places dedicated to Idoles, aulters, ymages, groues, & monumentes should be utterly destroyed, and that was a perpetual curse in the land of Chanaan, and to be alwaies obserued. Sometimes the Prince made such a vow, as we reade of Iosua, and sometimes the people, as we find in the. xi. chap. of Num. The prophets also sometimes did this, & so Samuel commaunded Saul, cleane to destroy al things belöging to the Amalekites. The name of this city, wherof we now entreate, was afterwarde called Horma, for it was not so called before, and it was so called of the woozde Cherem. For such a name were they wont to geue vnto such places as were wasted and destroyed by a curse. In the booke of Num. xi. chapter a certayne portion of the Chanaites, which the Israelites possessed by violence, was by reason of suche a vow called Horma.

But some peradventure will aske, whether these destructions of towne were against charity: To whom I answer no. Because such enemies were chosen to be utterly destroyed of the Jewes by the iudgement of God, and not by the lust of men. But as touching the loue or hatred of enemies, wee must vnderstande that Augustine hath wrytten toward the ende of the first booke vpon the sermon of the Lord on the mountaine, that he doth ascende one steppe of righteousness, which loueth his neighbour, although he yet hate his enemy. But then shall he perfoyme beneuolence and gentlenes at the commaundement of hym whiche came to fulfyll the law, and not to breake it, when he shall stretch it euen to the loue of the enemy. For that degree, though it be somewhat, yet it is so smal, that it may be comma also with Publicanes. Neither that which is said in the law: Thou shalt hate thine enemy, is to be taken as a commaundement vnto the last man, but as a permission to the weake. Thus much he wryteth, with whom (if I should speake as I thinke) I do not agree, but am certainly perswaded, that to hate our enemies is not permitted of God, no not to the vnperfect. For it is an euerlasting precept, that we should loue our neighbour as our selues. And he is our neighbour whom we helpe by any occasion, as Christ hath declared in the parable of the Jewes and of the Samaritan. They were compared as enemies one to an other, wherefore the condition of enmity when it happeneth, can not let, but such as are enemies one to an other be yet neighbours. Moreover for as much as we se that David & other prophets did oftentimes curse their enemies, by what meanes can we call the weake, who God gave liberty to hate their enemies. For they were holy men and very perfect. Neither doth that seeme to make much to the purpose, which the same Augustine saith, namely that the sayings of these holy men were no vowes & desires, but rather soze speakings & prophesies of them, who liuing vnder the old testament did oftentimes prophesye the chaunce of thinges to come. For the Apostels are also found in the new testamēt not only to haue spoken wordes of cursings (as Paul when he saith: I would be to god they were cut of which do trouble you) but also to haue most grievously punished some. For as much (as it is wrytten in the actes of the Apostels) the same Paul depnyed Elimas the Magicien of his sight, and Peter slew Ananias and Saphira.

Cap. i. A Commentarie vpon the

Marke the distinction.

Wherefore we must rather say that these great me did not such things of an hatred graunted to vnperfect men, but y they wer diuinen therunto by some other manner of meanes. And therfore me thinketh we must make this distinction, that they somtimes had to do for their own causes, & somettimes for gods cause. Whē they had to do for their matters, al their doings wer ordered w al modestye and gentlenes. As we se Dauid to haue done, who many times spared Saul his deadly enemy. Moyles also & other holy men did constantly & valiauntly very often grievous thinges. But when the matters of God wer in hand, the same me behaued them selues seuerely & nobly. And if they should haue done that in theyz own causes, they might haue seemed to wrest the sword out of the bande of God and of the Magistrate, which they do. which reuenge their own iniuries.

What is chiefly to be taken heede of when Gods matters are in hand.

This is also to be added, that men which are appointed to take in hand & to defend Gods cause, although they may then do thinges sharply & seuerlye, yet they must precisely & diligently take heede, that vnder that pretence, they cocket not their owne affections. The Apostels when they desired Christ to sende syze from heauen vpon the Samaritans (as they knew was done in the olde tyme, at the prayers of Helias) wer rebuked of the Lord, bicause they knew not of whose spirite they wer, which without doubt was a most apt answer. For they whom God sendeth to execute these offices, ought not now to be counted priuate or symple men, but such as wer prepared and entrusted of him, to be in hys steele vpon the earth. But whether it be lawfull for priuate men to praye against vngodly and cruell Tyrannes, by whom the true wooshipping of God is hindred, and to curse them, Augustine aunswereth, that it is alwaies lawfull for godlye men to pray vnto God against the kingdomes of synne. And that maye be cleane taken away, when the vngodly forsake their wickednes, for whose vnfayned repentance we must alwayes pray vnto God. But if they seeme past all hope; it is lawfull to praye that their synnes maye sometymes at the length come to an end: namely that when they are taken away, they myght cease both to hynder the wooshipping of God, and also to trouble the Saintes. For as much as it is not expedient that theyz synne shoulde escape vnpunished, for when it is leaste without punishment, it is mere vniustice. But when the punishment of God is adioyned vnto it, then ther is in him lesse deformitie. Wherefore God is of the same Augustine called herpe wel not a cruell tormentor, but a iust correctour.

Whether it be lawfull to pray against tyrans & to curse them Augustine.

Augustine.

Saintes sometymes reioyce & also are soze for the destruction o. the wicked.

Whereouer, bycause holy men are very familiar with God, and therfore when by some heauenly reuelation, they are acertaind of his wil, bicause they exceedingly loue him, they cannot but allow his sentence, yea they faithfullye praye that the same may be accomplished. Although (in that they be men) they be both soze, and also take it grievously to haue their neighbours so bered. After whych soze Samuel mourned for Saul the kyng, whom he knew neuertheles to be reiectd of god. Jeremy also wept for the captivity which was at hand, and Christ wept for the City of Ierusalem which shoulde be destroyed. For they which be me in dede, can not chose but be soze for their neighbours and their own flesh when it is afflicted. Neither doth God require of vs that Stoike lacke of compassion. But as touching this matter, if the Reader desire to know moze, let hym looke vpon my Comentaries to the Corinthians. But as touching this present purpose, that is to say, that the people of Israel in destroying & cursing of these peoples, followed not their own hatred, but the inclination of God, for they wer his Leuenetanautes, and might be called his wooskemcn, when as they destroyed those whom god himselte had declared to be enemies, and comaunded that they shoulde be destroyed by them.

God requirerh not the not feeling of the Stoikes.

And Iudah tooke Hazzam, and the borders theroof. These words do al so cofirme y those things which ar now declared, wer don after y death of Iosua, when y publique wealth of the Israelites was governed by elders. For when in the booke of Iosua the. xiii. chap. those Cities were reckoned which were least vncom,

Unconquered after Iosnas death, these cities Haza, Aſcalon, and Accaron are expreſſed by name. But there is a doubt, after what ſorte theſe Cities were ſayde to haue pertained to the Philiftians in the tyme of Samuel, when Saul dyd then raigne. And the ſame is written in the third chap. of this booke. There are ſome whiche affirme that theſe Cities were not nowe altogether taken, but ſo poſſeſſed, that the Iſraelites obtained ſome part of the lande which belonged vnto them, which ſemeth not very lykely vnto me, ſeing that the hiſtoyre ſayth that not onely enery one of theſe Cities wer taken, but that alſo the endes and bozders of them came into the power of Iudah. Wherefoze I would rather iudge that their opinion is beſt, which affirme that Iudah dyd now in deede poſſeſſe theſe Cities, as it is written, but afterwarde when the Iſraelites ſynned, they wer agayne dyuen out of them by the Philiftians, who wonne them agayne to their own uſe, and ſo did wyne them, that they counted them as moſt principal dominions, for they dyd ſet ouer eche of them certayne noble gouernours. Perther ought that much to moue vs, bycauſe the hiſtoyre doth onely name Iudah now, & ſpeaketh nothing of Symeon. For that might be, becauſe the lot of both theſe tribes was ioyned together, and they had made a couenant to ſyght together: therfoze when we heare the name of the one, we muſt therewith alſo vnderſtand the name of the other. And the name of Symeon is rather vnſpoken of, becauſe God hymſelf in his oracle gaue Iudah the principallity in this expedition,

19 And the Lord was with Iudah, & he poſſeſſed the mountayne: for he could not dyue out the inhabitauntes of the valley, bycauſe they had yron Chariotes.

He poſſeſſed the mountayne. It is written in Hebrewe Veioresch Hahar, which if it wer properly tranſlated is, he gaue alway the mountain, which without doubt is a figuratiue phraſe, for the figure *Zwyya* is added, by which figure, one and the ſelfe woozd ſerueth for two members, bycauſe that woozde Iofchebe which is inhabitours, ought to be repeated: that euen as it is ſaid that Iudah could not dyue out the inhabitours of the valley, ſo alſo muſt be vnderſtand that the inhabitours of the mountaine were expelled by him, ſo that thys woozd Hahar is the genitiue caſe, as is this woozd Haamak, that is, of the valley. The conquering of both theſe was paynfull, bycauſe Cities founded vpon mountaines are by nature of the place wel fenced, and they which dwelled in the valleys, wer very experte in a kynde of ſence, I meane yron chariotes. But leaſt peraduenture we ſhould thinke that the inhabitozs of the mountains wer dyuen out of their place of Iudah by the ſtrength of men ther is ſet befoze. And the Lord was with Iudah. As though it had ben ſaid, becauſe they fought by the fauour of God, therfoze the hilly places wer conquered. Wherefoze if God had ayded them of Iudah with the like fauour in their battayl in the valley, they ſhould alſo haue overcome thoſe which inhabited the valley. There ſemeth alſo a cauſe to be geuen bycauſe they had yron chariotes.

He that ſhal reade the Iliades of Homer, ſhal eaſely perceaue that the men in the old time vſed chariotes in battails, & alſo the ſame may be gathered both out of the moſt aunient hiſtozies, & alſo out of the latter writers, & amongeſt other Quintus Curtius writing the liſe of Alexander doth playnly make mencion of ſuch chariots in the battail fought againſt Darius. But I thinke no writer writteth moze plainly of them than doth Liuius. For he in that battail wherein Antiochus was overcome of the Romanes, which is in the .4. decade, & ſeuenth boke, thus deſcribeth the chariotes which he calleth hooked. He ſayth that they were fenced chiefly after thys maner. The poyntes aboute the draught tree ſtanding out from the yoke, had as it were hoznes, wherewith whatſoener they met they mighte thruſte it throughe: and twoo hookes hoong oute at eche ende

The figure
zeugma.

Quintus Cur-
tius.

Titus Liuius.

The deſcripti-
on of hooked
chariotes.

Cap. I. A Commentary vpon the

of the cart, the one euen with the carte, the other fastened downeward to the earth, the former serued to cut a sunder what so euer came on the syde of it, the other was made to crush them which fel downe, or went vnder. There were also two sundry hookes fastened after the same sorte to the extreemes of both the wheles. &c. The vse therfore of these chariotes endured til the tyme that Antiochus was overcome. Howbeit wee neuer reade that the Romanes vsed them. And that they wer horrible to behold, and hard to be conquered, may manifestly be gathered by the booke of Iosua: For ther in the. vii. chap. when the tribe of Ioseph complained because it was so many in number, and had obtained so narrow a lot, Iosua commaunded them, that if they had not rounge inoughe, they shoulde go and dwel or els conquere the places of their enemies adioyning vnto them. They excused them selues, that they coulde not doo that, because their neighbours had yron chariotes. But to repeate moze auncienter thinges, Pharaoh (as it is wrytten in the booke of Exodus) when hee persecuted the Israelites which fled, is said to haue had chariotes, and with the same he tooke vpon hym to enter into the sea. But they being ouerthrowen by the power of God, hee was punished for breaking his fidelity.

Yron chariotes
cannot resist god

Marke the distinction.

Why god graffed
not the hole
victorye vnto
Judah.

But this is diligently to be considered of vs, whether either yron chariotes, or hooked cartes can withstand the power and promise of God, which if we shal deny (as in very dede we must deny) why ar they then put here as the cause that the victory was not obtained: Whereunto I aunswer, that in this place is set forth vnto vs the highest cause, namely that which was sene. And certainly it was a cause, if we shoulde looke onely vpon mans strength. For the Chananites being so armed and appointed coulde not be overcome of the Israelites, which wer weaker than they, and not so wel armed and fenced. But if the power and might of God be considered, the same coulde not be letted either by chariots and weapons or els by power of souldiours. Why did not God therfore which had geuen part of the victory, graunt the whole also: Kimhi aunswereth that God dyd it to proue the Israelites thereby. For if they shoulde haue bene constrained (as in dede they were) to dwel for a while with these nations, then experience shoulde haue tryed how much they woulde set by theyr God, namely whether they woulde perseuer in the lawfull woozshipping of hym, or whether they woulde encline to their owne madde customes and woozshipping of Idoles. Thys in dede is a true cause, and is set forth also in the thyrd chapter of thys booke, and toward the end lykewyse of the second. There is also an other cause added, namely to teach them the arte and faculty of syghting: for they which lyued before their tyme, had no skyll of these thynges. And it is wrytten in Exodus that it was done that wyld beasts shoulde not to muche abounde, which must needs haue folloved, if the land shoulde haue bene brought into a wyldernes, before the Hebryes could haue fylled it all. And of these causes I haue made mention before.

But the Paraphrastes Chaldaicus bringeth an other cause besydes these, and sayth that the chyldren of Israel had synned: Wherefore he thincketh it was done, that God iustlye and woozthlye withdrew his ayde and gaue not vnto them when they fought, the whole and full victorye. And that, though the scripture doo not now expresse it, may euidently be gathered by other places. For we are very often taught by the holy scriptures that idolatry and synnes were iust causes why the Israelites sometymes went without the victorye promysed vnto them. And though there had bene no other synne, we myght alledge thys, that their faith and prayers were sometymes somewhat moze slacke than they ought to haue bene. Which manifestly appeareth in that warre which the Hebryes made in the wyldernesse agaynst Amalecke for the enemye overcome, when Moyses beganne to be faynte in prayer. And agayne, the victorye was reioyced vnto the people of God, when the faith and prayer of Moyses was moze earnest

When faith &
prayers were
faint, then the
victorye is take
away.

earnest and vehement. Sinne therfore is not onely þ cause of death, but it byn-
geth also al infirmities, weakenesse and miseries. Contrarily faith is the cause of
all strength, myghte, and victories. Wherefore it is very well witten in the
xi. Chapter to the Hebryes, that the Sainctes through faith haue wonne king-
domes. Which may and oughte to be referred to the spirituall victorie. Where-
fore John doth saythfully admonysh vs, when he sayth. This is the victorie
which ouercommeth the world, euen our sayth.

By these may be gathered that God leaueth those destitute of hys ayde, which
do forsake hym. And that may easely be declared by oure fyrste Father Adam. God forsaketh
thē that forsake
hym.
Who, as he was created of God, befoze synne, he had that power of strength
and will, that he myght if he had would haue resisted synne. But when he fil-
thely fell from God, God also forsooke hym, but not utterly, howbeit he for-
sooke hym so that he lost many of hys gyses, and much fauour. For God would
not haue taken so many good thynges awaye from hym, but that he fyrste had
alienated hymselfe from God through synne. After the same sorte happeneth it
to those whiche are now bozne a new, who although they haue not yet reco-
uered a perfecte free will, neuertheless for so muche as they are somewhat re-
stoyed, and may now woork together with God, if they shall despyse the gyses
whiche they haue in them, and will not vse them as it is meete they shoulde,
God will iustely forsake them, seing they shynke fyrste awaye from hym. As
we may see in the parable of the Lozde, wherein it is witten, That the mas-
ter going into a farre countrey distributed money vnto hys seruantes, to
be encreased by theyr industrye and laboure, whiche thyng as many of the ser-
uantes as dyd, they were both commended of theyr master when he retour-
ned, and also nobelly rewarded. But he whiche despyssed the commaunde-
ment of hys Lozde, was greuously reprobued, and greuously punished, for the mo-
ney committed vnto him.

Adam was not
altogether for-
saken of God af-
ter hys synne.

Concernyng es-
ternall reprobation, the repro-
bate are forsake
of God befoze
they forsake
hym.

Concernyng es-
ternall reprobation, the repro-
bate are forsake
of God befoze
they forsake
hym.

Augustine;

By this god is
forsaken befoze
he forsaketh.

God blyth also
to puny the che-
electe to theyr
saluation.

But if we shall speake of the fyrst generation, whereby we are bozne the
chylzen of wrath, and we all are of that masse, which lieth vnder the curse, from
which God by his election deliuereth whom he will: and whom he will not, he
forsaketh accordyng to hys own will and purpose, which is alwayes iust, though
it be hidden from vs. Seing that that is not brought to passe by woorks soresene,
neither that we haue done any good or euill befoze we were bozne, it is many-
fest, that certayne, I meane reprobrates, are forsaken of God as touchyng hys e-
lection, befoze that they forsake hym by theyr propre will, for so much as they had
not it from the beginning. But we at thys present, speake not of thys matter,
neither will descend into thys question. But that which we haue now affirmed
Augustine hath set forth in the. 14. chap. of his Soliloquii animæ ad deum. Thou
Lozde (saith he) doest not forsake me, vnles I first forsake thee. And in his booke
de natura et gratia against the Pelagians in the. 27. and. 28. chap. he elegantlye ex-
poundeth after what sorte God is forsaken of men befoze hee forsaketh them.
Among other vices (sayth he) pryde whych is bozne in vs, is the head of al euils.
Which pryde blyth then to shewe foozth it selfe, when wee are doing well, and
when we are in the chiefe course of the victorie. There the wayne hart of man is
puffed vp, so that enerie man thinketh hym selfe not to bee as other men are.
Thys is for the most parte, the fyrst departure from God, whereby hee agayne
wythdraweth hym selfe from vs. And euen as wee doo not departe from hym
by steppes, but in hart and affection, so is he seperated from vs, not concerning
place, (for, for as muche as he is infinite he occupieth all thynges) but he wyth-
draweth from vs hys fauour, gyses, grace, and helpe.

And when he is so departed, they whych are forsaken, vndoubtedly fall & come
to great misery: which falles yet & miseries (as he is good) he blyth as remedies
toward his elect, & they may learne that in the same mysery whych befoze they
had forgotten, namely, that their strengthe was suppozed by God, and that it

was his mere gifte, in that befoze they dyd any thing that was good, or attayned to any prosperous things: that being so admonished, they myght retourne into the waye, and with moſte faythfull prayers to employe of hym helpe, ayde, and ſtrength, as they whiche had nowe proued, by theyr owne ill, that they had all theſe thinges of him when they ſtoode. And after this ſorte is that interpreted, whiche the Apoſtle writeth to the Phil. With feare and trembling, worke your ſaluation. For it is God whiche worketh in you both to will and alſo to perſourme, according to his good pleaſure. Wherefoze feare and trembling ought alwayes to be giuen into vs, leaſt when thinges goe well and prosperous with vs we ware proude, and whilleſt we profite in our renovation and inſtauration. Then muſt we alwayes with feare and trembling marke that it is God which worketh in vs both to will and to perſourme. Neyther dyd the Apoſtle ſay, liue rightly and holily with ſecuritie: For he which is ſecure from himſelf, eſtemeth thinges ſo, as though they depended of himſelf, which is not to be ſuffered, when as it is God himſelfe which worketh in vs both to will and to perſourme.

We muſt not
liue in ſecuritie

Augustine.
Whether the
will of god may
be chaunged,

What were the
cauſes of the
imperfecte vic-
torie of them
of Iudah.

What tempta-
tion is.

The end of
temptation.

To what end
holie men are
tempted.

But peraduenture thou wilt aſke, ſeing God from the beginning noblye promiſed vnto Iudah, that he would deliuer the land into his handes, and hath not nowe graunted the perfecte victorie, whether he haue chaunged his ſentence? Heare what Augustine writeth of the will of God in his 22 booke De ciuitate Dei and firſt chap. The will of God (ſayth he) is not chaunged, but we are chaunged. But he ſemeth after a ſort to be chaunged, when where as befoze he was gentle vnto vs, he now appeareth angry: and contrariſe where as befoze he ſhewed himſelf to be angry, he now in a manner gently offereth himſelf vnto vs. Wherefoze when we our ſelues are chaunged we doe finde him after a ſort, to be chaunged in thoſe thinges which we ſuffer. Euen as the ſunne ſemeth to be chaunged, when we our ſelues are halfe blind, or that our eyes be greued by ſome diſeaſe. For he which befoze was pleaſaunt, merry, and ſwete, beginneth now to be troubleſome & hurtfull, not as touching his owne nature (which alwayes abideth one, & is vnchaungeable) but by reaſon of our diſeaſe & vice, wherunto we are newly fallen. Wherefoze let vs moze plainly gather the cauſes of this imperfect victorie. The mighteſt cauſe and the true cauſe was, becauſe the Chanaanites had Iron chariots: ſo taking away Gods helpe, the Hebrewes were not like vnto the, being ſo well fenced & appoynted. And god (as Ionathas the Chaldeian teſtiſyeth) withholdeth his fauor & ayde, becauſe they had ſinned. Wherefoze a iuſte puniſhment folloved them, if they went without the victorie. But God whiche is alwayes very mercifull to his electe, vſeth this puniſhment to the commoditie of the Iſraelites: namely firſt to teach them the arte of warfare: then by his ayde, being withholden, they might ſele their owne weakenesse, & might ſee in what manner of enemies they ſhould haue to do. Beſides this if the earth might not be waſted of wilde beaſts, & brought into a wilderneſſe. Finally, thereby to trye the.

Temptation is nothing els, but to take proſe or triall of any thyng. Wherefoze the end of temptation is rightly called knowledge: as they which will paſſe ouer a water, do trye oute the ſhallowe places, to knowe the depth of the water: woundes alſo are tried of Surgeons, to ſele the depeneſſe of the. In tempting therfoze knowledge is ſought. But God nedeth not that new and freſhe knowledge, ſo ſuch is his nature, that he knoweth al thyngs moſt perfectly. But when he tempteth, he only doth it, to leade me to the knowledge of thoſe thinges which they ought to knowe. Wherefoze when he ſometymes tempteth good & holie me, he bringeth into lycht and maketh open the fayth, obedience, ſtrength and godlineſſe, which befoze lay hid in theyr hartes, that they which ſee the ſame thinges, might glorye God the authoz of them. And that they which are ſo tempted, when they haue gotten the victorie, may geue him thanks, and deſire of him, that euen as he hath done now, ſo he would purchaſe to helpe the continually in ſetations

Sooner therby, thei do conceaue a greater hope, y god will be with the to helpe them in time to come, when as they see y he hath so louingly graunted vnto them the same helpe now. Wherefore the ende of these temptations is, not that God should know those things, wherof he was before ignoraunt, but that therby his giftes, fauour and grace might not be hidden. But bicause sometimes it happeneth, that in temptations, euen the elect are overcome, god graunteth them after their fall, to rise vp againe fro sinne a great deale more modest than they were before, which the holy scriptures testifie to haue bene done in Peter and Dauid. The end thepofe of such temptations, is, y we knowing our own weakenesse, might lay down our Peacockes tayle, and haue a regard to God him selfe, as to the fountayne of all good thinges. But the reprobate do fall in temptations, and that alwayes from one euill to a worse, that their iniquitye, vnrightheousnesse and wickednesse might be manifested, which before lay hyd in they hartes, and whilst they lay hyd, they myght easely appeare vnto men, good men. But God will haue those thinges brought to lyght, that bys iudgementes and condemnation vpon them may appeare, as in very dede they are most iust. And certainly after this manner were the Israelites tempted in the desert, as many as were reprobate.

For what cause
reprobate are
tempted.

If temptations turne to good for the godly, why do they praye agaynst them, when as they pray in the Lordes prayer, Lead vs not into temptation. Wherevnto I answere, that we may not pray agaynst y first kinde of temptatiō, wherin we get the victorie, except peradventure for as muche as we are full of infirmitye whilst in that battayle we overcome the enemye, we also our selues are in some part wounded. For godly men desyre that all fallnges, though they be neuer so litle, may be diuinen from them. Howbeit we may not praye to be rid of these battayles altogether, wherin we overcome: for holy men haue sometimes desyred to haue the same graunted vnto them. For Dauid sayd: Proue me God, burne my raynes and my hart, Iames also sayth that such temptations pertaine to our felicitye when he writeth. Blessed is the man which suffereth temptatiō, &c. So farre is it absent, that it should seme to be prayed agaynst. But those are to be prayed agaynst wherin godly men slippe and are overcome, although at length they turne to them to good: because that in euery falling, both God is offended and also his law violated, which we must by al meanes abhorre and deteste. For although we persuaide our selues, that therby some good thinges will come: yet must we alwayes remember, that the same happeneth not by y deserte of sinne, but by the goodnesse of god. And it is a constant rule that sinnes are not to be wished for, though we might get neuer so muche good thereby. The thyrd kynde of temptation wherby men fall into destruction, must altogether be prayed agaynst, although they which be godly in dede, and the electe of god, are not affeard of y kinde of temptation, for as much as they stand not in doubt of they saluation. But the godly must alwayes loke for this, when they are afflicted by the goodnesse of god, that it would please him to mitigate the temptations, and geue the strength to beare them, for as much as he hath promysed by his Apostle so to do. For it is written to the Corinthians: God is saythfull, which will not suffer you to be tempted aboue your power, but will with the temptation make a way out, But whether god doth stirre by men to sinnes by temptation, shal be afterwarde declared. But now to the history.

Whether we
may pray a-
gaynst tempta-
tions.

Temptations
wherin we, or
our
selues
are not of them
selues to be
prayed agaynst

What kinde of
temptation we
must pray a-
gaynst.

What the god-
ly must wayte
for when they
are tempted &
adversitye.

20 And they gaue Hebron vnto Chaleb, as Moyses sayd: and he expelled thence the three sonnes of Enak.

21 And the childzen of Benjamin dyd not caste oute the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem: Wherefore the Jebusites dwelled with the childzen of Benjamin in Jerusalem, vnto this day.

A Commentarie vpon the

This sentence is therefore repeated, because now the warres of the tribe of Judah are declared, of which warres, Chaleb without doubt was the captayne. Wherefore here is declared what he obtayned. Namely those thynges which God would haue done (as he had spoken by Moyses) as it is written in the xij. chap. of Deut. and xlii. chap. of Num. and xlii. and xlv. chap. of Iosuah. But that which is written after it how that the children of Benjamin did not caste out the Jebusites that inhabited Ierusalem, but dwelled together with them, pertaineth to those things, which the other tribes had to do with the Chananites, and it beginneth with Benjamin for this cause, because that tribe was next to Judah, yea and that which is now written of Benjamin, is declared of the tribe of Judah in the booke of Iosuah toward the ende of the xlv. chap. And I thinke that that was therefore done, because the citie of Ierusalem was in the limite of both the tribes, and was inhabited together both of them of Judah, and also of the Beniamites. Yea and some asseyne that the part of the citie where the temple stood belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, and to that purpose do they write that, which Iacob the Patriarch sayd on his death bed, when he blessed his sonne Benjamin: Benjamin is a rauening wolfe, early taking his pray, in the morning, and deuiling the spoiles at euen: thinking this oracle to belong to the morning and euening sacrifices of the Temple. But howe truly they so doe, I will not now reason. But yet they are not so farre oute of the waye, as Augustine, which deuile the saying of the Patriarche to Paule the Apostle, because he was of the tribe of Benjamin.

The citie of Ierusalem was common to Benjamin & Judah

A fained tale of the Hebrewes.

I am not ignorant, how the Hebrewes write, that the Jebusites were not cast out for this cause, because that Iudas and Benjamin would kepe the couenaunt, which (as it is written in the xxi. chapter of Gen.) was made betwene Abraham and Abimelech King of the Gerarites, where the moste holy Patriarche swore, that he would not molest neyther the same Abimelech, neyther his children, nor yet his childrens children, wherefore seeing he and his posterity inhabited Ierusalem, and his childrens children liued euen to this tyme, they saye it was not lawfull for the Hebrewes, for because of theyr othe geuen, to caste them out. But after warde vnder Dauid, the tyme of the couenaunte was oute, because then were the childrens children of Abimelech wone out. And for that cause Dauid did caste out the Jebusites oute of the citie of Ierusalem, as it is written in the latter booke of Samuel the v. chapter. But these are but fables, yea if we looke in the foresayde booke of Samuell we shall fynde, that the strong fenced Castle of that citie was the cause that the Jebusites were not caste oute before. For Dauid to the end he would obtayne the castle, promised a noble rewarde to him that coulde conquere it, namely that he would make hym Captayne of the whole hoste of Israel: which office Iobab obtayned, because he spyde of all Conquered the Castle. There were two causes why they of Iudah and the Beniamites did not caste oute the Jebusites oute of the citie. One was because they obeyed not the worde of God as they should haue done: wherefore they are muche to bee blamed. The other cause was, because by the prouidence of God, and his moste wise dispensation, the whole victorie of these nations was reserued for Dauid and Salomon. For so God abuserh the synnes of men, that they hynder not but set forward his Counsell, specially for the aduancing of his electe.

Two causes why the Jebusites were not expelled oute of Ierusalem.

Ierusalem was in the olde tyme called Jebus.

But to retourne to the Hebrewes howe shoulde they knowe that the posterity of Abimelech dwelled in Ierusalem. The Scripture testifieth no suche thyng. Neyther can they tel whether Abimelech & his stocke belonged to the Jebusites. Wherefore let vs leaue their fained opinion vnto themselves, & let vs follow this sentence nowe alledged, as the truer. But this is not to bee overskiped, that Ierusalem was sometymes called Jebus. For as muche as the xii. chapter of this booke testifieth the same, & also the xij. booke of Paralipomenon in the xi. chap.

The

The summe is, the Jebusites possessed the castle, whiche being well fenced, & soz as much as God had iustly with drawen his helpe for the Hebrewes, they could not be overcome out of it, but Benjamin and the tribe of Iudah obtayned the Citie in the meane time. Unto whiche citie Saul and David went after they had gotten the victorie against the Philistines, and David himselfe brought thither the head of Goliath whom he had slayne. Peradventure that citie seemed mete for that triumphe, because it was comon to the tribe of Iudah and Benjamin, unto which tribes David and Saul belonged. For as David was of the tribe of Iudah, so was Saul a Beniamite.

Why Saul & David triumphed in Ierusalem.

And the Jebusites dwelled in Ierusalem, unto this day. What is even to the time of Samuel who is thought to have written this booke. For afterwarde came David, when he ruled over all Israel and expelled the Jebusites from thence, as it is sayd.

22 In like maner they that were of the house of Joseph went up to Bethel, and the Lord was with them.

23 And the house of Joseph caused Bethel to be searched (whiche before tyme was called Luz.)

24 And ppyes saw a man come out of the citie, and they said unto hym: shewe vs, we pray thee, the way into the citie, and we will shewe thee mercy.

25 And when he had shewed the way into the citie: they smote it with the edge of the sword. But let the man and all his household go free.

26 And the man went into the lande of the Hethites, and built a citie, and called the name thereof Luz: whiche is the name thereof unto this day.

After the tribes of Iudah and Benjamin is also declared in a certaine order what the other tribes did. The house of Joseph comprehendeth with it Ephraim & Manasses. First therfore is declared what those tribes togged together did, after ward shalbe shewed of eche of their doings perticularly. This is chiefly set first, that God was with them, to make vs to understand that this enterpryse had good successe, because God wrought with them. The name of the citie (but after ward) was called Bethel, that is, the house of God, because Jacob when he had there seene God and his aungels ascending and descending vpon a ladder (as it is written in the 28. chap. of Gen:) so named it. But in the olde tyme it was called Luz, whiche word signifieth in Hebrew a Walnutte, or an Almond or els a Filbert Nut, because peradventure that place was set with Walnut trees, Filbert trees, Almond trees, and the like kinde of trees. They are very muche deceaved, whiche thought this citie to have ben Ierusalem, for Ierusalem was taken long before, neither was it ever called Luz or Bethel. And besides that this citie pertayned to the house of Joseph, but Ierusalem longed to the lott of Benjamin and Iudah. But that whiche the Hebrewes trille concerning the gate of this citie, is not worthy to be rehearsed. For what is moze childlike than to saye, that the way of entrance into the citie was thorough a cane, at the mouth wher of was a nut tree, a tree I say great and hollowe, wherby they went down into the cane whiche would entre into the citie, and soz that cause it was called Luz. They should have spoken somewhat moze likely, if they had sayd, there had ben a gate in some secreete part or side of the walles, the commynge wherunto should have ben by certayne turnings, and circuites so that straungers should not easily have found out the way unto the same. D. Kimhi writeth that there were many gardynes there.

Luz is not Ierusalem.

A forged tale of the Hebrews

David Kimhi

If I should speake my fantasie herein, I thinke that the spyres of the Israelites did

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did not aske him which came out of the citie for the doze or gate thereof, but which was the weaker part of the citie or lesse fenced, that thereby they might the easier

The third espi
all mentioned
in the scripture

take it. Now is rehearsed in the scripture the third espiall. For the first is written in the 13. chap. of the booke of Num: An other happened vnder Iosuah, when those two searched the citie of Jericho, whom Rahab the harlot kept with great fidelitie, and this is the third which we haue now in hand. Although I am not ignorant how Ioseph in the booke of Gen: layd to his brethren charge that they

What in the of
fice of spies.

were spies. But the office or worke of spies is (as Chrysostome sayeth expounding those wordes of Paul in the second chap: of the Epistle to the Galathians, & there were false brethren entred to spy out our libertie) to know the doynge of the aduersaries, that they & theirs may haue the easier entrance to conquere or repulse them. Now we vnderstand that it is an action, and we see to what end it is ordained. Moreover it cometh from enemies and from the mynde of an aduersarye, but it is done prauely and craftely. As it is lawfull to fight with enemies by violence and weapons, when warre is iustly taken in hand: so is it iust and lawfull to vse the arte and subtilty of espials.

The end of espi
all.

Wherefore Ierome vpon the 27. chap. of Ezechiel sayeth, that espiall, is an in- different thing, namely which a man may vse both well and euill. Moles and Iosua used it well, and also the house of Ioseph. It so be that the warre be iust, the espiall also seruing thereunto must nedes be iust. Wherefore the brethren of Ioseph, when he sayd vnto them, by the health of Pharaos, ye be spies, did put

Ieromes
Espiall is a
thing indifferent.

that away from them as an injury or rebuke. But the punishment of spies is, if they be taken, all one with the punishment, wherewith enemies are punished when they fall into the handes of their enemies. For it skilleth not whether a man fight with weapons, or by subtilty and craft. Wherefore they must be of a

The punish-
ment of spies.

ballaunt courage, which for the common profit aduenture their lyfe in playeng the spies. For it is not every mans office to be a good spy. Iosephus writeth that the spies which were sent by Iosua, were Geometricians, because they ought well and clearly to knowe the situation of the lande of Chanaan. And Homer made Vlisses and Dyomedes spies, which otherwise were noble men. Paul the

Spies must
be ballaunt.
Iosephus.

Apostle in the Epistle to the Galath. The place before mentioned the second chap. excellently referred the worke of espiall to contentions of Religion, where he writeth that there were παρασάβες, that is, that there were certain incommers being false brethren, which παρασιῶν, that is, came in. καλασχοῦσαι, that is to

Homerus.

spy out our liberty as though he should saye, they subtilly sought & searched out our opinion, to resist it, and made search with great diligence whether they that were with vs kept vncircumcisiō, and that was to spy out the libertie of the Church, namely that by it, they might overthrowe Christians. And the spies saw a man come out of the citie. For what cause he went forth the history declareth not: but there may be many causes ymagined, either for that he went to seeke somewhat to serue him for his household, or els because he would flye out of the citie being besieged, or finally, that he also might spy out what was done by his aduersaries.

And they sayd vnto him: shewe vs, we pray thee, the waye into the citie. They speake saye vnto the man, & they pray hym, the matter is not done by violence, but they go aboute by friendly wordes to allure him to betray the Citie.

Whether the
spies of the Cha
nanites could
promise safety.

And we will shewe thee mercy. Seeing the spies had not the chief gouernment in the publique wealth, how durst they promise safety vnto this man, especially if they had no peculiar commaundement to do it. Thou wilt say peraduenture, they did trust that the Senate of the publique wealth and Captaynes of the warre would ratifie that which they had promised. But the superiour power can not confirme that which is done by the subiectes, vnlesse it be also lawfull for the same power both to promise and also to performe that which they

they did. And God had prohibited by expresse wordes that the Chananites & those proscrip^t people shuld haue their liues graunted the. Peraduenture they had be-
foze their eyes & exāple of Rahab the harlot, whose lyfe in the tyme of Iosua was
not onely spared, but also she was receaued with all that belonged vnto her, and
had in hono^r of the Heb^rues. And therby they iudged that it was in their power,
to promise mercy and safety vnto this man. And as touchyng the commaunde-
ment of God they thought gods lawes not to be so rigorous, but they might be
mitigated with some equitie, as they remembred was done with the Gaba-
nites, who were neuer the lesse Heuitero^r Hemorrites. Whou wilt say peraduen-
ture: They were so saued, that they were brought into bondage. And necessitie
of bondage is a certain hynde of cistie death: wherfoze in that the life of the bo-
dy was graunted them, the commaundement of the Lord seemeth not to be vio-
lated, for they were killed after a soze. The question is not dissolved by this rea-
son. For God prescribed by law that the Chananites should be put to death, he
referred not that to a ciuile death, but to a naturall death: for other wise Saul
might haue excused him selfe, bycause he killed not Agag the king of Amalek
with an outwards death. For he might haue sayd that he had alreadye killed
hym ciuilly.

The lawes
made by god a-
gainst the Cha-
nanites myght
be mitigated.

Bondage is a
ciuile death.

And God yet
referred the
death to the
naturall death.

Of the Gaba-
nites.

God ratified
the othe perfoz-
med to the Ga-
baonites.

And a word
of the
Gabaonites.

And a word
of the
Gabaonites.

Augustine.

Why God al-
lowed the league
made with the
Gabaonites.

The Gaba-
nites were tur-
ned to the true
God.

But bycause we are fallen into talke of the Gabaonites, I thinke it good to
say thus much of them. First that God did ratifye that othe whiche the Israe-
lites perfozmed vnto them, for as muche as he appoynted the host of the Heb^rues
in deliueri^{ng} their cistie from the other Chananites. But if so be that they had
violated the curse, whiche was set forth of God, he would not then haue done
it. For, bycause of the sinne of Achan, who had by stealth saued somewhat of that
whiche was cursed in Iericho, he did not helpe his people, but suffered them so
ly to be slayne, when they fought against the cistie Hay. Besides this it is writte
in the latter booke of Samuel that God plagued the Israelites thye yeares conti-
nually with most grievous famine, bycause the Gabaonites were contrary to the
othe slayne & of Saul miserably dispersed. Wherfoze (according to their request)
they had seauen of Sauls posteritie deliuered them to be hanged. These are most
certayne signes that God ratified the coneuant whiche was made with the Ga-
baonites, althoughe the Heb^rues did grievously sinne bycause they asked not
counsell of God. Augustine sayth vpon the x. chap. of the Iudges, when he inter-
preteth that place where it is written, that God promised Iosua that he would
be with him in the defence of the cistie Gabaon. For he sayd, be not affeard: for I
will deliuer them (namely the Chananites whiche besieged that cistie) into thine
handes, if this league (sayth he) now made with the Gabaonites had displeased
God, then would he haue commanded Iosua, not to take in hand that expedi-
tion, but rather to haue broken the coneuant made with that nation. But con-
trarily he encouraged hym, and of his owne accord, not called vpon, promised to
aide him in the fight, as it may appeare by the history.

But why he did allow the league so made, there may be two reasons gotten
for it. One (whiche is there mentioned) bycause they had bounde it with an othe.
And if the Israelites shuld haue violated that, their neighbours would haue con-
temned them as irreligious and vngodly, and their God should haue ben mocked
and contemned. Wherfoze lest the name of God and the same of the Israelites
should haue ben enill spoken of, it was ratified, althoughe it was vniuersely and
without prayse perfozmed. The other cause is, bycause the Gabaonites did now
beleue in the true God, and were redy to embrace his religion and worshipping.
Whiche may easely be gathered by two argumētes. For they sayd (as it is writ-
ten in the ix. chap. of the booke of Iosua) that they came in the name of the Lord
beyng therfoze moued therunto, bycause they had heard what thynges God had
done for that peoples sake both in Egypt, and also in the deserte, and lyke wise
about Iordane. This is a toke, that they now beleued the God of the Israelites.

For.

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Moreouer the same appeareth in that they were appoynted by the Hebrewes to carry and to prepare wood and also to draw water for the sacrifices which were done vnto the true God. Therfore they were made labourers and seruautes of the tabernacle, and of the tribe of Levi, wherof they were called Nathinites.

Nathinites.

And that the lawes which were made of God agaynst the seauen nations which inhabited the land of Chanaan were by this equitie to be interpreted and mitigated that if they returned to the true God, & would make peace with the Hebrewes, they should not be destroyed, it manifestly appeareth by that which is written in the xi. chap. of the booke of Iosua, namely howe those nations were therfore destroyed, because none of them (the Gabaonites only excepted) made peace with the Israelites. For God, to the end he would extinguish them, had hardened their hartes, and therfore they most obstinately fought agaynst the Israelites.

Why god hardened the hartes of the Chanaanites.

But the cause why God so hardened their hartes was, because their sinnes were full. Therfore they beleued not as did the Gabaonites, neither adioyned they themselves vnto the Israelites. And for that cause they continually resisting them, fought so vnluckely, that at length they were cleane destroyed. But if so be that they had made peace with the Hebrewes, and not despised their godlynesse and religion, they should haue had the same genen them which the Gabaonites had.

But in that they did not so, their former sinnes were the hinderance therof, for God for those sinnes tooke away his spirite and grace from their hartes, that at the last they might suffer most iust punishment for their wickednesse. This is the equitie and mitigations of those lawes agaynst the Chanaanites.

Why the Gabaonites were brought into bondage.

But there ariseth a doubt, why the punishment of bondage was imposed to the Gabaonites, if they nowe became so good and faithfull. Whereunto is answered, that they therfore fell into bondage, because they sined fraude and guile.

For God would for this cause haue them so punished, lest he should seme to allowe disceate and euill artes.

Whether the Nazite repented.

Now resteth to enquire what this betrayer of Luz did, whether he beleued and embraced the true worshipping of God. Out of the holy scriptures we can gather nothing of this thing. Peradventure it may seme to some, that he abode still in his vngodlynesse, because he went away from thence, neither abode he with the Hebrewes. But this is but a weake reason. For Iethro also departed from Moyses, who he came to se in the desert, although (as I thinke) he left his sonne with Moyses. Neither would Christ haue all those continually with him whom he healed, and which beleued in him: yea he sayd to one of the, who would haue dwelled with hym, returne to thine owne and shew vnto them what hath happened vnto the. &c.

Of Prodition or treason.

This place admonisheth vs somewhat to intreate of Prodition or treason, and it is demaunded, whether it be at any tyme lawfull: or whether it be alwayes forbidden? Ierome de optimo genere interpretandi to Pammachius sayth, that princes in dede do admitte treason, but they condene the traitours, wherunto agreeth the sayeng of Antigonus the kyng, which is, I loue traytors so long as they are in betrayeng, but when they haue betrayed I hate the. Platarch rehearseth the same of Rhimotalcus kyng of the Thracians, who sell first Anthony to Augustus, and after his victoie, boasted of the same among his cuppes, and that so insolently and aboue measure, that Augustus turning hym to his friend, said this sentence of him, I allowe the treason, but I prayse not the traytor. Which sentence though it seemeth allowable and iust at the first sight, yet ought it not to be counted either true or wise. For if wise men will allowe and prayse any action, they must also prayse and allowe the author therof. Neither doth any man that lawfully vnto others, which he would not suffer hym selfe. And there is no man which would be content to be betrayed hymselfe or any

Ierome

Antigonus.

Platarche.

Augustus.

any of his. Furthermoze one Lathenes when he had betrayed his countrey Olinthus to the Macedonians, & thought that soz the same he should haue ben highly honozed of them, it happened farre otherwise vnto him. For he was called of the souldiers a traytoz euery where thzough out the campe. Wherefoze he grievously complayned of the same matter to Phillip the king, who made him answer. That his Macedonians were very rude & rusticall people which knew not how to cal things by any other name, than by their owne & ppropze name. They call (sayth he) a bote, a bote. This was as if he shuld haue answered, Seing I art such a one, thou oughtest not to be called by any other name. Asconius Pzdia, nus in secundam verrinam sayth, that to betray is woze then to besiege. For the enemyes (sayth he) besiege, & it ought not to be couēd a vyce in them. But they betray whiche would seme friendes, and ought to be such in dede towarde vs. And therfoze when they departe from their office of friendship, they synne farre moze grievously than do the other. Ierome also in the place befoze alledged De optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammachiū, sheweth how Theodosius the Emperoz put to death Helychius the consull, bicause he opened the letters of the patriarche Gamaliel, neither was that any meruayle, bycause with the Romanes it was death, to open the secretes of any man, as it is wztte in h digestes De re militari, in the law Omne, & in the thirde law & in the Codice de cōmerciis & mercaturis. And in the digestes. Ad legē Iuliani maiestatis in the law 1. 2. 3. he y geueth ouer munitions committed to his charge, falleth into the danger of treason.

Lathenes.

Phillip of Macedonia.

Asconius Pz - dianus.

Ierome. Theodosius the Emperour.

The example also of Camillus is wozy to be noted, who commanded the scholemaster of the childz of the Phaliscians to be with stripes brought home of his disciples into his countrey, bicause he would haue betrayed them. The Whistio likewise of Pirrhys, which promised vnto the Romanes that soz their sakes he would kill his kyng, was by them detected vnto the king, that he might the diligētlier beware of him. Whereby peace followed betwene Pirrhys and the Romanes. Esay in the xli. chap. doth therfoze vehemently rebuke the Moabites, because they had so cruelly intreated the Israelites when they were oppressed of their enemyes, and admonisheth them, not to betray the Iewes syng vnto the in their tyme soz succoz. And Paul wztte in the latter Epistle to Tymoche, that in the latter tymes there should be men corrupted with most grievous and mischionous dedes, among whiche he reckeneth traytozs also. Besides this the citizens are swozne vnto the Magistrates, to defend the citie oz publicque wealth whē nede shall require. And though they were not swozne, yet the natural and common lawe requirerth the same of them: whiche thing the members of ally, uing thinges do testifie, whiche do willingly and most readily endanger them selues soz the bodye, and soz the nobler partes therof, I meane the hed oz harte. Whiche selfe thing the citizens are by the lawes of nature bound to do soz their countrey, if it be in dāger. Wherefoze if they should betray it, they can not be excused, but that they synne most grievously.

Camillus.

The Whistion of Pirrhys.

The members of ally, uing thinges do endanger the selues soz the nobler partes.

But it were good befoze we go any farther, to define what pzoeditio is. To betray semeth in Latine (as much as nedeth to this pzetēt purpose) to signifie thze thinges, namely to betwape, to deceaue & deliuer bp. Pzoeditio therfoze is an actio, wherby by guile, betwaping oz deliuering bp, our neighbours oz their goods are hurt, and that especially of those, whiche ought rather to defend the same.

What is to betraye.

But there be many kindes of pzoeditio. For they do betraye, whiche do by subtil guile detecte the faultes of their bzethzen Augustine. confirmeth this kynde of pzoeditio in his 2. questio first, chap. Si peccauerit, where he sayth repzehend thy bzother secretly, of whose sinne I haue pziuate knowledge: soz if I shalt do it befoze al men, I shalt not then be a correctoz of sinne, but a betrayer. Also he whiche circumuēteth an other, & bzingeth him into dāger, he betrayeth hym. Wherefoze Ierome (as it is wztten 24. question the 3. chap. Transferant) sayth that the same belongeth pziincipally vnto false Pzophetes & euill Pastozs, whiche by their euill

They byndes of pzoeditio. Augustine.

Ierome.

doctrins

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doctrine and examples destroye the shepe of Christ committed to their charge, whome they ought to defend. They are numbred amongst them, which deliuer castles and munitions vnto their enemies. Wherof it is written at large, 22. question the .5. chap. *De forma*. They are also counted betrayers, which do detecte & open secretes committed vnto thē, especially such as are of great waight, & being in danger the life, estimation or goods of their brethren. And this kind is noted in the title. *De penitentia*, distinct. 6. chap. *Sacerdotes*. Finally Chrysostome vpon Matthew the .25. homely, as is alledged in the decrees 11. question the third, and chap. *Nolite timere*. Not onely they are sayde to betraye the truth, whiche in the place of it speake a lye, but they also which do not frely profess the same. Wherfore there are reckoned many wayes or kyndes of prodicion. But we will not speake of them all nowe presently: but onely will touche those kyndes whiche make for our purpose.

Chrysostome.

One man some
times is both
a betrayer and
a spye.

Howbeit I thinke it good, this to be added, that some iudge that prodicion & espiall do not much differ one from another, and that it maye sometimes come to passe, that one man may be both a betrayer & a spye. For if any Citizen be corrupted with money by the enemies, the same is both a betrayer of his countrey, & is also in the meane tyme a domesticall spye. But this seemeth not to be wisely spoken, because the nature of these things (as it appeareth by their definitions) both very much differ, although sometimes they cleave both in one mā, so that the same man, may be both a betrayer & a spye. Euen as musike & Grammer differ much one fro another, & yet it oftentimes happeneth that one mā is both a Grammarian & a Musitian. Nevertheless the difference (which I haue before mencioned) is so, that most part obserued, although not alwayes, namely that espial cometh of enemies, and prodicion of them which be amongst vs, whom we trust as friends.

Whether pro-
dicion be at any
tyme lawfull.
Augustine.

But to the end we may the playnlyer know, concerning prodicion, whether it be at any tyme lawfull: I thinke it best to call to memory those wordes which Augustine writeth against the letters of Petilianus the second booke and 10. chap. We may not (sayth he) heare the complaynts of such as suffer, but seke out the mynde of them whiche are the doers. This the man of God wrote agaynst the Donatistes, whiche accused our men, as betrayers & persecutors. And to them he answereth that Paul also deliuered by some to Satyrus, whose saluation neuertheless seemed to be committed to his charge: but for all that, because he did it of a good mynde, namely to teache them not to blaspheme, and that their spirit might be saved in the daye of the Lord, he could not be accused either of treason, or els of deliueying by, because (as it is before sayd). The complaintes of them whiche suffer are not to be heard, but we must seke out the mynde of the doers. Wherfore when warre or controuersy shall happen betwene any, of which the one part is knowne to haue a iust & good cause, if the other part which defendeth the worse cause, & therfore doth vniustly, wil by no means be brought to any good & reasonable conditions, surely good men whiche peraduenture are founde on the same syde, ought in such sort to helpe & to defend the other part as they may aduance iustice. And if it be nede, they ought to fall from the vniust to iust men. Neither can their prodicion be condēned iustly as ill, although before they were neuer so much friends & very nigh vnto those, which worke vniustly.

What prodicion
is good.

What cause the
Israelites had
against the
Chananites.
Epiphanius.

Now must we speake somewhat of the Israelites cause agaynst the Chananites whiche may be considered of two manner of wayes, namely either by common lawe and ordinary lawe of nature, or elles by sayth, and by the wordes of God. Concerning the naturall or common lawe Epiphanius writeth that the lande of Palestine pertayned in very dede to the children of Sem, by occasion whereof Melchisedek reigned there, whiche was either Sem hym selfe, or elles one of his children. But the Chananites whiche came of Cham, passing ouer the boundes of Egypte and Africa, whiche were appoynted vnto them, dyd caste out of Palestine the sonnes of Sem. And therfore the Hebrewes, whiche were the posterite of Sem, when they required to be restored to their fathers landes,

landes, seemed to do it iustly, and rightfully. Wherefore (as he sayeth) **G D** did both restore vnto the Israelites the countreys whiche belonged vnto their auncestors, and also punished the Chananites for their wickednesse, and this he did all with one and the selfe same worke. Howbeit I can not easely agree to Epiphanius opinion, for there was past prescription of very long time, for at the least there were syue hundred yeres. Wherefore it could not be sayde that the Chananites possessed that lande vniustly. If we should go by this reason now in our tyme, then should there be none in a manner counted a lawfull prince and iuste possessor, when as their auncestors came to the possession of those prouinces and kingdomes by violence, bytynge out both the kings and the inhabitants that were in them before. Wherefore the Israelites seemed not to haue any iust causes by mans lawe, by whiche they might make claime vnto the land of Palestine as to their owne, neither alledged they at any tyme any such reason. And yet for al that they had good right therunto for as much as god testified as wel by wordes as by wonderfull workes, that it was his will that the Hebrewes should haue the possession of those regions, to whom (as Dauid hath wel said) both the earth and the saluance thereof belongeth. Neither could the Chananites murmur agaynst the iudgement of God, for as much as they were iustly cut of from their right, for their sundry and manifold wicked Actes. Wherefore none could in this cause iustly defend the Chananites if they will cleaue to the true God, and beleue his wordes. Whereby it followeth that this Luzite which betrayed hys ciizens byd it either of faith, as did Rahab in Iericho, or els by some humane bargayne. For the keepers of spyres sayd vnto him, We will shewe thee mercy. If he were stricken with feare, howe could that (as they say) happen vnto a constant man (for he was after a sorte a prisoner, and was fallen into the handes of hys enemies) then was he brought to it by humane convention, and then did he sowly, for it is not lawfull for any man, to make any fylthy couenauntes agaynst hys countrey. Neither can he be excused bycause of feare, for nothyng is to be done agaynst iustice and conscience, althoughe what feare so euer he should be stricken with, but if he were stirred by vnto it by fapth, and for that he saue hys ciizens obstinately to resist the worde of God and his workes, then he did well, neither can hys treason be either disallowed or elles condemned. For no lawes, no vowes, no couenauntes or bondes, though they be neuer so strypte, can bynd any man to fight agaynst or to resist the worde of God: whiche worde all men must earnestly labour to haue done and fulfilled. For this sentence abydeth and shall perpetually abyde: That we must obey God more than men. Neither can any man (as Christe sayeth) serue two maisters, specially if they commaunde contrary thinges. Whereouer the Magistrate is to be ayded in rooting out of vice and naughtynesse, and to hym without doubte is lawfull princely to send men, to make enquiry, and to detecte wicked Actes, that the offenders may be punished, and (as God hath commaunded) that euill maye be taken awaye from the worlde. Yea and it is also lawfull for hym to offer rewardes to men confederated together for some ill purpose, to allure them to open and detecte the conspiracye, bycause that assuredly pertayneth to treason. Howbeit heresy is neuer either to be dissembled, or to be praysed, or any wicked Acte to be committed that lawfull kynde of treason shoulde haue good successe. Wherefore Augustine in hys latter booke of Retractions testifieth, that he wrote hys booke de Mendacio chiefly for this cause, bycause some, to the ende they woulde detecte the Priscillianistes, sayned them selues to be followers of the same heresy, for that the same Priscillianistes when they were accused, affirmed with greate stoutnesse, that they were farre from any suche doctrine. But for all that afterwarde they disclosed them selues vnto those, whome (beyng deceaued by theyr dissimulation) they thought they myght well haue trusted. But Augustine in the same booke De mendacio, teacheth that by this dissimulation of the

It is not lawfull for any man to make any fylthy couenauntes agaynst hys countrey.

Feare must not cause vs to do any thyng agaynst iustice.

It is lawfull for the magistrate princely to send inquisitors.

It is lawfull for them to offer rewardes for conspirators to open theyr conspiracye.

Of the Priscillianistes.

Cap. I.

The Gabao =
nites.
Rahab.

Label.

Jonathas.

**Unsay the Bra
chise.**

Certain cautions are to be added to lawful prohibition. The first caution.

**The second cau-
tion.**

The third can-
tion.

**The fourth
caution.**

Now resteth only to declare certain cautions or pꝛouiſoes, wherewith lawfull treason is to be decked and adozned, and not to be condemned. The first is, that he which betrayeth be by a certain faith assured that the cause is iust which he aduanceth: whiche can not be done, excepte that he haue sure pꝛooſe of the goodnesse therof by the word of God. Neither do I at this pꝛeſent argue, whether the same word be reuealed vnto him in harte, or whether it be opened vnto him in the holy ſcriptures. When muſt he take hede, that being now well assured of the righteouſneſſe and honeſty, wherunto he is inclined, he be only pꝛouoked therunto with the loue therof, and not with the hope of rewarde or gayne, or for feare of any miſſortune, whiche he deſireth to eſcape, or to ſatiſſy his hatred and enemiſties deceaſed. For ſo ſhould he ſeke his owne, and not iuſtice, neither the obedience of hys ſayth, and of the will of God. Furthermoze it is very neceſſary that a man be not dꝛiuen to that but then when all other kynde of remedies wante. For Rahab ſo did: for except ſhe had then ſo kept the Hebreis ſpyes, they had bene by mans reaſon vndone, neither was there then any other waye to ſaue them. And certainly it oftentymes chaunceth, that all other wayes & meanes being tryed, the woꝛſe parte will not be brought to ſoberneſſe, ſo that there is no other remedy, but onely by pꝛodition. And I would therefore haue theſe cautions diligently obſerued, bycauſe that men are to muche prone to pꝛoditions, and that ſuch as are both filthy and wicked. Wherefoze we muſt take hede that by the exāple of good men they flatter not the ſelues as though they were innocent. Mozeouer Paul hath admoniſhed vs not only to auoyde that which is euill it ſelfe, but alſo to ſhew therof. Wherby we muſt vnderſtand this doctrine of his in ſuch ſort as we may accompliſhe it. For it is lawfull ſometymes to comitte a thing

thing whiche is euill to see to, but not euill in very dede: whillett yet there is hope that the thing may be straight way made playn, so that y^e which at the first sight seemed euill, may manifestly be knowen to be good. So the Apostle hym selfe circumcised Timothe, and shaned his hed, whiche of them selues and in very dede were not euill, although they seemed to haue had a certayn shewe of euill vnto certayn of the Ethnikes which were couerted, & wer not yet wel strenghtened. Finally perjury o^r lyeng are not to be mingled wth those p^{ro}ditions whiche may be allowable. For as much as it is manifest by the Apostolical rule, y^e euils are not to be comitted, wherby good things may follow. I know there be some which go about to defend those kynd of lyes which are called officious o^r honest. But Augustine doth not allow that. Whose reasons they which are desirous to know, let the read his boke Ad Consentiu. I assuredly agree vnto his opinion. For though there were no other reason, yet me thinketh this were sufficient, bycause the lyer byingeth himself out of credite, wherby nothing y^e he after ward speaketh cā scarcely be beleued, for they which heare it wil suspect it alwaies as a lye. And besides this y^e scripture doth euery where detest lyes. And we are comanded (as Peter saith) to speake as it wer the wordes of god. And these wordes are pure, neither must we graūt y^e there is any lye solid in the, as Augustine hath very wel w^{ri}ttē vnto Ierome. And though we read y^e the saintes did somtimes lye, yet we must either not excuse the, seing they were mē, o^r els we must thinke y^e it was done by the will of god. For then y^e actiō, which of his own nature, appeareth to be vicious, ceaseth to be sinne, when it is manifest y^e god hath comanded the same. And after this sojte Abrahā is excused, in that he would haue killed his sonne. The Israelites also are defended, whiche when they departed, tooke away with them, those things which they had borrowed of the Egyptiās.

The fifth caution.

Honest and officious lyes are not to be allowed.

Augustine.

What is to be answered concerning lyes of the saintes.

He answereth to the reasons put in the beginning.

To the first,

These cautiōs at this present offer the selues vnto me, wherby may be adozned this kind of p^{ro}ditio, which may be allowed o^r defended, whiche otherwise is a thing to be cursed & detested, as it is manifest y^e the p^{ro}dition of Iudah was. Neither cā the reasons which I haue alledged in y^e beginning, any thing binder but y^e some p^{ro}dition may be approued. We declared first by y^e authoritie of Ierome, Antigonus, angustus, & Philip of Macedonia y^e traitors haue ben accustomed to be euill spokē of. I answer y^e therfore y^e happened, bycause p^{ro}ditiois for y^e most part lacke these cautiōs before declared. For they which are traytors haue not for the most part a respect to y^e whiche is iust & honest, neither are they sure of y^e will of god, neither haue they any sure p^{ro}ofe y^e the cause is right which they follow, but are only brought to betray for hatred, & for their own comodity, & for feare & wicked affectes. And they might also oftētimes haue defended iustice by other wayes & meanes. Besides this they are not afeard therein to make lyes, & to comit manifest sinnes. Furthermoze I repete y^e agayn which I sayd before, y^e it was euill said of the in p^{ro}uocing y^e they loued y^e treasō, & hated y^e traitors: seing either so meth either equally to be allowed, o^r els equally to be cōdēned. And to be byet, y^e testimonies which wer brought cā only take place in naughtye & dānable treasōs. And to such as cōsider of the selues, y^e they would not the selues noz theirs to be betrayed, & therfore wil not y^e any kind of p^{ro}dition should be couēted good, we must answer as S. Augustine sayth. That the complayntes of such as suffer are not to be heard, but we must seke out the mynd of the doers.

Secondly we declared by the oppinion of Appianus, that p^{ro}dition was farre wo^rser than besieging, bycause thys namely besieging is done by ennemyes, but the other by friendes. We w^{ill} easely graunte to that: for if a naughtye and vniuste p^{ro}dition be conferred also with an vniuste besieging, than shall p^{ro}dition be iudged farre wo^rser, for as muche as it commeth from friendes, of whom we looke neither to be hurt, noz yet to receaue any damage. But euen as some besieging is found iust, what inconuenience shall it be then, o^r not agree y^e with the truth, if some p^{ro}dition also be found iust. The cōpariſon therfore

To the second.

It is some besieging is iust, so also is some p^{ro}dition good

Cap. I. A Commentary vpon the

of Appianus, is so to be vnderstood, that either of the things compared together be euill. For as the Gramarians say, the comparatiue degree alwayes requireth the positine degree, wherein the comparison is made. And in that Theodosius the Emperour (as Ierome testifieth) did put to death a betrayer, it is no meruayle, when as the Romane lawes so ordayned in the digestes, & in the Codice as it is befoze shewed & they determine so of y^e prodicion, whereby places of munition are deliuered by to the enemies, & likewise for treason. And assuredly that prodicion which is euill, ought to be counted for a most grievous crime. For if therby come any losse of name or fame, then is it against the commaundment of god, which commaundeth. Thou shalt not beare false witnesse. But if it bring losse of good and possessions, then is y^e commaundment broken which is ordained against theft. Finally if it be y^e cause of losse of body & life, it violateth y^e precept, wherein god hath commaunded, Thou shalt not kill. And there is no doubt, but y^e of prodicions such murders oftentimes happen: for the inhabitants of cities which are betrayed, are wont to be slayne of their enemies. Wherefore when y^e warre is vniust, the wicked betrayer is guilty of the murder whiche therof followeth. And therefore if lawes or princes haue ordayned death for this wicked crime, I thinke it is not vniustly done: but y^e letteth not, but that there may be good prodicions founde. Who doubteth but that thieues should be hanged, when as neuerthelesse it is lawfull in iuste warre to take spoiles from the enemies.

Euill prodicion is to be counted amonge moste grievous crimes.

Wicked prodicions are iustly punished with death.

To the third.

The Romanes (as it was after ward declared) toke vengeance of y^e scholemaster of the childzen of the Phaliscias, & they detected vnto Pirrhys his phisitian which would haue betrayed him. These things are true in dede, but I may easily aunswere y^e the Romanes had here a regard to two things. First y^e these (namely the scholemaster & the phisitian) had not in y^e which they did, a regarde to iustice, but were only stirred by therunto by couetousnesse or hatred. Wherefore they seemed to haue deserued not a reward but a punishmet. Further more y^e Romanes had a wonderful great desire of glozy, which they called ballatnesse of mind. And being stirred by with y^e, they thought y^e victozy in a maner vnworthy, whiche they got not by force, but after this sort, which seemed to be very cowardly. And it is possible, that they thought to wyne those agaynst whom they warred, and rather by benefites, or at the lest way no lesse by benefites than by force.

To the fourth. The Edomites and Moabites did vniustly betraye the Jewes.

Isai (as it was sayd) admonished y^e Moabites in y^e name of God, y^e they should not betray them whiche did flye vnto them, because they seemed to do that of enuie and malice, and not that they were desirous to set forth the will of God. For God had not commaunded the Moabites to afflict the Israelites. Wherefore when the Hebrewes were betrayed of the Moabites or of the Edomites, that could not be done but of cruelty, for as much as the lawes of neighbourbed & kynred were violated. And that Paul spake vnto Timothee of a wicked prodicion, it is more manifest, than I shall neede now to declare.

To the fift.

Lastly were objected othes & lawes of nature wherby citizens are bound to defend their countrey. Of which I answered, y^e all these are so farre forth to be obserued, as long as the othes and promises be not agaynst the worde of god and good lawes. Which thing if it be after ward knowen, the are they of no force, yea they are the vtterly voyde. To these I adde, y^e it manifestly appeareth by y^e cautions now alledged, y^e we must neither for sweare nor lye, whereby a laudable & good prodicion should succede. Wherefore they which sweare vnto their magistrates, & promise to defend the citie, can not be excused, when their minde is to betraye & to deceaue. This haue the Antichrists done in y^e counsel holden at Constantia. For y^e they might the easier allure thither John Husse, & Ierome of Praga, they promised him safety by publique sayth. And therefore they can not defend their prodicion (admitte it were nothyng els) as iust and honest. But they were without doubt treacherers and wicked betrayers in swearing & promising that by their letters whiche they would not perfoyme.

The prodicion of the Counsel holden at Constantia.

But

But now we must returne to the hystory. It is not certain (as it is sayd) whether this Luzite had faith, or whether he were an infidel. If he had faith, his position is to be commended, otherwise it is to be discommended. But if he believed not, neither cleaved unto the true God, why did the Israelites let hym go: ^{Howe the Luzite might be suffered of the Israelites to go in safety.}

Forsooth because he of his own will went into banishment. Neither seemed this to be against the counsel of God. For God would therefore haue those people cut off, least they dwelling together with the Hebrues should haue given them an occasion of falling and offence. Therefore when they departed, and chose wylful banishment, that came to passe, which God would haue to be done. But thou wilt say: By this meanes might all those nations haue bene sent away, neither ought they to haue ben slain as god had commaunded. What might haue ben done I neede not to answer, for as much as that is demaunded which coulde not be done. For so manye and so great were the signes of those nations, that they utterly deserved death. Therefore god taking away his spirite from them, yd so harden their hartes, that they endeouored not them selues to depart, but rather to resist the Israelites as much as in them lay. They made many battailes therefore, in which as god had ordained, and as they had deserved, they came to utter destruction, although a very few of them were saued in departing, or els in embracing the true religion.

Why the Chananites departed not, & gaue place to the Israelites.

And they smote the city wyth the edge of the swoorde. This is not to be ascribed to cruelty, but rather to obedience and religion towarde the true god: for so was it his will to be done, and so had he commaunded.

But they let the man and his household go free. Howe they coulde discern this mans family from the rest it is not writte. But it is most lykely that either he entred with the Israelites into the city, or els he shewed vnto them his house, by some token, whereby they might leaue it safe and vntouched according to their purpose. Rahab certainly in Iericho hong a purple corde in the window of her house, to auoid the misery and sacking of the souldiours.

And the man went into the land of the Hithites, Kimhi wyrteth that these Hithites were none of those seauen nations, which were commaunded to be destroyed in the land of Chanaan. But he declareth not what these Hithites were. And these are the names of those nations, which should haue bene destroyed of the Israelites. The Chananites, the Iebusites, Hemorrhites, Gergesites, Pherezites, Hithites, and Hivites. These are the nations which god commaunded to be weeded out of the land promised vnto the Israelites. But this is to bee noted by the way, that there is a difference betwene these wordes Kethim and Chethim, for that which is written by Kaph signifieth, as they interprete, the Italians, or such as dwell in Ilandes, or the Macedonians: and that word is found in Esay, Ieremy, and in the booke of Num: where the prophecies of Balaam are mentioned. But that word which is written with this letter Cheth, signifieth either one of the seauen nations of the country of the Chananites, or els those to whom it is sayd that this Luzite went.

And he built a City, and called the name of it Luz. So men that were driven out of their countrey were wont to do, that being moued with the loue of their country, to cal the places which they did build, either by the name of their country which they left, or els to builde them as neare as they coulde in some like the other. So it is said that Aeneas yd in Italy buyld Troy, & the city of the Pisites was in the same country built by the Gracians. Like wise the Israelites leauing the land of Palestine, decked by a city graunted vnto them in Egypt, like vnto Ierusalem, building a temple there, ordaining also Priestes and sacrifices, as they had befoze in Ierusalem. In which doing they synned most haynously, although neuerthelste they were moued thereunto by the loue of theyr countrey whych they had forsaken.

The manner of banished men in building or as building of cities.

Cap. I. A Commentary vpon the

Vnto thys day. The tyme of Samuel is by those woordes noted, who is thought to be the wyter of this hystory. And by this sentence the Hebrews do gather, that that City and the name thereof, endured to the tyme of Samuel.

27 But Manasses did not expel Beth-San, with her townes, and Thaanach with her townes, the Inhabiters of Doz with her townes, the inhabiteurs of Ibleam with her townes, nether the inhabiteurs of Megiddo with her townes. And the Chananites began to dwell in the land.

28 And it came to passe, that as sone as Israel was waxed mighty, they put the Chananites to tributes, and expelled them not.

29 In lyke maner Ephraim expelled not the Chananites that dwelt in Gazer, and therefore the Chananites dwelt still in Gazer among them.

30 Neither dyd Zebulon expel the inhabiteurs of Kitron, nether the inhabiteurs of Nabalol, wherfore the Chananites dwelt among them, and became tributaries vnto them.

31 Also dyd not cast oute the inhabiteurs of Acho, and the inhabiteurs of Zidon, & of Achlab, Achzib, Helbab, Aphik, and Rehob.

32 And the Aserites dwelt among the Chananites the inhabiteurs of the land: for they did not drive them out.

33 Neither did Nephtalim drive out the inhabiteurs of Beth-Semes, nor the inhabiteurs of Bethanath: but dwelt amongest the Chananites the inhabiteurs of the land: and the inhabiteurs of Beth-Semes, and Beth-Anath became tributaries vnto them.

The synnes of the Israelites.

In this place the holy hystory setteth forth the synne of the Israelites, in that they did not cast out and destroye those peoples, as God had commaunded them, but made them tributaries vnto them. Before the other tribes Manasses is reckoned: and the names of his Cities, which are here mentioned, are rehearsed in the booke of Iosuah, the 17. chap. where almost these selfe same woordes are rehearsed, namely how Manasses although he did not conquer them, did for all that make them tributaries vnto him. But that is not so to be vnderstand, as though this sinne were then committed: for as long as Iosuah lyued, the people dyd not so openly fail, yea rather the people did their duty diligently all Iosuas tyme, and al the tyme of the Elders, which had seene Moses, and had liued together with Iosua, as we shal heare straight way in this booke: but these thinges are spoken in that place by προφητιαν that is, by anticipation.

Cities called Matrices and μητροπολεις. Scythopolis.

And the hebrew phrase is to be noted, namely: And Benethiah, that is, her daughters. For it signifieth litle suburbs, townes and villages, whiche when they are compared with greater cities, do seme to be daughters of those Cities. The same kinde of speaking is vsed also in other languages. For we call often times the principal Cities Matrices, that is, chiefe Cities, and the Grecians call them μητροπολεις and μητροκώμης. Beth-San was a City in the tribe of Manasses, which was after ward called Scythopolis, of which city both Ptholomey and also Ierome haue made mencion. Thaanach is reckoned to be .x. myles distant from Cesaria, in the way to Ptolemais.

But the Chananites began to dwell in the land. This hebrew worde Joel, which the latine interpreter translatheth presumptit, and we haue turned it capit, that is, began, signifieth also to wpll, to be at rest, and to sweare. The sence seemeth to bee this, that the Chananites, seying they were not rooted out, would

would haue gladly bene content to haue tarped in those places, where before they dwelled, and that peradventure with a bond and an othe, but in such sorte that they would haue giuen a certayne tribute vnto the Israelites, which holbe had preuailed. But they of Manasses, because they could not cast these out, were punished for their smal faith. For if they had perfectly beleued, euen as God was with them in the conquering of Luz and other Cities, so would he also haue ayded them, in casting them out: but because their fayth was so diminished, God withdrew his ayde from them, but in the meane tyme hee referred this punishment (as I haue before said) to profitable endes, & meete for his prouidence. And they although they could not vpon the Iordayne expell their enemies, yet ought they not to cease of from making warre against them, neither was it lawfull for them to make any coneuant or league with them.

And it appeareth that they required tribute of these nations, and bargained with them without anye lawfull cause: for thus speaketh the scripture. And it came to passe that as soone as Israel waxed mighty, they put the Chananites to tribute. Therefore they preuailed against them, and they wer stronger than those nations; and therefore they can not be excused, in that they most filthily made conuauentes with them. For they seemed to be entised therewith by coustomnes of money and seruitude of those nations.

And in expellyng dyd not expell them. This doubting of woordes in the hebrewe expreth a perfect and absolute action, and this signifieth as much as if it should haue bene said: And they abused them, and some of them they expelled, but they did not utterly destroye them, as God had commaunded. But what can we answer of Salomon, which (in the first booke of kings the. 9. chap. and in the. 2. chap. of Paralip.) is written to haue brought vnder tribute the rest of the Amorrites, Hethites, &c. I beleue verely that the rest of those nations embraced the religion of the true God. For Dauid, who was otherwise a most noble king and valiant Captaine, and who possessed his kingdome perfectly, suffered them not to worshipp idols in his dominions. And if Salomon dyd afterward lay a greater burthen on them, than hee did on the Israelites, hee can not lawfully be blamed: for hee did so also with the Gabonites. For it is meete that the Israelites should be handled more gentlye of their King, than strangers. Neither should Salomon be excused, if hee did that for to muche greedy desire of money, or if hee did bargain with them for money, that they keeping still theyr idolatrous and false worshipping, might liue vnpunished in his kingdome.

Ephraim also expelled not the Chananites. It is not declared that this tribe did put their enemies to tribute: which I thinke neuertheles they dyd, where as it was declared before that Manasses did so, and we shall heare straightway that the tribe of Zebulon did the same. For it is not verely lykelye that those Ephraimites wer better than their felowes. As touching the city Gazer, Ierome saith that it was. 4. miles distant from Nicopolis, which is Emaus: and is called by an other name Gazer. Kitron also in the tribe of Zebulon and Nahalol were compelled to pay tribute, that they might haue Chananites to be their citizens. The city Acho was afterward called Ptolemais. Achzib also was called afterwarde Dispa, being. 11. miles distant from Acho in the way toward Tyre. Likewise the tribe of Nephtalim brought the Chananites vnder tribute.

Of Masse.

Because in these places there is often mention made of this hebrewe woord Masse, which signifieth tribute, of which woord is deriued Mishah, whiche of some is taken for tribute, which was wont to be payde of euery person: And some of the Popes hirelinges thynke that their Masse had hys name from thence, therefore peradventure it shall not bee vnprofitable somewhat to write of it. That woord is red in Deut. the. 16. chap. where God commaunded that

What the doubling of a word signifieth with the hebrewes.

Salomon also brought these nations vnder tribute.

Ptolemais Dispa.

Whence the woorde Masse is thought to be deriued.

seauen

Cap. I. A Commentarie vpon the

seauen weekes should be reckoned after Easter, and then should be kept the featt of Pentecoste. Thou shalt appeare (saith he) before the Lord, and shalt geue Mis-
sah Nethobath Iedecha, that is, a free oblation of thine owne hand. And that ob-
lation was so called as an pearly tribute, which notwithstanding was willing and
without constraint. Now best, other (and peradventure moze truly) do interpre-
tate that woord to signify sufficient, namely that ther should be geuen as much
as should be enough and sufficient: for in the .iiij. chap. of that booke, where the
Lord commaunded the Israelites to open their bandes vnto the poore, & to lend
him that which might be sufficient, that hebrew woord Dai the Chaldey Para-
phrast enterpzeteth Misshah, in which place I take it that there is a regard to be
had as wel of the pouertye of the poore, as of the abilitye of the geuer. For that
was commaunded to be obserued in voluntary oblations, namely that so much
should be geuen, as the ability of the geuers could beare, and as much as seemed
mete for the woorthipping of God. From hence do these our Papistes think their
Mass to be deriued, as though it were a tribute, and a willing oblation, which
might be offered euery where vnto God in the church, for the quicke & the dead.

Certeſſe he-
brew wordes
are obſerved in
the latin church
The hebrew
wordes came not
vnto the latin
church but by
the Greeke
church.

ΑΓΟΥΡΙΑ.

**An argument
against private
masses.**

Names of the
holy supper
among the La-
tynes.

Howe the fathers called the supper a sacrifice.

The most au-
cient fathers b
sed no: signs
of Masse.
Augustine,

But I thinke not so. I know right wel, that the church hath bozowed certayne
wordes of the hebrues, as Sathan, Osianna, Zebaoth, Halleluia, Pasah, or Pascha,
and such other mo. But we must marke, that those woozdes came not vnto the
Latine Church, but by the Greeke Church: soz as muche as those woozdes are
found in the new Testament, as it is wrytten first in Greeke, & also in the trans-
lation of the old Testament, as it was turned by the Ier. & therefore wee haue
no hebreu woozdes deuied to our Church, which the Greeke Church had not
first. But if we shal diligently peruse ouer the bookes of the Greeke fathers, we
shal neuer fynd this word Missa which is Masse, bled of the. & therefore I thinke
that this word of Missa is not deuied from the hebrues.

The Greeke church called the holy supper *ἀγούριαν*, which wordke signifieth a communion & publike worzhe. Neither is that word proper to holy things yea it is also applyed vnto prophane actions which are publike. And who knoweth not that the administration of the supper of the Lord is a thing pertaynyng to Christian people: For as many as be present, ought to be partakers thereof, and to communicate together, And least I should ouerskyp this, the etimologie of this word bringeth no smal argument against priuate Masses. Besides this that word pertaineth not only, to the Lords supper, but also it is attributed to other holy functions, wherefore it is written in the actes of the Apostels the 17. chap. *λειτούργησαν αὐτῶν*, whych some haue touned, whilest they did sacrifice, where as rather they should haue said, whilest they serued or wrought publikely, namely in a holy thing which they did without doubt in preaching of the Gospel. This holy function namely the Lordes supper had other names among the Latines. For it was sometimes called the Communion, sometimes the supper of the Lord, other sometimes the Sacrament of the body of Christ, or the breaking of bread. And our fathers haue often tymes called it as the Greeke fathers *εὐχιστήριον*. I wyl not speake of, how they bled to cal it oftentimes by the name of a sacrifice, not therfore (as our aduersaries do foolishly imagine) because that there the body & blood of Christ is offered vnto God for a sacrifice for the quicke & the dead. Although the fathers abhorred not from that kinde of speche, whereby they sayde that the body and blood of Christ was offered vnto God. But what they vnderstoode by those words, if they be diligently red, they do manifestly expounde, namelype that then were thanks geuen vnto god, which had deliuered by his sonne vnto the death & the crosse for our sakes.

By those names did the most auncient fathers call the Lords supper. But they made neuer mention of the Masse. For if thou shalt reade Ireneus, Tertulian, Ciprian, Hilary, and their like, thou shalt neuer finde that woord in them in that signification. Augustine maketh mention twice of it, namely in his sermon de tempore

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was entituled to Beda. And if it wer so, then it is no maruaille, if hee made mention of Masses, for then in the time of Beda the priest, many abuses had crept into the church. I do therfore admonish you of that, because in that place that robertus Ierome affirmeth that the soules of such as are dead, are by the celebration of Masses deliuered out of Purgatory. Ierome was not so wont to speake.

From whence this woord Masse cometh.

Tertullian.

Ciprian.

Catechumenes.

The Catechumenes & not communicantes wer sent out by the Deacon.

Cyrillus.

Gregory.

Festus.

In manner of the Ethnikes in a certaine seruice of theirs.

Apuleius.

Ερεγυμένοι.

Missas as it wer Missio.

Ambrose.

Partes of the Masse.

Now resteth to declare from whence the name of Masse, which undoubtedly is a latin woord, semeth to be deriued. The old fathers, if a man will diligently marke their writings, did put this woord remissa, which is forgiveness, for this woord remissio, which is also forgiveness. Tertullianus in his .4. booke agaynst Marcion, the .249. syde. We haue spoken (saith he) de remissa peccatorum, that is of the remission of synnes. Ciprian de bono patientiz, saith: Qui remissam peccatorum erat daturus, lauacro regenerationis tingi non est dignatus. He whiche came to geue remission of synnes, disdaineth not to be washed with the lauacro of regeneration. The same man writeth in the .14. epistle of his .13. booke. Qui blasphematur spiritum sanctum remissam peccatorum non habet, that is, he which blasphemeth the holpe Ghost, hath not remission of sinnes. Wherefore seeing in steede of remissio they haue said remissa, they may be counted also in steede of missio to haue vsed this woord missa. Wherefore that which was done in the Church post missionem Catechumenorum, that is after the sending away of the Catechumenes, they called Missa, that is Masse. Κατήχησις (to declare that also by the way) is to teache & to instruct, especially by voice, and not by writing: whereof they wer called κατήχησιμοι which wer not yet washed with the lauacro of regeneration, but wer instructed of their faith. Tertullian called them Auditores or Auditores, that is, hearers. But Augustine called them Competentes, that is desirers, or requesters (that is of baptisme.) For before they should be baptised at Easter, they signified their names. 40. daies before, in which space they wer instructed, & not onely their faith, but also their life and maners wer examined of the Pastors of the church. But in the holy assembling when the holy scriptures wer red, & the sermon done, the Deacon cryed: Exeunto Catechumeni, that is: let the Catechumenes go forth, & the Grecians said ἐξέρχονται, that is, holpe things for holy ones: as it is gathered out of the seruice booke of the elders. Also out of Cyrillus vpon Iohn the .xii. booke .1. chap: in Gregories time (as he testifieth him self in his second booke .23. chap. of his dialogues) it was sayd: if any man communicate not, let him geue place. And that maner maye appeare to be very like vnto a certaine collome of the Ethnikes: For in a certayne blage of their seruice of God (as Festus declareth) the Sargeant said: Exesto hostis victus, mulier, virgo, that is, let the overcome enemy, the woman & the maide go forth, for in that kinde of seruice it was forbidden that those kinde of persons shoulde be present. And Apuleius in his .1. booke saith, that the Priest did vse when he offered sacrifices, to say thus: τίς ἔσται, that is, who shal abide here? To whom was answered: καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, As though it shoulde haue bene said: honest & good men, when as they which wer polluted & vnwoorthy wer gon. So was it done in our church: for after that saying aforesaid of the Deacon, κατήχησιμοι, ἐρεγυμένοι, saile away, & such as wer put to repentance went their way. Of these orders Dionysius made mencion. They wer called ἐρεγυμένοι, which wer beset with euill spirits. Peraduenture they wer excommunicated, for those at that time, I meane in the primatine church, wer deliuered vp to Sathan.

Wherefore (as it now appeareth, by that which we haue said) the Latin church called the celebration of the sacrament of the holy supper Missam, as it wer missionem, that is, a sending away. For Ambrosius also said in a certain place, missas facere. And surely this sentence semeth muche moze probable vnto me, than both theirs which thinke that name to be deriued of this hebreu woord Masse. But now that we haue entreated of the name of Masse, we will also set forth the partes thereof, as they were had among the elders. The Grecians seeme to haue

haue begon their λειτουργικη, that is, the exercise of the Lords supper at χρῆσι εὐχαριστίας, that is, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, As though before al they would imploze
 for geuenes of their finnes. Which phrase the latin church hath borrowed of the,
 which some attribute to Gregory. But whylest the people gathered together,
 and before they were assembled, they song a peece of some psalme, or some part
 of the scripture, and that song they called Introitus, that is an entraince, because
 that at that time the people might enter in. And they make Celestine author
 of that. After χρῆσι εὐχαριστίας, the people being in a maner glad, for the obtaining of
 pardon for their synnes, to geue thanks vnto God, did syng this hymne Gloria
 in altissimis, that is: Glory to God on high, which they wil haue to be the inuen-
 tion of Telephorus. Then had they Collectes, which are ascribed vnto Gelasius.
 Moreover, certain lessons were rehearsed out of the holpe scriptures, either out
 of the old testament, or els out of the Actes, or Epistles of the Apostles. Whiche
 lessons being done, there was to be rehearsed some part of the Euangelicall by-
 story. But when the Readers had red vnto the church the syll lessons, the dea-
 con stode vp in a high place, or pulpit, namely to be sene, and to be vnderstande
 of al men, wher he distinctly pronounced that which was to be redde out of the
 Gospell. But whylest he went and ascended by the stayes, the people vsed to
 syng some verses of psalmes, which commonly they called Graduales, that is,
 steyre songes. They added also vnto them, Halleluiah, that is, prayse the Lord,
 as it were clapping of hands with a ioyous cry, for the glad tidings of the gos-
 pell. This hebrewe word Halleluiah, semeth to be taken out of the Church of
 Ierusalem: wherof there is mencion made also in the Apocalypse, and in the ty-
 cle of certayne psalmes. When the Deacon had red the Gospell, the Byshop,
 or the Pastor of the Church added thereunto an interpretation and exhortati-
 on: wherby vices were repproued, and deliberation taken of such as wer to be ex-
 communicated. Which thinges being thus finished, the Cathecumenites and o-
 thers which would not communicate, were sent away. But in our tyme, by
 cause there are found very selde any Cathecumenites, and they whych do not
 communicate doo stande myngled with the rest, yea almost none communicate
 except it be the Sacrificer alone. The Papistes haue differred that Missa, that
 is, that sendyng away, to the ende of their abominations. For then they vse
 to say with a loude voyce, Ite, Missa est, That is: Go your way, nowe is the de-
 parture. But in the olde tyme, those thinges being finished, whiche wee haue re-
 heard, they which abode to be partakers of the holy Supper, dyd sing the Sym-
 bole of the fayth, that they might diligently instruct one another in the princi-
 pal breades of religion, wherein they consented. For in Symboles is compre-
 hendid the summe of faith; whiche comprehension or summe, if a man wyll di-
 ligently reade the olde Fathers, he shal finde to be called Traditio Ecclesie, that
 is the tradition of the Church, which is both taken out of the holy Scriptures,
 and also necessary to be beliened for saluation. And sometimes Tertullian byn-
 geth it agaynst the heretikes which denyed the holy Scriptures. The Synode
 holden at Nicene made a full and perfecte Symbole, but not the syll, for as
 much as there were certayne Symboles before, as we may knowe euen of Ter-
 tullian hym selfe. When whyle they song the Creede or Symbole, such as were
 present offered of theyr goods suche thynges as they thought good. The offer-
 ring serued for three maner of uses, for parte of it was spent on certayne mode-
 rate banquetts, whiche the Christians dyd at that tyme verie religiously cele-
 brate among them selves, and they were commonly called ἀγανά, that is cha-
 ritable banquetts. Part of that which remained was distributed vnto the poore.
 And finally some of the bread & wyne was layd by for the vse of the holy Sup-
 per. And that thys oblation of thinges was then added, twoo thinges doo teste-
 fy. First certayne verses which were song by the people, whylest the offering

Introitus.

Gloria in ex-
cellis

Collectes.

The Epistle.

The Gospell.
The graduale.
Halleluiah.

A Sermon.

The Papistes
haue transposed
the sendyng as
way of the pro-
ple.

Ite Missa est.

The Symbole
of the fayth.

The Symbole
is called the tra-
dition of the
Church.

Tertullian
The counsell of
Nicene.

Three uses of
oblation.

Charitable ban-
quets.

Offering.

Collectes.

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Sursum corda.

Hoc age.

Gratias agimus
tibi.

From whence
is had the name
ευχαριστια.

Proper words
of the Supper
The Lordes

Prayer.

Sanctus.

Prefaces.

Canon

Kisse of peace.

Agnus dei.

Distribution of
the sacrament.

Post communion

Prayers at the

ending of the

Prayers at the

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was in doing, which was therfore called of the Offertorium, that is an offering. The same is also knowen by those collectes which are redde in that part of the Masse. Yea, and Iustinus the most auncient Martyr hath made mention of the same oblation in his Apologie or defence, and Ciprian also, and some of the old Fathers. After these thinges, when they came to administer the holye Supper, they sayde Sursum corda, that is: Lyst vp your hartes, as the Ethnicks vsed to cry in their holy thinges, Hoc age, that is, do this. And surely the Christians said so verie aptlye, and in conuenient time, thereby to admonishe them selues, to thinke at that time vpon no carnal nor earthly thing, but to lyste by their myndes vnto heauen, where Christ is to be sought, and not in earth, as though he were included in the breade or wyne. After that they gaue thanks, when they sayd: We geue thanks O Lord holye father, almighty, and euertlasting God, through Christ our Lord. &c. These thinges are mooste auncient, and are found very often in old ecclesiasticall wyters. Yea and that mystery of the bodie and bloud of Christ was called ευχαριστια, that is, geuing of thanks, because all the accomplishing thereof dependeth vpon thanks geuing. And when the people had sayd: Through our Lord Christe, he went to the proper wordes of the Supper. Which being rehearsed, there was said the Lordes prayer. But Xystus befoze the rehearsall of it, would haue the people to sing Sanctus Sanctus. &c. that is, holy, holy. &c. And that there might be better occasion geuen to come to that song, certaine pfaces were put befoze. And to those they peered they Canon, which one Scolasticus (as Gregory mencioneth in his Register) made: whiche in dede the same Gregory alloweth not, because he would put in thinges of his owne, and neglected the Lordes prayer. The kysse of peace, is sayd to be the inuention of Leo the seconde. Which seemeth not so to me, for as muche as that maner was in the Church, even in the tyme of the Apostels, that Christians shoulde entertayne one another with the kysse of peace. Yea and Paule in his Epistles hath made mention of that kynd of saluation. And Iustine also the martyr in his second Apologie hath mencioned of this kysse. The song of Agnus dei, that is the Lambe of God, is said to haue bene brought in by one Innocentius. And when all these thinges were finished, they came to the distribution of the Sacrament. Which whylest it was in doing, or when it was finished, they song a song of thanks geuing, which they called Post Communem, that is, an after Communion. And all these thinges beyng finished and ended, the Minister sent away the people, blessing them with a lucky blessing.

All these thinges, although they led awaye the Christian people from that first simplicity of vsing the Lordes Supper, very manye thinges beyng added as it seemed good vnto sundrye men: neuerthelesse after a sozte they might be borne withall, neyther can they iustly be accused eyther of superstition, or els of idolatry. Whylest they were not a lyke in all Churches, neyther were they obserued after one maner. For yet in the Church of Millame it is otherwysse obserued after the institution of Ambrose. But afterward the Romane Antichristes corrupted all thynges, as I shall declare in an other place.

And that by the olde institution were obserued those thinges which I haue mencioned, I coulde easely proue by most auncient wyters. Tertulian in his Apologie sayth: we assemble and gather together, that wee praying might embrace one another, as though we would make a rushing into God with our prayers. This violence is acceptable vnto God. We pray also for Emperours, & for their ministers & powers, for the state of the world, for the quietnes of things, & the taryng of the end. These things declare the sume of the collectes. And for the rehearsing of the Scriptures, hee addeth: we assemble together to the rehearsall of the holy scriptures, if the quality of the present tyme both compel vs, either to foresee any thing, or diligently to acknowledge any faults, we be assuredly fede our sayth with holye wordes, wee create our hope, wee fyre our confidence,

and

and yet we continually repeate discipline, by inculcating the preceptes of God. There are also exhortations, castigations, and sharpe iudgements of God, for there was iudgement with great waigbt. &c. These are the thinges whiche were done in the holy assembly. Wherunto those thinges are also to be added, which the same author saith in an other place, namely that the Lordes Supper was wont to be receaved at the handes of the chiefe Ministers. &c. We may by these wordes perceave the principal partes of the Masse which we haue made mention of.

Iustine the Martyr in his second Apologie maketh mention that the Christians assembled together on the Sunday, but he writeth nothing of other feast daies. There he saith was rehearsed the holy scriptures, wherunto the Bishop dyd afterward adioyne his exhortation. Which being finished (saith he) we ryle and pray. He addeth afterward: The bread and drinke is brought to the bishop, over which he giveth thanks as earnestly as he can: to whom all men answer, Amen. These two wordes declare that they were not carelesly to be passed over. First thanks were not given rashly, but with as much earnest as might be, that is, with a singular affection. Moreover, it is manifest that all these thinges were spoken with a loud voyce, seeing all the people answered, Amen. Afterward (saith he) is distributed the Lordes Supper, then is the common giving of thanks, and the offering of almes.

Iustine martyr

Dionysius in Hierarchia Ecclesiastica maketh mention almost of these same thinges, namely of the reading of the scriptures, singing of Psalmes, Commens, and other thinges, which were to long now to rehearse. But (which is much to be marvelled of) he maketh no mention of the offering of the body of Christ. Yet we must not thinke that he was that Arcopagite, of whom the Actes of the Apostles haue mentioned. But whatsoever he was, it is not to be doubted, as farre as I can iudge, but that he was an old wyter. But why I can not thinke that he was an Arcopagite, these are the reasons that leade me thereunto. First, because the kinde of writing which he useth, especially of the names of God, and de Hierarchia celesti, containeth in it rather the doctrine of bayne Philosophie, than the pure doctrine of Christian religion, and utterly wanteth edifying: moreover those bookes are in a manner boyd of testimonies of the holy scriptures. Furthermore in his Hierarchia Ecclesiastica he maketh shew as a mydele order betwene a Clarke and the Lay men. When as in the Apostles time, that kinde of life was not yet in the Church. Besides this, the auncenter Fathers neuer made mention of those bookes: which is a good argument, that those writings were none of that Partyes doing. Gregory the Romane was the first of all wyters that made any mention of him, who in one of his Homilies mencioneth of his writings. But let vs leave him and come to Augustine.

Dionysius.

The wordes of Dionysius are not bys wyche was the Arcopagite.

Monkes were not in the church in the Apostles time.

Augustine.

That father in his 59. epistle to Paulinus, when he dissolueth the. 8. question, expoundeth the. 4. wordes which are written in the. 1. epistle to Timo. the. 2. chap. And these are the wordes: *deprecatur, precatur, et precatur*. And he affirmeth *deprecatur*, to go before the celebration of the sacrament: but *precatur* he maketh prayers, which are said in the administration of the sacrament, wher after a sozte we bow our selues vnto Christ, and he thinketh it behooueth to bee petitions and requestes, with which the Minister of the Church prayeth for good thinges vnto the people standing by. And finally *precatur* he affirmeth to be the common giving of thanks. I could to these bring a great many more monuments of old wyters, but that I thinke these are sufficient at this present.

A place to the mothe expounded. 1. Tim. 2.

But now to returne to the name of Masse, I see ther haue bene some wyche haue thought it to haue ben deriued of the word *Missa*, that is sending, because those thinges which were offered of the faithfull, were sayde to be sent, and they thynke that this hebrewe worde *Missa* gaue the occasion to that name, because in Pentecoste the Jewes used to send gyftes. But why I doo not thynke

Note an other kind of mission

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the name of Missa to be deriued of the hebrewe woordes, I haue before declared. And now I adde this, that if Missa were so named of the oblation of thinges, which were geuen of the godly, then do the Papistes abuse that name, who haue no regard at al to the almes of godly men, but onely to the oblation of the bodye and blood of Christe, which they commonly boast, and that impudently, that they doe offer it vnto God the father for the quicke and the dead. But of these thinges I thinke I haue spoken enough and enough.

34 And the Amorrites drave the childre of Dan vnto the mountaine, for they suffered them not to come downe into the valley.

35 And the Amorrites began to dwel in the mount Heresch in Iusalem, and in Saalbin: and the hande of Joseph preuailed, so that they became tributaries.

36 And the coast of the Amorrites was from the going vp of the Scorpions, and from Petra and downward.

They of the tribe of Dan distrusting the mercy and fauour of God, were drue by the Chananites or Amorrites, into the hilly places, wher they were scarce able to abide. For their enemies began to vsurpe the mountaine of Heresch, whych was appointed to their lot: but the house of Ioseph aided them, and so preuailed,

that they made the Amorrites tributaries. And how farre the borders of the Amorrites extended, is briesely touched. For they reached vnto the going vpp of Scorpions, which is a place in the South borders of the tribe of Iudah, not farre from the dead sea, almost euen to Petra, which city is the Metropolitane or chiefe city of Arabia, from which it is called Arabia Petrea. Strabo describeth it, that it was situated in a plaine ground, compassed in with high rockes, from the borders wherof flowed moste plentifull fountaynes, when as the whole region which lieth by it, was altogether drye and a deserte.

Petra,
Strabo.

Whether it be lawfull for Christians to dwel with infidels.

But seeing the Israelites sel, because they dwelled together with vngodly nations, and did rather exact tributes of them, than utterly wrede them out, according to the commaundment of God. I thinke it good to entreate whether it be lawfull for godly men to be conuersant and to dwel together with the vngodly.

Reasons which
proue that.
The first reason.

2. Reason.

3. Reason.

4. Reason.

5. Reason.

6. Reason.

7. Reason.

8. Reason.

9. Reason.

And assuredly ther are many reasons, wherby that maye seme to bee lawfull. First, because Christ despised not the feastes of Publicanes, Phariseis, and Sinners. Secondly, Paul to the Corinthians the first epistle, geueth not libertie to a faithfull wife, to depart fro an infidelle, so that he be content to lyue & dwel together w her. Whereouer, the same Apostle wrieth, that if any infidelle byd you to a feast, and ye wyll go with them, then eate suche thinges as are set before you. By these his woordes therfore he maketh it free. Furthermore, the same Apostle in the same epistle, saith that he had admonished the Corinthians to auoyde whooremongers, rauenours, euyl speakers, and suche lyke: but not al (sayth he) so must you go out of the world, but if any be called a brother. &c. Wherefore we are not so bydden to auoyde the fellowship of al the vngodly. Besides these Abraham was called out of Chaldee, and commaunded to dwel as a straunger among nations, which were farre from true religion. Wherefore he dwelt in the land of Chanaan and Egipe, whych places were altogether geuen to idolatry. Wea, and Lot seperated him selfe from the fellowshippe and familie of his kinsman Abraham, and went and dwelt in Sodome. Naaman also the Sirian returned to his idolatries. Christe also retayned not with him al those whom hee had healed of diseases, but sent them agayne, sometymes to their owne, to declare there, what had happened vnto them. Finally by ciuyl lawes certaine heretikes haue had places appointed vnto them, as the Nouatians had in the citie of

of

of Constantinople, and at this day the Jewes haue euery where leaue to dwell among the Christians.

This questiō surely as it is weighty, so hath it also very many doubtēs. **Whether a distinction.** For we must first make a distinction, what may be lawfull to Magistrates, and what to priuate men. Then must we vnderstand that the conuersation with infidels hath two considerations: one is, whereby men are diuē by compulsion to idolatrous and vnpure worshipping of God, & an other, whereby they remaine at libertie. Then we must marke, y they which liue together with the vngodly as touching religion, are sometyme learned and strong, and sometimes they are both weake and also vnlearned. **In other distinction.** Wherefore I thinke it good to be iudged as touching priuate men, that if they be learned, and haue with theyr learning adioyned constancie, so that they be not compelled to communicate with vngodly rites, may lawfully haue to do and be conuersant with men that are infidels, prouided that there be certayne cautions added. **The third distinction.** The learned & strong may be conuersant with infidels.

The first caution is, that they do it with thys minde, to teach those which are without godlynesse, and to bring them to the sincere and pure religiō. And therefore whilst they are conuersant among the, they ought not to cease: but ought alwayes to go about that purpose, for which they dwell in those places. And that theyr instruction and doctrine may be fruitful, they must take diligent hede, that they be courteyse, gentle and bounteous towarde those, whom they thinke to ioyne vnto Christ. For vnlesse they be fully perswaded, that they which do admonyshe them and instructe them do loue them, & haue them in pryce, the thing which they haue taken in hand shal haue but euill successe. **The first Caution.**

Furthermoze they must take hede, that they liue holily, iustly and honestly, for if the infidels should be offended with theyr maners, their ministerie would vtterly be vnprofitable: for as much as it nothing auayleth to build with one hand and to destroye the same with the other hand. **The second Caution.**

Moreover this most of al is to be sene vnto, y vnder the pretence of gentlenesse or frendship they myngle not themselves with vngodly blages no though they were perswaded, that they could that way allure the the easier vnto Christ. For the rule of the Apostle must abyde vnshaken, which is that euil thinges are not to be committed, whereby good thyngs may happen. **The third Caution.**

They must beware also, y in being conuersant with the, they seke not theyr own cause or commodity. For some there are found, which although they make a pretence that they are desirous to haue the Gospel spred abroad. Yet neuertheless in very dede follow & seke for their owne pleasures, & gayne or aduantage. Wherefore if there be no hope (which neuertheless can seldome iustly happen) of the health of such infidels, we must no longer haue to do with them, but so much as eyther our necessitie or theirs requireth: that is, if peraduenture they shoulde be very soze sicke, and could not be holpen no other waye but by our helpe: or if we our selues shuld not be able to get things necessary for our lining any other where but among them. It shall be lawfull also to be conuersante with them, as much as naturall and ciuile necessities requyre, as if they were our princes, fathers, wiues or maisters & such like. Now resteth to cōfyrme this sentence, either by testimonies of y holy scriptures or els by examples. Christ assuredly did so, who for this cause was cōuersant w publicanes, sinners, pharisees, & scribes, to instruct the of saluation, & to conuert the fro sinnes to vertues, and godlinesse, **Proves oute of the holy scriptures.** **Marth. 9.** Wherefore Ierome on y 9. chap. of Mathew hath thys saying: Christ in dede went to the feastes of sinners, but to that end y he myght haue occasion to teache the & to recōpence theyr biddings with spirituall meates: neyther are there any other things in the rehearsal therof spoken, but such as Christ himselfe spake or dyd, and what was the power of his doctrine, &c. Thys same manner dyd the pphets in the old tyme vse, when they were conuersant w an idolatrous people **I. iii.** **And**

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And in lyke sorte dyd the Apostles, when they were sent by Christ, to go abroad among the Ethnikes. Neyther dyd Paul disdayne when he came to Athens, to betwe the temples of the Idols, and there curiously & subtilly to loke vpon stiles and inscriptions of the altares, wherby he learned that inscription Ignoto Deo, that is, To the vnknown god, and therof he tooke matter to make an excellent Sermon there, that he might after a sort reprove the men of Athens out of there owne proper tables. I thinke these thynges are sufficiente to conspyre the sentence before alledged. But before I goe from thys matter, I thoughte it good to admonysh you of thys, that the same cautions being added, it is lawfull for godly me to be conuersant with such as are excommunicate, namely to bring them into the way, so that they communicate not with them in their faulte, or haue to do with them for affection sake.

So we maye be conuersant with excommunicates.

The weake & vnlearned ought not to haue to do with infidels.

The ignorance of Christians as touching faith is to bee reproved.

But let vs go forward, and declare what is to be iudged of the weake and vnlearned men. They, although they are not compelled to pollute themselves with idolatrous customes, yet ought they not to dwell together with Infidels. For being vnlearned, they haue no pretence of teaching. For if they should go about to instruct others, they should by their vnskilfulnesse easily cause y true doctrine of Christ to be had in derision. And surely the ignorance of such men is earnestly to be reprov'd: forasmuche as among Christians, there is none so very an Idiot founde, but that he is bounde to be able to rendre a reason of his faith and in a sorte able to instruct straungers. And certaynely all men moughte quickly do that, if they would suffer themselves to be instructed even meanelly in the Cathedisme. Neuerthelesse such as are infected with thys ignorance ought to separte themselves from haupng familiar fellowship with Infidels as much as nede of the body and ineuitable necessities will suffer.

We maye not haue to do with vngodly scholemasters.

Godly scholemasters do easily aduance religion.

Origene.

Augustine.

But what shall we saye of Scholemasters: they are oftentymes enemyes to pietie which yet are appoynted to teach good artes and Philosophie. I say that it is dangerous to vse them, for as muche as they doe instille oftentymes peruerse thynges into the myndes of the hearers, and when as the Schollers are wonte to haue a meruelous opinion of a learned Scholemaster it easily afterward comenth to passe, that they beginne to reuerence them, and that exceedingly. Wherfore when they see that they are eloquente and very well learned both in the liberall artes, and also in Philosophie, they can scarce persuaue themselves, that those Scholemasters can erre or myserablye be deceaued in the true religion. For on the contrarye part we see that Origene the Adamantue, being besydes the religion of Christ, wherin he was instructed, wonderfully indued also with good artes and Philosophie, dyd in teaching disciplines of the Ethnikes bring very many of hys hearers to Christ. We know also that Augustine, when he willingly gaue eare vnto Ambrose for hys eloquence sake, was turned from a Manichee to a Catholyke. So, yea and that moze easily (for as muche as we are moze prone to euill then to good) it may oftentymes happen that they which are weake and vnlearned in religion, may as touching vngodlynesse very much increase vnder vngodly Scholemasters. And vndoubtedly by thys meanes fell Iulianus the Apostata from Christ, in takyng Libanius, Iamblicus, and Maximus to be hys Scholemasters. Wherfore for as much as suche Scholemasters can not be had without greate danger, my iudgement is that we should altogether leaue them.

Thou wilt say peraduenture y Paul the Apostle in his fyrst Epistle to y Cor. hath not witten these cautions or exceptions of the weake and vnlearned ones, when as he plainly witteth: If any that is an infidel shal cal you, & ye wil go, &c. By these wordes he semeth to testifie, y al that is referred to our wil. Wherunto I answer, y the Apostle did not permit y to be free to every wil, but to a wil y is ryghtly & wel instructed. For if a mā should go to these feastes, to be dronke to pamper his belly or gorge, or to solace himself w filthy talke without doubt he

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can not be excused by the permittion of Paule, but is earnestly to be repponed, for his vn honest wil and wicked purpose. Likewise if a mā being cōuersant with infidels should doubt of his own constancie, & should see y he could nothyng profite them, among whō he dwelleth, vndoubtedly y man can not go thither with a sound conscience, or an vpyght will. And if he should go, he should not directe y which he doth, to to glory of god (as he is cōmaunded.) Furthermoze although Paule hath not in the same place by expresse wordes put thys caution alledged, yet it folloiweth not thereby, that the same is not to be added: sozasmuch as it is both by firme reason manifest, & also pꝛoued by other places of y holy scripture, y that is in no case lawfull. And y self same Apostle sayth in the same Epistle the vii. chap. that he doth well, which surely purposeth in his hart, y he wil kepe his virgin: Howbeit he addeth this condition, so y he haue no nede, and that he hath power ouer his own wil. For if he should otherwyle appoynt thē his daughter would, or had nede, then vndoubtedly he should not do well. Whereby it appeareth y to the goodnesse & vpyghtnesse of y worke, it is not sufficient to see that y work it self of his nature be not euill, or repugnant to y word of god. But moze ouer thys is required, y we attempt the same with an vpyghte, perfecte & whole mynde. Wherefoze euery one y is vnlearned & weake, ought to seperate himselfe frō the fellowship or familiaritie of y vnfaithfull, as much as naturall & ciuile necessity suffereth. For seing y he perceaueth that thereby will come some danger to his soule, he can not with a good minde & sound counsel be cōuersant with thē. Howbeit he may do such duties vnto them as are cōmaunded in the law of God, least he be made guiltye of y sentence of Paul, where he sayth: whosoever hath not a care of hys, & especially of hys household, he hath denyed the sayth, & is worse than an Infidell. yea and the same Apostle hath commaunded, that seruantes of necessitye should obey their Masters.

To the goodnesse of an action it is not sufficient that the nature euill.

Now resteth to shewe reasons & testimonies of the holy scriptures, for y dysallowing of this conuersation. First our Saviour feared not to say in Mathew the 5. and 18. chap. If thy hand, sote or eye be an offence, or let vnto thee, cut him off, and cast him from thee, And these (as the wyser interpreters do declare) spake he not of the members of the body, but referred thē vnto those, which are our familiars, & most nygh of kynred vnto vs. They al are to be seperated frō oure company, although they seme profitable and comodious, when they eyther separe vs frō God, which is the euerlastyng saluation, or do put lets and hynderāces, wherby we are called frō hym. Chrysostome in a maner intreating the self same argument sayth in the 56. Homely vpon John: If we cut of a rotten membre frō the body, least it should corrupt the other partes of the body, which vndoubtedly we do not, because we despyse that membꝛ. For who at any tyme hated hys owne fleshe? How much moze should we do the same in those which are wicked, lyfyned vnto vs, not that we should despyse them, but that we should prouide that our saluation be not there indaungered, where we see y we can nothing at al profite them. Wherefoze in thys case, it is muche vnprofitable to desire, or to seke for familiaritie or concoꝝd. To this also doth y law of Christ tend which he gaue in the 18. of Mathew, y they which are in a manner past hope of saluatiō, & wil not heare their bꝛethꝛen iustly admonishing thē, yea and also despyse y voyce of the church correcting them, let them be counted as Ethnikes and publicanes. Which thing Paule also hath taught, who in the fyrst of the Corinthyans the v. chap. commaunded the incestuous person to be excommunicated, that a litle leuen should not pollute the whole dough of the sainctes.

Testimonies of the holy scriptures for y sentence alledged.

Chrysostome;

Moreouer the same Apostle taught, and y in the same Epistle the 15. chap. out of a verse of Menander y Poet, y euil cōmunications corrupt good maners. And thereby he shewed, y the ryght sayth of y resurrection, was greuously weakened among y Corinthyans, which were newly come vnto Christ, and y for that cause because they had lightly geuē credite vnto y arguments & prophane reasons of

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Philosophers or rather hereticks. It is not possible to be thought, how by belittling of wicked wordes corrupteth the tender sayth of the weake ones. Wherefore profitably and conueniently were the Corinthians admonished, & with the all such as are weake or exhorted, to abstayne fro fellowship of infidels. The physicians also do counsell, & when a contagious disease shall infect either a familie or the next familie vnto it, & such as yet are of perfect health goe not vnto them which are sicke. For in the bodies & temperatures of men there is a certayne agreement, whereby an affection easily issueth fro those which are sicke to the which are whole and sound, the payson whereof, though it be not by and by felt, of those which take not heed vnto themselves, yet so as within a litle while after it deadly corrupteth. Wherefore seeing we are bidden so diligently to beware of the diseases of the body, much more ought we to prouide agaynst the vices of the mynde that we no way prouoke them vnto vs.

The counsels of physicians to a wayde contagious vniuersite.

corrupta

Our nature is on every side subiect to corruption.

Chrysostome.

Furthermore our nature is so framed, by reason of our naturall or originall sinne, & we are on every side subiect to corruption, as both by holy scriptures, and also very many experiences do daily teach vs, so that it is not to be doubted, but & we should easily sucke in the payson of other mens sinnes, if we shoulde not w great diligence auoyde them. And those synnes as they do without any labour cleaue vnto vs before we beware, so being once conceaued, they can not be plucked from vs but with great paynes. Wherefore Chrysostome in his 56. Homely vpon Iohn which I a litle before brought, semeth wisely to saye: If we coulde make the better, and not hurt our selues (he entreateth in the place of infidels and vngodly ones) we should do all things: but when we can do them no good, because they are past amendment, and that we may greuously hurt our selues, then are they utterly to be cut of. And to confirme his sentence more strongly he bringeth in that which Paule writeth in the first Epistle to the Corinths. the 5. chap. which is, Take away euil from among you. Which wordes of the Apostle can not be vnderstand of synne, so much as the Greeke word is τὸν ποιόν, that is euil. By which kinde of speache a wicked man is signified. Wherefore I shall nothing erre, if I a litle bend the wordes of the Apostle to the commoditie of the weake ones, saying: Take away your selues from among the euill ones. For if ye, being weake and vnskilfull, shall company with them, ye must needs both see and heare very many thynges agaynst godlynesse & the religion which ye professe. And because ye are not able neyther to confute, nor to reprove them, ye shall seme to be called as witnesses of blasphemies and reproche of the truth. And peraduenture there shoulde remayne a stynge in your myndes, where with your conscience should be vered longer than ye thinke for. Let vs hearken vnto the wise mā, who hath wel and faithfully admonished, That he which toucheth pytche shall be fylled with it, and he which hath fellowship with a proude man, will proue like vnto him. Take vpon thee no greater burthen, than thou art able to beare, & ioyne not thy selfe vnto a mightier than thou thy self art. Ecclesiasticus the. 13. chap. These things do two wayes serue for this present matter. First in that the vices of other men are lykened vnto pytche, whiche sticketh wonderfull fast to the syngers of them which touch it, and also to garments. Secondly as we faithfully admonished to haue a regarde to our own strength.

The vices of other men are like vnto pitch.

We must haue a regard to our own strength.

Examples of holy scriptures

Exodus. 31.

Let the examples of holy scriptures in any wise teach vs. The Israelites were 70. yeres captiues in Babilon, & were so infected with the conuersatio of vnsaythful naties, & after ward when they had leaue geue the first of Cyrus & the of Darius & most noble kings to returne home, very many of the wold not returne, but being overcome with the comoditie of houses, fields & marchandises, they remained still among the Chaldeans, Medes, & Persians: So cold became they in the loue of godlinesse & study of religio. They were reproved in dede by Esdras, Nehemias, & Zachary, but they were litle & better thereby. And how much the Hebrewes wer corrup

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ted by their long conuersation with the Egyptians, the things which were by & by done in the wilderness, do playnly testifie. For although they had yet before their eyes the singular benefites of God towards them, yet they fell from hym to Idolatry, and because in Egypt they had sene an ore superstitiously worshipped, they therfore instigated Aaron, to make them a calfe to worship. Whiche being gotten the with great reioysing they began to crye. These are thy gods O Israel, which brought the out of Egypt. Besides this, they sojournynge, though the wilderness, when they came to the borders of the Moabites, and were conuersant with that nation more familiarly than was mete, they were brought to this point, that they did not only commit filthy whoredome with the shamelesse women of the Moabites, but also they offered sacrifice vnto the most filthy idole named Baal-Peor and suffered them selues to be admitted to his most vnpure sacrifices. Peter the chief Apostle, when he had entred into the vngodly halow of the chief Priest, and had there ben conuersant with the maydens and vngodly seruantes, so that his master Iesus Christ our saviour. For the which faulte afterward, when he departed, he wept most bitterly. I say when he sawe God sit in the temple like a iudge, and angels standing about hym, which most purely celebrated prayes vnto him, although he seemed not to himselfe to be guilty of his owne faulte, yet he cried out: Woe vnto me because I dwell in the middost of a people, yet haue vncleane lips. For the man of God felte, that he had gotten no small infection, by reason he had dwelled so long with an vncleane people.

Numeri. 25.

Mathew. 23.

I say. 6.

Alexander of Macedonia.

Alexander that Macedonian, which by strength and most noble victories had subdued vnder hym the most part of the earth, was so weakened and effeminated by the maners of the Persians, that those whom he ought to haue drawn to his own maners and qualities, he him selfe tooke their garments, weaknesse, halowenesse and pride, so farre was he from bringing them to the institutions of the Macedonians. Wherfore he came into great hatred of his soldours. Neither is this to be passed over, that long conuersation of the godly with infidels (except there appeare some fruite of their conuersion, and that the same be by all meanes sought for) doth breede a let or hinderance to their saluation. For when they perceive that our men do liue so familiarly with them, they thinke that the superstitions and idolatries, wherewith they are infected are not so euill, and so much to be detested. And peradventure they are brought to this point, that in persecuting in them, they distrust not but that they may attayne to saluation. For unless it were so, they could not persuade them selues, that our men would dissemble it. Besides those things, there are very many of our men, which by the example of this mingled conuersation do thinke that they also may do the same, which they see others to do. Wherby by the dede or example of certain, euill should spreade abroad more amply, and our sayth and godlynesse should be had in derision of the Churche and Papistes. And that oftentimes cometh to passe, which we knowe to haue happened in the tyme of Paul (as it is written in the first Epistle to the Corinthians) that they which other wise were faithfull, by this conuersation do communicate with wicked and polluted rites. For by ouermuch familiarity with the infidels, is by littell and littell made a stepe to followe their superstition and Idolatry. Wherfore not without a cause did the Apostle crye: Flye from Idolatry. I will not speake also, how that it is not possible, but that, where our men which are weake & without learning and knowledge, are conuersant with infidels, sometymes there may happen some talke of religion, where in although they slippe not, yet when they can not ouerthrowe the sophistical and crafty argumentes of their aduersaries, bawling and strife sometymes arise from them, which fall into hatred, cursing & reproches, which haue no edification, but rather hinder it, so farre is it of to get a stepe to set forward. To this serueth the which Paul hath written in the second Epistle to the Corinthians: draw not yoke with vnbelieuers. For what fellowship hath righteousness with vnrightheousnesse: What participacion hath light with darkness: or what concord be tween Christ

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Christ and Belial: what part hath the faithfull with the vnfaithfull? or what agreeth the temple of God with Idoles: These things are so manifest, that they neede not the light of interpretation: neither ought they to be vnderstand onely for contracting of matrimonyes, when as they extend farre and ouer all, & per-
tayne also vnto all kinde of conuersation with the vngodly, whiche we haue w
them for our owne cause. I know that the shadowes of the olde law are now by
the benefite of Christ remoued fro vs. Howbeit, it is not to be doubted but that those
things abide, of which the people of God was by them at that time admonished.

What was
meante by the
hemmes of the
Hebryes.

Wherefore I demaunde, what God ment, when he commaunded the Iewes,
to sowe hemmes to their garmetes which they ware: Andoubtedly this he ment,
that they being taught by that signe, might vnderstand that they were seuered fro
the Ethnikes, and that it was not lawfull for them to ioyne them selues with
them, but as muche as necessitie should compell. God oftentimes forbade them
that they should not returne into Egypt, and that they should not seke ayde of
straunge nations. For he would haue cut of from his people all occasions of su-
perstitions and Idolatry, yea and the place, whiche we are now in hande with,
testifieth that the Israelites grieuously sinned, because they had brought these
Idolatrous nations vnder tribute, and had made a league with them, and dwel-
led together in the same cities & fieldes with them. And assuredly to what euill
it turned them vnto, the hystory it selfe declareth: for they brought not the Cha-
nanites to the true wo:shipping of God, but they them selues rather forsaking
their God, became lyke Idolaters.

Iohn .4.

I speake not, how that the conuersation betwene the Hebryes and Samari-
tanes was so odious even to the tyme of Christ, that the woman of Samaria
(of whom Iohn mencioneth) sayd vnto Christ, that the Iewes were not wonte
to be familiar with the Samaritanes. Wherefore it is not mete for Christians, to
take away from them selues the boldnesse and liberty, scely to speake of Christ.
Whiche they must nedes do, if they dwell among infidels. For if they dwelling
with infidels should familiarly haue free talke of Christ, either should they be
laughed to scoorne, or elles they should not be suffered. Andoubtedly the holy fa-
thers in the old tyme, were both grieved and also mourned, when by any neces-
sitie they were compelled to dwell from the people of God. Dauid therof is wit-
nesse, who sighed when he was by reason of the vnjust violence of Saul constray-
ned to lyue in deserte places. And it appeareth in the Psalmes, how grieuously
he complained and lamented that he was forced to dwell among straungers, &
such as were farre fro god. Daniel & his fellows mought haue had the fruition
of the kinges table, and of most delicate meates, and yet they abiected those com-
modities & pleasures, lest they should despoyle the selues with the delicate meates
of the Ethnikes, and with the vncleane bankettes of the vnbeleuers. Moses also
(as it is written in the xi. to the Hebryes) whē he mought haue ben counted the
sonne of the daughter of Pharaο, and thereby haue attayned to great hono: , he
contemned all this, and went vnto his brethren, which were oppressed with mi-
serable seruitude, in making vzycke and tyles. They whiche followe not these
examples, do manifestly declare, that they haue small mynde of the glozpe of
God, and that they will not redeme the same with their owne losse or hinderāce,
thoughe it wer neuer so smal or littel. Do we (sayth Paul to the Corinth. 1.) pzo-
uoke God: Are we stronger than he? Wherefore they whiche are weake and vn-
learned, whilēt they take vpon them to dwell among infidels, they do without
doubt tempte god, and in a maner prouoke him, as though they would be strō-
ger than he. I could gather a great many moze reasons for this sentēce: but these
whiche I haue brought, shalbe sufficient at this tyme.

It is not law-
full to dwell
with infidels
when we are
compelled to cō-
municate with
they: vngodly
rites.

Now let vs come to those, whiche do so dwell among infidels that they are
compelled to be present at their vnlawfull rites, whether those be learned or
vnlarned, whether they be strong or weake, what they be, in this case, it maketh

no matter: For I comprehend them altogether. I say that none of them, such an habitation or conjunction is to be suffered: but either they must flye from thence, or rather suffer death, than to commit Idolatry. Paul sayd (as I haue before declared) Flye from Idolatry. The lawe and Prophetes, the olde and new Testament are full of ordinaunces, commandementes, lawes, admonitions, rebukes, wherby straunge worshipping is forbidden. Daniels fellowes chose rather to be cast into the furnace, than they would worship the ymage set vp by a moste mighty king. Machabea the mother with her children would rather dye, than she would against the lawes of God eate swynes fleshe. I could reckon an infinite numbze of Partys, which most constantly suffered death, rather than they would forsake theyr godlynesse, which they had professed, hauing this sayeng alwayes before their eyes, feare not them whiche can kill the body &c. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians affirmeth the same, because we are the temple of God, the members of Christ, and partakers of the table of the Lord, which table can haue nothing common with the table of deuils.

Daniel. 3.

Machab. 7.

All these thinges are to be applied vnto our tymes, when in the tyme of Papistrie godly men, if they dwell with the vngodly are compelled to be at their Passes and most filthy seruices: whiche of all thinges is not lawfull vnto them. But some take these probations by me now alledged to be vnderstand of sacrifices done to Idoles, and not of the superstitions, whiche are now vsed in the tyme of Papistrie. But they ought to remember that no outward worke is to be had for the true worshipping of God, vntill it be appoynted by the worde of God: whiche if it be not, it can be nothing els but an inuention of man. For we can not without faith worship God: and faith can haue no place, where the worde of God is withdrawen. Wherfore in humane actions, how goodly in theyr selves so euer they be, vntill god by his worde do allowe them, they can be no worshipping of him. Surely if we would honor men, we are wont chiefly to marke, in what thinges those men do delite in: and when we haue found that out, we thinke we haue bestowed our labour well, when we haue shewed vnto them those thinges wherin they were wont to reioyce and delyte. Why then do we not after the same sort with God, to serue him with that kynde of worshipping whiche he hath allowed by his oracles? Let vs heare him in Esay, how that in the oblations, sacrifices, incenses, and offerings which were brought into the temple without faith, he was rather weryed than reioysed in them. He abhorreth and detesteth these kyndes of sacrifices as the Prophetes haue taught vs. If these thinges are spoken of those sacrifices whiche they by the worde of God vled, & that for that cause only, because they were offered without faith: what thinke we is to be iudged of the inuentions of men, & sayned worshippinges, which beinge boyde of the worde of God can not be done with faith: we may verely say that they pertaine vnto Idolatry. And that may be manifestly gathered hereby, because there is no true God whiche wil be worshipped with these thinges. Wherfore it followeth that the vngodly whilest they adioyne such rites vnto their holy seruices, they do not worship the true God, but him whom they haue sayned with them selues to delyte in these thinges. And for as much as in the whole nature of thinges there is no such, they worship the Idole of their owne mynde, and therfore lustly and worthely they may be called Idolaters.

An outward worke can not be counted for worshipping of God, excepte it be grounded by his worde.

A similitude.

There is no true god which delighteth in sayned worshippinges.

But they say that those thinges which are sayd & done in the Masse, had their beginning by the institution of Christ, althoughe they were afterward vitiated thorough mens default. What helpeth them nothing, for as much as in these thinges we may not haue a regarde or consideration to their beginning but to their nature and forme. And we must diligently marke whether they agree with the worde of God. The brazen Serpent by the commaundement of God had his beginning, it was also endewd with miracles, for the Israelites were by loo. The brazen Serpent neuer pent.

We must haue no regarde to the beginning of Ceremonies but whether they agree with the worde of God.

thelesse

What the Hebrewes meante whē they made the selues the golden calfe.

The manner of y^e Ethnykes in their Idolatry.

The counsel of Jeroboam.

What is to be done when superstitions are obtruded vnto vs.

The answers of Ciprian.

The punishments which obtemperate the selues with superstitions.

thelesse, when the Iewes worshipped him, and offered incense vnto it, the godly men detested it. So that the most holy king Ezechias brake him in pteces, & there withall utterly put away the worshipping therof. We must not therfore haue a regard to the originall of a thing, but we must looke how it is vsed, whether it agree with the first institution. The Hebrewes when they compelled Aaron, to make them a calfe to worship, had not that mynde to fall from the true G D, when as they confessed that he brought the out of Egypt. This was onely their entent, to worship him vnder some signe or visible forme, and they chose that forme wherby they had sene the Egyptians expresse their God by. So the Ethnykes testified that they worshipped one God, as the chief autho^r of all thinges, which they fashioned vnto them selues by diuers and manifold shapen. For by Pallas they say was signified his wisedome: by Mars his power and myght. By Iupiter his iustice and goodnesse. Wherfore rites and ceremonyes are not to be esteemed by the counsell and will of men. No otherwise must we thinke to haue happened of Jeroboam the sonne of Nabat. For he would not (as he pretended) plucke away the people from worshipping of the true God, but because he was affeard of his kingdome, and sawe that it might easely happen, that if his men should often go vnto the temple of Ierusalem, they would fall from him, and returne vnto the familie of David. He sayd therfore, that to worship the true God, they needed neither the tēple of Ierusalem, nor yet the arke of the couenant. For that God Iehouah, as he was signified vnto the Iewes by the wooden arke and tēple of Salomō, so also might he be expressed vnto y^e Israelites by signes of golden calues, so that that worshipping which they should perfoyme at Ierusalem, they might commodiously celebrate vnto Iehouah in Bethel & in Dan. This man therfore went about no other thing but made an outward worke, whiche he obtruded as a worshipping of G D, and that utterly without his worde, whiche wanting, all y^e was done was mere superstition and Idolatry. Tyannes therfore and princes, when they compell men to polluted rites, although they say they do them for a good intente (as they terme it) and how soeuer they pretend some certain beginning of aūclety, are not yet to be heard. Paul doth in this manner admonish the Ephesians. Communicate not with their vnfruitful workes, but reprove them. He called them their workes, because they could not be called the workes of God, for so much as they very much disagreed from his worde. But, what is then to be done, whē they are obtruded vnto vs: Surely we ought to reprove them, and with great libertie (when nede requirerh) reprobend them. But that is dangerous (say they:) we shall lose our goods and dignities: we shall be put to death. I graunt that, but none of vs hath vpon this condition receaued the religion of Christ, that hyalpe, goodes and dignities, should remayne safe vnto hym selfe. Yea Christ hath by expresse worde testified vnto every one of vs. Excepte ye renounce all that ye haue, and take vp your crosse, and folloyme, ye can not be my disciples: and vnlesse you lose your soules ye can not possesse them. After this sorte must we frame our selues. Ciprian (as Augustine declareth) when he was led to execution, the president being desirous that he might escape, sayd vnto hym. Now I geue thee space to deliberate, to chose whiche thou wilt, whether thou wilt thus miserably be slayne, or obey, and so let go free. The man of God answered, In a thing so holy, deliberation hath no place. They whiche are not affected with this mynd, but are wonderfull carefull, lest their lyfe or goodes should perishe, those men do easely pollute them selues with fables and vnpure superstitions, and for the same cause do suffre most greivous punishmentes. First truly their conscience miserably afflicteth them. Secondly the light of the truth whiche befoze was kindled in their myndes, is by litle and litle extinguished. Thirdly very oftentimes they excedyngly deleyte them selues in that dissimulation, so farre of are they, to repente them of it. Yea and they go about to persuaade the same vnto others,

others, and those whiche will not obey admonitions, they begyn to hate, and lastly as muche as lyeth in them, they stirre by agaynst them, the anger, force and might of Tyrantes and worldly princes. Such a most unhappy end of many of them haue I my selfe sene.

And in this their dissimulation, thus they vse to defend them selues: we do not this (saye they) from our hearte: we so behaue our selues onely in bodye and outwarde gesture. But why do not they consider, outwarde actions to be a certayne shewe of confession: and euen as in the profession of sayth and Religion the tongue ought not to disagree from the hearte, so also what soeuer is outwardly done in deuine ceremonies, ought with the same profession to agree. Adde also thereunto this sayeng of Paul, with the hearte we beleue vnto ryghteousnesse, with the mouth is confession made to saluation. Chrysostome lykwys sayde: Who soeuer shalbe ashamed of me before men, I will also be ashamed of hym before my Father. Furthermoze I woulde haue those men to vnderstand, that that is not pure and true sayth, whiche bursteth not forth in actions agreeable vnto it. Whereouer our sauour (who most earnestly sought the gloze of his Father) when he had purged the Temple from Marchantes, sayde: The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp. But these our men shewe forth no following of that godlynesse and sayth, whiche they craue to be closed in their heart.

Outward wor-
shippes are certain
shewes of con-
fession.

It is no true
sayth whiche
bursteth not
out into acte.

Neither do they remember, that euen as the inward worshipping of God is founde to be it, whereby we iudge of him truly and honorably: so also the outwarde worshipping is, whereby we worshyppe hym rightly and as he hath appointed. And that Idolatry lykwys is of two sortes, for one is, whereby we sayne vnto our selues in our hearte by euill doctrines such a God as we lyst our selues. An other is, whereby we transference the outwarde worshipping not onely to creatures and Idoles, but we bitiate the same also with our owne inuentions and lyes.

In inward &
outwarde wor-
shipping.
Idolatry is of
two sortes.

We ceteayne (say they) in our heart the right opinion. Graunt it be so, but ye abandone your bodies to Idoles and to the deuill. And Paul affirmeth, that your body is the member of Christ, why do ye then take it and geue it to an harlotte? But Paul (saye they) wrote that of fornication, I knowe that. But the Prophetes in the meane tyme teache vs that Idolatry is the greatest fornication of all. For Jeremy, Ezechiell, and other holy Prophetes so inueryge agaynst the Iewes and their Church, that they saye the same Church is lyke vnto an harlotte whiche vnder euery greene tree hath abandoned her selfe to Idoles and prophane worshippinges. Whereouer howe bayne the excuse of these men is, the oracle of God playnely declareth, whereby God answered thus vnto Elias the Prophet. I haue left me 7000. men, whiche haue not bowed their knees before Baal: he sayth not whiche thincke rightly in theyr hearte, and whiche in their mynde beleue vprightly, but on the contrary setteth forth a signe of outwarde worshipping, namely of bowyng the knee. And he whiche created the whole man is not content with the halfe of him, neither will he haue his creature parted with the deuill. To me (sayth God) to me onely I say shall every knee bowe. Furthermoze if this their reason had bene of any valew, the Corinthians might also by it haue excused their doing. For they might haue said vnto Paul, what, art thou so belement agaynst vs? We our selues know also, that an Idole is nothyng, and we kepe the right opinion in our heart, Let God be content with that. It is lawfull for vs in the meane tyme with the body and outwarde presence to serue our owne commoditie.

Idolatry is
the greatest of
all fornications.

God hath crea-
ted the whole
man and wyll
haue him whole

Other mennes
fautes are not
layde to oure
charge but that
we communicate
with them.

Furthermoze they saye: These thynges we do nothyng at all bitiate, yea we woulde haue them vncorrupte and perfecte. Wherefore what synne soeuer is here committed, it ought not to be ascribed vnto vs. Whereunto I answered. That

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that

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that is true in dede, that an other mans synne is imputed to no man, but yet whillett ye are present at pꝛophane rites, that is blamed in you, and iustly imputed vnto you, in that you communicate with an other mans vngodlynesse. The Apostle in hys firste Epistle to the Corinthians sayde: do ye not knowe that they whiche do eate of the sacrifice, are made also partakers of the Temple? What saye I than? That the Image is any thyng: or that it whiche is offered vnto Images is any thyng: Nay. But this I say: that the thyngs which the Gentiles offre, they offre vnto deuilles. But I woulde not that you shoulde be partakers of deuilles, ye can not drynke of the Cup of the Lorde, and of the Cup of the deuilles, ye can not be partakers of the Lordes table, and of the table of deuilles. &c. Wherefoze, though the corruption of the Sacrifices is not to be imputed to the communicantes, yet for all that the communicatyng it selfe, from whiche they ought to haue kepte them selues, maketh them blame worthy. And vnlesse the thyng were so, why would not the holy Party communicate with the rites of the Ethnikes: why did Paul so reprove the Corinthians? But here they retorne agayne to this, to saye, That the Masse is not to be compared with the Idolatrye of the Ethnikes. For (saye they) though it is somewhat straye from the institution of Chyriste, yet ought it not to be counted a pꝛophane and an Idolatrous thyng. But I affirme it to be so muche peruerter, that almost it nothyng at all agreeth with the institution of Chyriste, yea it is most vtterly contrarie vnto it. Whiche is very easie for me to declare.

The Masse hath nothyng common with the institution of the Lorde.

A contrarietye between the supper of the Lorde & the Masse.

Firste the Supper of the Lorde, as it was instituted by Chyriste, was a common or publique worke: but nowe commeth forth the sacrificer adorned with monstrous garmentes, and doth all thynges alone, the rest stand by & onely see and heare. Wherefoze if Paul did iustly and worthily rebuke the Corinthians, which taryed not one for an other, & sayd that they could not eate & Lordes Supper: how can they worthily call the Papistlicall Masse, by the name of the Supper of the Lorde, whereas onely one sacrificer eateth and drynketh: Undoubtedly by no meanes. Wherefoze let them rather call it by any other name, than the Supper of the Lorde.

How in the supper the body & bloud of Chyrist is offered vnto God.

Furthermoze they saye, that they do there offre the sonne of God vnto the eternall Father. And that is by expresse wordes denyed in the Epistle to the Hebrewes. For it teacheth that all thynges were synished by the onely one oblation of Chyriste. Whiche beyng perfect, we maye not renewe the same agayne. They well offre by Chyrist euery daye. The worde of God affirmeth, that it was to be offered but once. I confesse in dede, that the Fathers (as I haue befoze sayde) did sometymes in suche sorte speake as though the body and bloud of Chyriste were either offered or sacrificed in the celebration of the Sacramentes. But they very oftentymes interpreted them selues, that those oblations or Sacrifices, were onely thanks geuyng, or a memoꝛy and figure of that oblation and sacrifice, which Chyrist dyeng vpon the crosse made.

They affirme also, that the bread and wyne, are chaunged into the substance of the body and bloud of Chyriste, when as the holy Scripture doth teache vs farre other wyse. Wherefoze they lystyng by the bread and wyne, do set forth to the people creatures to be worshipped in steade of God. For what is moze filthy, than religiously to worshyppe a peece of bread, and a Cup of wyne: It is true in dede, that they are made partakers of the body and bloud of the Lorde, namely in hearte and mynde, whiche eate and drinke the signes of thanks geuyng, with sincere sayth, & as the Lorde hath instituted. But yf a man do onely beholde and worshyppe them, then are they nothyng vnto him, but a peece of breade and a Cup of wyne.

Wherefoze the ministers of the Churche, when as their duety is to go about all that in them lyeth to lift by the myndes of the people vnto heauen, that they might

mought not seke Chyſt in the woꝝld, noꝝ looke foꝝ any carnall oꝝ earthly thing in the ſupper of the Loꝝd, they miſerably holde the people geuyng heed to the viſible ſignes. The Apoſtle in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians commaunded that they ſhould not uſe a ſtraunge tongue in holy aſſemblyes, becauſe euery one muſt aunſwere Amen. And becauſe aboue all thinges the edifieng of the hearers is to be ſought foꝝ. But in the Maſſe all thinges are done in the Latine tongue. And thoſe woꝝdes whiche ſhould be to the great comfoꝛt of the ſtanders by, when as to them the participation of the body & bloud of the Loꝝd is promiſed, thoſe woꝝdes do they ſpeake ſoftely, yea they mumble them by ſo darkelye, that though a man vnderſtande the Latine, yet can he not vnderſtande thoſe woꝝdes. They do foꝝ this cauſe ſo ſoftely mumble them by, as though the members of Chyſt were not woꝛthy to heare them: when as neuertheleſſe the Loꝝd hym ſelfe ſpake them openly, and the Greke Churche, euen to thys daye pronounceth them with a moſte loude voyce. Yea and in the olde tyme, it was a cuſtome vſed (as Ambroſe and Auguſtine among other do teſtiſye) that at thoſe woꝝdes the people aunſwered Amen. But as I thincke, theſe men do therefoꝛe mumble by thoſe woꝝdes, becauſe they are affeard leſt their lyes ſhould be ſounde out. Foꝝ there they ſaye, Take ye and eate: and alſo, As often as ye ſhall do theſe thynges, ye ſhall do them in remembraunce of me. When as neuertheleſſe they haue appoynted to eate and drinke it alone. And vndoubtedly very many other thynges ſpeake they ſecretly and openly in the Maſſe, as though many did communicate oꝝ ſhould communicate, when as the ſacrificer alone doth it in dede. A lye is euer ſpytly, but then moſt filthy of all, when it is admitted in holy thinges, and befoꝛe the Loꝝd.

But what ſhall we ſaye of their applications? They affirme that they can as they luſte them ſelues applye the ſacrifices whiche they make vnto the quicke and the dead. But the Scripture teacheth that euery man is iuſtified by his owne fayth, and that all men ſhall either dye oꝝ lyue in their owne ryghteouſneſſe oꝝ vnrigheteouſneſſe: but they ſaye otherwyſe, foꝝ they can as they ſaye, helpe both the quicke and the dead by their Maſſes. If they woulde attribute that vnto prayers, namely that they taught that by prayers they mought helpe the neceſſities of others, it myght be bozne with all. But when they affirme, that the woꝛke it ſelfe, namely of the Maſſe, bath in it ſo muche power and vertue, that it can helpe all kynde of men, that maye by no meanes be ſuffred. Beſides this Maſſes are very oftentymes celebꝛated in the honour of certayne ſainctes: whiche vndoubtedly is moſte farre from the trueth: foꝝ as muche as Chyſte hath foꝝ thys purpoſe inſtituted his Supper, that it ſhoulde be a memoꝛie of his death, and not of other ſainctes. I will not ſpeake howe that it is moſte commonly ſene, that there is nothyng founde certayne of thoſe ſainctes whome they there woꝛſhyppye: the lyes of them are Apocrypha, and very often alſo full of fables, and Poetes faynynngs. There are alſo in it, certayne, yea very many ſtraunge rites, ſignes to be laughed at, geſtures in a manner foolyſhe, and garmentes not vſed: the ſignifications of whiche thynges are utterly vnknoꝛen, not onely of them whiche ſtande by, but euen the ſacrificers them ſelues, if they ſhoulde be demaunded what they meant, they coulde not aunſwere. Wherefoꝛe either they aunſwere nothyng, oꝝ if they go aboute to ſaye any thyng, they byyng. ſoꝛth not one thyng, but thyngs moſte diſagreyng: whereby thou mayſte eaſely gather that there is no trueth in their woꝝdes. Wherefoꝛe ſayth can haue no place in theſe thinges whiche they do in theyꝝ Maſſe, when as it onely there hath place, where the woꝛde of God offreth it ſelfe vnto vs.

And that they can not defend them ſelues from the deteſtable ſynne of Ido-
latry,

The Greke
Church.

Ambroſe.
Auguſtine.

The Papiſtes
in the Maſſe
make many
Lyes.

Euery man is
iuſtified by his
owne faith and
lyueth & dyeth
in his owne
righteouſneſſe.

By prayers we
helpe other.

The lyes of
many ſainctes
are Apocrypha
and full of fa-
bles.

Significations
of Ceremonies
in the Maſſe
are not knowe

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Images are
worshipped in
the masse,

Sacrifices of
the Ethnikes
are more agree-
able with sacri-
fices appointed
by God, than is
the Masse with
the holy supper

In hearing of
Masses the an-
ger of God is
not pacified,
but prouoked.

What is to be
answered to the
exaple of Naaman the
Syrian

Naaman the
Syrian knewe
that his dedde
was culpable &
nought.

latry, the ymages do testifie, vnto the whiche they turnyng them selues do cele-
brate their most vnpure seruices. For they can not be content in the Masses to
looke vpon them, but they cense them, and kneele befoze them, and finally they
do vnto them all kynde of worshippynge, whiche is to be done onely to God. And
bycause (as I haue befoze mencioned) they dare affirme that the Masse hath as-
finitie (I can not tell what) with the institution of Christ: it shall not be from
the purpose, and it is easy to be done, to declare, that (if we marke the tokens)
the olde Ethnikes may with much more likelyhode excuse and defend their sa-
crifices, than these can defend the Masses. For the sacrifices of the gentiles did
not differ from the maner of sacrificyng whiche the fathers had befoze the lawe,
and whiche God allowed in his lawe, when as these men in their Masse differ
from that supper whiche Christ prescribed, and as the Euangelistes and the Apo-
stle Paul haue deliuered. There on every syde was inuocation of God, a temple,
an alter, sacrifices, priestes, killing, shedding of blood, salte, wyne, oyle,
meale, a holy banket, religious garmentes, washynges, fumigations, conti-
nuall syp, singing, oracles and such lyke, whiche would be to long to rehearse.
Let the poppe the sacrificers shewe as many thynges, if they can, in their Masse,
whiche do agree with those thynges whiche Christ did in the supper. But if so be
they can not, let them then thinke that their Masse doth no more agree with the
godly celebration of the holy supper, than do the rites of the Idolaters a-
gree with the legall sacrifices. Wherefoze let them cease of so to kylle their littel
daughter, and to preache that it ought to be counted the institution of Christ
and of the Apostles. I will not speake of the yearely Obites, and Fungals of
the dead whiche are ostentymes vsed there, of whiche thynges the Lord hath no-
thing commaunded. By it they stablish the Purgatory, wherof the holy scriptures
write nothyng. That furthermoze is most farre from pietie, bycause in their
Masse they poure out prayers vnto saintes, whiche are already departed out of
this lyfe. Finally all the thynges whiche they there do, they make a market of
them, sell, bargayne and set them out to most filthy gayne. Wherefoze we must
diligently take hede, that whylest we desyre to worshyp God and to haue
hym mercifull vnto vs, we do not in hearing of Masses exceedingly prouoke
hys anger agaynst vs.

These superstitious men go forwarde, and by the example of Naaman the Sy-
rian will proue that it is permitted them, to be present at the most fylthy Masses.
Naaman prayed Elizeus the Prophet, that if he bowed his knee in the temple of the
Idoll Rimmon, when the kynge, whiche leaned his hand on his shoulder, should
so do, he would imploze for hym mercy and forgiveness of God. To whom
Elizeus answered only, go in peace. These our men ought to consider with the
selues whether they onely haue sene and read this diuine history. I thinke not:
For the holy Martyrs in the olde Church were studious day and nyght in the
holy Scriptures. Wherefoze this history of Naaman was not hidden from them.
And what cause was there then, that they would not followe such an exam-
ple, and that with the losse of their lyfe? These auncient noble men and pillars
of our fayth saue that, whiche our aduersaries reckon not with them selues, na-
mely that that Naaman whiche is set befoze vs, was newly conuerted vnto the
true God, and was yet a weake souldiour, who was not also yet ready, to deny
both hym owne and hym selfe for Gods cause, but desyred after a sorte to kepe
hys olde place and dignitie with hys kynge. The whiche thyng to attayne
vnto, he saue that it myght easely come to passe that he should fall into the sinne,
whiche he declared vnto the holy Prophete. And when he knewe ryght well
that the same agreed not with true godlynesse, he required the prayers and
intercession of the man of God, wherby he falling of weakenesse, hys
faulte myght be forgiven hym. Otherwyse there is none whiche nedeth to aske
pardon

pardon for that which he thinketh is lawfull for hym to doe. We make intercessions for sinnes, and not for thinges permitted vs. Therefore this place maketh much agaynst our aduersaries, and that that is sinne which they moste earnestly ge aboute to excuse, is manifestly proued by this hystorie. I would to God they would diligentlie marke in that action, that which they Naaman felte: And if they shoulde fall (as this man feared that he shoulde fall) they would not cloke it with a bayne defence, but would employe the mercye of God, and prayers of holy men, that that maye gentlie be forgivenen them, whiche they naughtely haue committed. Neyther did Elizeus (as they perswade themselves) geue Naaman the Syrian liberty to go vnto Idoles, he sayde onely: Go in peace. Which was also an accustomed kinde of salutation at y time. Neither may we gather any other thing out of these wordes, then y the Prophet promised to do that which he was requested to do. Namely, to pray vnto God for y saluation of y man. First to strengthen him y he shoulde not fal. Secondly that if he sinned, his fault might be forgivenen him.

Citizens gaue
not Naamã lib-
ertye to go vnto
Idols.

They vse to objecte also certayne wordes out of the Epistle of Ieremye the Prophet, which are writtten aboute the end of a litle booke entituled of Baruch. And these are the wordes. In Babilon ye shall see Gods of golde and silver bozne vpon mens shoulders, to caste oute a fearefulnesse before the Heathen: Take heede ye followe not the Gentiles, when ye see the multitude of people worshipping behynde and before. But saye in your hartes. O Lord it is thou that oughtest onely to be worshipped. &c. By these wordes do our Nicodemites thinke it to be sufficient, that they which are presente at Idolatrous worshippings, do say in their hartes: O Lord it is thou that oughtest onely to be worshipped. But they shoulde more attentuely consider, that the Prophet (if he were a Prophet which spake these wordes: which I therefore speake, because the litle booke of Baruch is Apocryphus, and is not sounde in the He-
brewes) gaue not the Jewes libertye to goe into the Temples of the Idols, and to bee there present at prophane and Idolatrous rites, and there to speake with the true God in themselves in they hart onely. But he speaketh of those Images which were caried about the cite: for that was the manner among the Babilonians as the hystorie of Daniell testifieth, which maketh mencion that an image set up by Nabuchadnezzar was openly caried about, with great pompe, and with muscicall instrumentes and sundry songes. At the hearing whereof, al men were commaunded to worship the Image which they beheld, which the felowes of Daniel would not do. Of those images I say, it is writtē in y Epistle and y Godly are saythfully admonished that they shoulde not, as the Ethnykes did, who were behinde and before the, reuerence or worship those images. Yea rather in detestling their wicked worshipping they shoulde say, or at the least way in their hart: O Lord it is thou only that oughtest to be worshipped. These meetings comming by chaunce throughe the cite could not be anoyded, the Godly therefore were to be admonished, how in suche meetings they shoulde behaue them selues.

In answer to a
place of Baruch

The booke of
Baruch is Apocryphus.

Images among
the Babilonians
were caried
about the cite.

But with great importunitie, as they be shamelesse, they yet go farther and demaund, how chaunce Daniell was not cast into the burning fornaice with his fellowes, when as the punishment was a like appointed vnto the, which would not worship y image of Nabuchadnezzar? Wherefore these men sayne with thesel-
ues, that Danielloyd make as though he worshipped it, and for that cause the Chaldeians medled not with him. And they saye also, that they may lawfullye do that which they thinke this holy Prophet of God dyd. They consider not that they openly fal into a false kynde of reason, which commonly is called Non causa vt causa, which is, when that which is not a cause, is put for a cause. For
there might be very many other causes, why Daniell was not then punished.

Why Daniell
was not cast
into the fornaice
with his fel-
lowes.

For Paralogismos

Cap. I. A Commentarie vpon the

Daniel dissem-
bled not the wor-
shipping of the
image.

Peraduenture he mette not y^e image which was caried about; n^{or} if at any time he met it, the Chaldeians marked not what he dyd. B^eing sounde faultie in it and marked, he was not accused, because the kyng loued him exceedingly. But we must not beleue, that the man of god for feare of punishment or death, would dissemble the worshipping of the image agaynst the lawe and pietie; wh^{er}e as it is afterwarde declared how for pietie sake he was caste to y^e Lyons. Wh^{er}e-fore forasmuche as there myghte be diuerse causes that he was not deliuered to be burnt in the fyre with his fellows, why do these men the^{re} snatch vnto the only one cause, and y^e such a cause, as was vnworthy and ful of reproche to such a holy man, and specially seing in the holy scriptures, there is not so much as a suspicion of so detestable an acte any way geuen vs?

Of Paule who
toke on hym a
bowe & cleined
hymself after
the manner of
the Jewes.

The same of
the preaching
of Paule.

How far legall
ceremonies
were graunted
or condemned
in the prima-
tine church.

Indifferent
thynges may
sometimes be
kept & some-
times left.

They seeme to themselves to speake much to the purpose, and trimlye to de-
fende they^r doing, when as they sayng that whiche is written in the Actes of the
Apostles the xxi. Chapter where it is declared that Paul, by the Counsell of the
Elders of the Church of Ierusalem tooke vpon hym a bowe and foure other
men with hym, and purifyed themselves after the manner of the Jewes. If the
Apostle of God, saye they, woulde vse the ceremonies of the lawe alreadye abo-
lyshed, we maye also be suffered sometymes to admytte and to be present at rites
and ceremonies so long tyme receaued. But y^e thys may the playner be vnder-
stande, we muste knowe, that thys was the summe of the preaching of Paule.
We thynke that a man is iustified by fayth without woorkes. As many as are
vnder the lawe, the same are vnder the curse. The iuste man shall lyue by hys
fayth. Wherfore the Apostle in that fyrst tyme of the preaching of the Gospel
dyd not condemne the ceremonies and obseruations of the lawe towarde the
Hebryes, vnlesse they were retayned with that fayth and mynde as though
iustification shoulde come by them. And thys hys sentence hath he mooste many
felly set forth in hys Epistle to the Galathians, where he sayth: ye whiche are
circumcised, haue fallen both from Christ and from grace. For Christ is made
of none effecte vnto you, if ye shoulde be iustified by the lawe. As though he
woulde say. These thynges of Moyses do not alienate you from Christ, excepte
ye exerceyse them with thys mynde and purpose, that thereby ye myght be iusti-
fied. Take awaye thys opinion and the Apostle commended good woorkes, and
as for ciuile and accustomed institutions, so that they were iuste and not ido-
latrons, he suffered still in their owne place, neyther dyd he let but that the le-
gall ceremonies myghte bee still vsed. Wherfore he writeth. In the Lord
there is neyther Jewe nor Greeke, nor seruante, nor free man. And that cir-
cumcission also and cutting of the foreskynne, are nothyng, but only the obser-
uyng of the commaundementes of God and a newe creature. Agayne he that is
circumcised let hym not desire to haue hys foreskynne which is cut of: if thou be
called when thy foreskin is cut of, be not then circumcised. Let every man abide
in that wherin he is called.

And that suche thynges as were ciuile and indifferent, myghte sometymes
be obserued, and sometymes lefte out, as serued for edification, the same Apostle
declareth by that which he speaketh of hymselfe. I am made all thynges to all
men, to win very many: to the Jewes I am made a Jewe, and to those which
are without a lawe, I am as without a lawe. Neyther did he no lesse confirme
his sentence by examples, than by doctrine. For when he was requyred, that he
woulde as the manner was circumsise Timothe, he graunted vnto it. But
when they woulde haue compelled hym for the ouerthrowing of the Christian li-
bertye, to circumsise Titus likewise, he declared that he woulde not geue place
not for an houre; because sayth he false brethren are therefore entred in among
vs to searche out our libertye. He obserued therefore the Iudaicall ceremonies,
when the same myghte be done without any ill purpose and hurte of the church.

And

And by this meanes he auoyded the offence of the Jewes, least they shoulde be alienated from the Christian religion which they had receaved. Neyther ought the Hierodotes to conferre the ceremonies of the olde law, with the inventions of men. For they were brought in by the woorde of God; but these were thrust into the Church by the pollicie of the deuill and of deceitfull men. They were not forbidden by any after the Ascension of Christ into heauen, but might be so long obserued, as the temple and publique wealthe of Israel remayned, and vntill the Gospell of the sonne of God were reuealed and preached, and vntill the Church were well augmented both of the Jewes and also of the Gentiles.

The ceremonies of the law are not to be compared with the inventions of men.

Howe long the old ceremonies were lawfull in the church.

Augustine.

Neyther was it mete (as Augustine Godlye and learnedly writeth vnto Jerome) that those ceremonies, of the ancient Synagoge shoulde straghtwaie without honour be relected. But Idolatrous and superstitious thinges alwaies were, are, and shall be prohibited. Wherefore so; a tyme it was lawfull to obserue them, so that by them were not sought the true ryghteousnesse. Wherefore Paule the Apostle, though thou shoulde looke vpon the actions themselves, which by the law he obserued, can not be iustly reprehended, and much lesse can he be blamed if thou consider his mynde, purpose, and (as they terme it) his entent. But to the supporters of the Masse both these thynges wante. For if they defend a thyng, which is contrary to the woorde of God, and (as I haue declared) is wonderfull agaynst it. Moreover in that they dissimulation, they shewe only for themselves, namely to kepe still they riches, degree, place, dignity, and estimation, when as Paul for this cause only sometimes obserued the legall ceremonies, least the Jewes shoulde fall from Christ and that he myght the better and easier allure them to the Gospel.

They which by dissimulation do go vnto Masse like not God but their own.

They obiekt also, that by their dissimulation they woulde auoyde offences. For say they: If we shoulde be vterly agaynst Masses, we shoulde be counted wicked and vngodly men, and we shoulde be a great offence to our countrey. I beleue in dede, that these men do auoyde offences, but yet offences of the world: they will not geue an offence, but it is vnto myghtie men, tyrannes, and Antichristes, namely least they shoulde prouoke their weapons, anger & madnesse agaynst them. But these are not those offences which Christ taught to be auoyded, whē he sayd of the Scribes & Pharisees. Let them alone, they are blynd & leaders of the blynde. What offences therfore are to be auoyded? Those namely which hinder the spreading abroade of the Gospell of the sonne of God, & which kepe backe men fro coming to the pure doctrine, & which do call backe men already beleuing from Christian religion which they haue receaved. Now let the consider I pray you, whether by their dissimulation, they do not offende the superstitious and Idolaters: Undoubtedly yes. For those namely the superstitious and Idolaters saye with themselves: See those men whiche knowe the truth of the Gospell, and haue embraced it, doe come also vnto oure Masses. Surely if they were so vngodly, as they are sayd to be, these men also woulde abhorre them. Wherefore being confirmed by these mens example, they oftentimes are settled to perseuer in their purpose. Yea & the weaker brythren newly conuerted vnto the Gospell, when they perceave these learnede sorte, and as it were the ringleaders to dissemble, they dare also do the like, and they suspecte that they were deceaued: and they which ought to haue gone farther in religion, do then go backward.

Whether we should go to Masse to auoid offence.

What offences are to be auoided

The vngodly by that dissimulation are more confirmed.

The weaker ones by that dissimulation goe backe fro they purpose lately receaved.

But we must (say they) beare with the weake ones, and sometymes to frame our selues vnto them. For we haue very many, whiche are not yet perswaded that the Masse is an euill thyng: and if they shoulde perceave that we came not vnto it, they woulde not beare of other chiefe poyntes of religion. Wherefore we must beare somewhat with their weaknesse, as Paule saythfully hath counsayled in his Epistle to the Romanes. We graunt that we must somewhat beare with

Some what isto
be borne with
the weake ones
only in thinges
indifferent.

The imbecilli-
tie of the weake
ones is not to
be mainteyned.

Whether we
shoulde dissem-
ble for the pre-
seruation of the
churches.

Doctrine
which is sealed
with flight and
with death edi-
fith.

Whether in the
corrupted
church of the
Iewes it were
lawful to commu-
nicate with the
legal rites.

Augustine.

such as be so weake, but with Paule we may not suffer that to be done but in things indifferent. But thinges which by themselves are euill, and by God so bidden we may for no mans saue counsel to be done. For this is a most firme & sure rule (as I haue oft before said) y no man is permitted to commit euill thinges, y therby good thinges might ensue. Wea we must not alwayes heare to the weake ones in those indifferent thinges, but til such time as they be better & perfectlier taught. But when they once vnderstand y thing, & do for all y still sticke, they weakenesse is not to be noyshed. Wherefore we must not so much beare with the that by our example, we shoulde hurt other members of Christ, and that many.

Againe they object vnto vs: If we shoulde do so, as ye would haue vs to doe, eyther we must flye, or els we shal straght way be put to death. Which thing if it shoulde happen, our churches shoulde be utterly forsake, & there shoulde be no more there to teach vs. Wherunto I answer, every one of vs seeth that also. And y moze is, it is not hidden from God him self, whose commaundement neuertheless we must obey. Let vs commit the end vnto him, to whom the church belongeth: Let vs not doubt but that he will louingly, & that in time prouide for his spouse. Christ said vnto Peter when he called him, and he taried, and demaunded what shoulde become of John: If I will that he tary till I come, what is y to thee? For I know thod me. We are taught therefore to follow the word of god, whether so euer it call vs, and let vs commit to the caller the care of other thinges, which seme to hinder vs. Furthermore this is not to be ouerpasse, that that doctrine oftentimes is of moze value and moze edifieth which is sealed by flight and by death, then that which is set forth only by wordes. Let vs not be affeard though one of vs fall or flye. But let vs hope that god in his place will rase vp very many moe. But if we contemne and long dissemble the light of the truth, and flambe of charitie which is kindled in the hartes of men, will by little and little be extinguished.

They bring examples of the Prophets, of Zachary, of Iohn Baptiste, and of Mary the Virgin, and of Ioseph, who in those corrupt & defiled times went vnto the comon seruices, and to the temple of y Iewes. And therfore they thinke they may also be permitted to do in like sort. But they ought to consider with themselves, that at that time there were many pernicious doctrines and euill opinions among the Scribes and Pharisees. But yet the manner of sacrificyng was not chaunged, for the same beastes and oblations were still offred which the law had commaunded: the same daies and ceremonies were obserued. Wherfore holy me might vse the, for as much as they had the word of god loyned with the. But as for the corrupt doctrines, opinions and manners of certaine priests, bishops and Scribes, were no let vnto holy men, especially seing they were pure and farre from them, and in all thinges: both iudged and also liued according to the word of god. And the corruptions of doctrine, and vices when opportunitie serued, they reprehended and sharply reponed. This doth Augustine testifie as it is writte in the. xlii. Question the fourth Chap. Recedite, and in certaine other Chapters, also which are there writte. Let the papists do so in these dayes with vs, let them so set forth the Lordes Supper and other rites as they are appointed by the word of god, and we will not refuse to vse them, so that they compell vs not to the confession of wicked opinions, and preache not heresyes vnto vs, but deliuer vnto vs the pure and vncorrupte word of God. If they them selues thinke euill, and if they liue fylthilpe, we will bee soze for them, we will admonyshe, rebuke, and accuse them, and put them if we maye from the holpe administration, when as they are passe amende, although we abstayne not from the Sacramentes.

That vndoubtedly y Lord ment when he said: The Scribes & Phariseis sit

on the chaire of Moyses, and what they say, doo ye: but what they do, do ye not. It was lawfull therfore for the blessed Virgin, after she was deliuered of our saviour, to offer a paire of turtle Doves, or two yong Pigeons, bicause it was so commaunded in the law. Therfore let them shew vnto vs that their Passe by them corrupted is commaunded by the woordes of God, and not forbidden, and then wil we nothing contend with them in that matter.

The Virgin
mari might af-
ter her deliueri
offer the obla-
tions required
by the lawe.

Last of al, when they are confuted in these objections, they come to this point, to say: Although it be sinne to be present at Masse, yet it is but a light sinne, and not to be so seuerely reponed by vs. But when they thus say, why doo they not remember, that al synnes haue their weight, not by the nature of the workers, which are prohibited, but by the woordes of God, and the law whereby they were forbidden: Here hence do synnes get al their heauines and waight. Whereunto Iames the Apostle seemeth to haue had a respect, when as he saith in his seconde chapter. He which obserueth the whole law, & offendeth in one of them, is made guilty of them all. Neither do I speake so, as though I would haue all synnes by al meanes alike, which thing Augustine in his. 29. Epistle to Ierome aptly and manifestly denieth. He confesseth in deede that the Philosophers went about to proue it, when they affirme that al vertues are so knyt together, that he which hath one vertue, hath al, and he which wanteth one, doth want them all. For as much as prudence is not feareful, neither intemperate, nor yet vnjust. Therfore it hath al the other vertues with it. And againe Justice, Strength, Temperance and the other vertues, are not without wisdom, and therfore they are al had being knyt together. These thinges (saith he) agree not with the holie scriptures. For there it is written: In manie thinges we al offende. And if we say we haue no synne, we deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs. Therfore seing we synne in many thinges, we can not in synning haue vertue which is opposite vnto sinne which we commit. And neuerthelesse it often chaunceth that hee which falleth in one thing, maye be constant in other thinges. peradventure hee which is angry, or eateth or dynceth excessiue, rendzeth for all that to euery man his owne, and is ready in Gods cause valiantly to lose his life, and therfore though he be somewhat angry or intemperate, he may for al that be called iust, liberal and strong. Whereouer the same father confuteth the similitude of the Stoikes, wherein they say, that he is as wel drowned in water, ouer whose head the water is but an hand bredth, as he which hath the water tenne or twentie cubites ouer his head. This similitude (saith hee) is not aptly brought. Therfore wee must bring in an other moze fyt to the purpose, namely a similitude of light and darknes. Undoubtedly the moze a man departeth from darknes, and cometh nearer to the light, hee beginneth then somewhat to see. Therfore it cometh to passe, that although he be covered wyth darknes, yet for al that after a sort, he is somewhat partaker of the light. But he which is desirous to know moze of this thing, let him reade ouer that. 29. Epistle. And these thinges haue I to this end brought, to confirme that all synnes are not equal, as the Stoikes iudged.

From whence
synnes haue
their weighte.

A place of Ias
mes expounded.

Synnes are not
equal.

Augustine.
How philoso-
phers proue &
vertues are
knyt together.

One synne he
which stideth
in one is con-
stant in an
other.

A similitude of
the Stoikes.

The obserua-
tion of the law
is not to be
receaued with
an exception.

Bring the co-
mandmentes of
the law are ioy-
ned together, if
is not our part
to separte the,

Let vs returne therfore to the place of Iames, which I before brought. Hee which offendeth in one, is therfore made guilty of all, bicause the obseruing of the law, is not to be receaued with an exception, so that we shoulde chuse vnto vs any certayne part of it to keepe, and lay away and neglect an other part for a tyme as we wil and lyst our selues. God hath ioyned together the commaundmentes of the law. And it is not our part to separte them as we lyst. We must looke vpon the authoritie of the lawgeuer, which ought to be of force as well in one commaundment as in al. This interpretation Iames hym selfe seemeth to confirme, when he saith: He which said: Thou shalt not commit adulterye, The same saith: Thou shalt not kyl: as though he would say: God is as muche reserued in breaking one of these commaundmentes as in an other. But it maye be proued

Cap. i. A Commentarie vpon the

proued also by an other reason, that he which synneth in one, is guilty of al. For if as we should be driuen by temptation, lust or occasion, whereby we shoulde be styred to any certain transgression of the law, so if by the same or lyke violence we wer driuen into any other transgression, we shoulde as well bzeake the one as the other. Augustine also teacheth in the place now alledged, that the sentēce of Iames is for an other cause true, bicause sinne which is committed is vndoubtedly contrary vnto charity, wherein the obseruation of the whole lawe dependeth. In sume, to this end haue I reuerſed al these things, to declare that sinnes which are committed, are not for that cause to be diminished or extenuated, by cause they are counted light, for so much as the transgressions of the lawe are not to be waighed onely by the waight and woozthinnes of their actions, but rather by the strength of Gods woozd, and authozity of the lawe of God, who hath forbydden to synne.

The ryght
obseruing of
sacramentes
pectyne vnto
the first table.

Aristorell.

Shipmen suf-
fer losse wth
their willes, &
not by constraint.

Shipmen suf-
fer losse wth
their willes, &
not by constraint.

Wasse is a cer-
tain toke wher-
by the lawfull
or knowen fro
& superstitious

But least in this thing I should seeme to rough, I am cōtent that they haue some consideration, euen of the acte wherein the synne is committed. And surely, as touching that, I cannot see how to sinne against the sacramentes can be iudged a light fault, when as that kinde of sinne pertaineth to the first table, wherein vndoubtedly the woozshipping of God is set forth. Which woozshipping alone kept whole and sound, other thinges are easely corrected. And on the contrarpe, that being corrupted and defiled, all other thinges whatsoeuer we doo, become most vntankeful vnto God. Furthermoze they thinke that the fault, whereof we entreate, maye therfore be extenuated, bicause they affirme that they slide not of minde and purpose, but onely by constraint. Whom if thou shouldest demaund, what maner of compulsoz that is which they pretende? They cannot vndoubtedly geue any other answer, but bicause they would not incur the losse of their goodes, their fame and their lyfe. But these thinges make not but that the action is voluntarpe. For as Aristotle hath taught in his Ethikes, when as shipmen in daunger do hurle their goodes in to the sea, to auoyde the daunger of shipwacke, they are said commonly to be compelled, when as in dede they willingly throw them in. For they take deliberation, and with knowledge they determine rather to lose their goodes than their life. And as they in that woze do wisely, so do our men for the loue of lyfe and body, & conſciouſnes of the goodes of this woze, vnwisely choose the losse of eternall life, when as with a wycked dissimulation they go vnto detestable Passes. Wherefore the excuse which they bring, cannot be receaued as iust. The Corinthians also mought by this reason when they were reproued of Paule, haue defended them selues. If wee go vnto the feastes dedicated to idols, we go not thither of our own affection, as though we would allow such sacrifices, but by iust reasons we are compelled to go thither: For if we should flye from such feastes, we should be counted seditious, enyl Citizens and without humanity: we shoulde lose pleasant amittes, and most profitable defences, and also peraduenture our riches and country. If thei had said these thinges to Paule, would he haue heard them? No trulpe. For he was not ignozant, but that they might haue said so, and yet for al that (as it is wypten in his Epistle) he vehementlye and most sharpe reprobued them. Aaron also might accozding to these menis opinion iustly and rightly hane defended himself in that he made a Calfe vnto the Israelites. For he mought haue said, I dyd it not from the hart, but I was compelled so to do: bicause the people, except I had obeyed them, would haue stoned me. In dede so he answered: but Moyſes which knew right well that that necessitie or compulsion was not iust, but came of a naughty condition or ground, which neither Iustice woulde suffer to be receaued, nor God would, by any meanes admyt, therfore dyd Moyſes I say sharpe reprobue him.

They ought also to be most assured of this, that the Wasse is a pledge, an earnest peny, a token and signe, whereby Papistes knowe theirs from others. For

where

whether a man geue almes or no: whether he pray or not pray, whether he lyue chastly or vnpurely, and such like things they neglect, they onely haue a regarde to this, whether he come to passe: which if they perceaue that he doo, by and by they count him for one of their owne. And againe to detest the passe, and not to

passe is a certaine profession of popery.

heare it, they take it for a most certaine signe of falling away from Antichrist. Wherefore we may commonly call passe a publike profession of Popery. What colour therefore, or with what countenance can they extenuate so great a crime: They are greivous euils (say they) which hang ouer vs: and we put our selues in most great daungers, vnlesse we communicate with the Papists in hearing of passes, I confesse that: but let them remember that God also foresaw al these things, and declared that they should come to passe, who for al that wyl not suffer, that his lawes should be chaunged. Wherefore as touching these chaunces, let vs cast our care vpon hym which hath commaunded these things, it is not ignorant that these euils are ioyned with the obseruing of his commaundementes. The nature therefore and strength of troubles and daungers is not such, to be able to abrogate the lawes of God. They abide, yea and for ever shal abide, and therefore let vs not desire to haue them broken by our daungers or miseries. And men are healthfully and righteously counselled, not to part themselves betwene God and the deuill, to deliuer vnto God their affection or hart, and graunt vnto the deuill their body and outward partes.

Persecutions abrogate not lawes of God. We maye not part our selues betwene God & the deuill.

For so much as by the partes of the distinction before put, we haue sufficiently spoken of priuate men as touching their dwelling together with Infidels, now resteth to declare of Princes or Magistrates. And they are either principal, as they which depende of no other, neither haue any power aboue them, or els they are inferiour powers, which lawfully as of right are subiect vnto Superiours, either because they are their Deputies or Ministers, that is, Officiales or Vicars, as they are commonly called. Let vs first therefore speake of suche as be absolute and mere higher powers, asking whether they in their dominions may suffer the faithful to be conuersant with Infidels: I thinke it be lawfull, so that ther be certain conditions or cautions put. For when the Romane Empire reuined the Christian religion, every one which was vnder that Empire belened not by and by in Christ, who was for al that suffered both to lyue, and also peaceably to dwel there. Yea in the tyme of Ambrosius, Symmachus who was with out Christ, was not ashamed to require of the Emperours that the rites of the Ethnikes might be restored, which he obtained not. And now when as kyngdomes and dominions haue admitted the preaching of the Gospel, there are many still suffered, which are wonderfully affected towarde the Pope and his wickednes. Which cannot without great perturbation of things be seperated from them which are of the Gospel. Wherefore Princes are compelled to suffer suche conuersations, neither is that to be ascribed a fault in them, so that they departe not from these last cautions. The first of those cautions is, that they constrain the faithful to no vngodly worshippinges: for then should they not execute the offices of the Ministers of God, but rather of the deuill and of Antichrist, by good woorkes they shoulde not be a terrour vnto the wicked, neither shoulde they aduaunce the woord of God, but the tyranny of Sathan. Secondly, let them beware, that they permit not vnto the Infidels wicked rites, and vngodly ceremonies in their dominions. Of this crime was Salomon guilty, not that he compelled the Iewes to worship Idoles, but for because to his wyues and Concubines which were straungers, he permitted temples in Iewry, wherin they might worship Astartes and Chamos and other straunge Gods. But that God was grievously angry with him, the holy history declareth. He was iustly punished by the law of the like. What as he had deuised the holy worshipping in graunting part of it to God, and part vnto Idoles: so was his kingdome deuised, and part of it was graunted to his sonne, and part was geuen vnto Ieroboam the sonne

Of princes and magistrats how they oughte to behaue them selues with infidels.

A distinction of powers.

It is lawfull for princes to suffer & conuersation of faithful full with the vnfaithfull with certayne cautions.

The first caution.

2. Caution.

Salomon was for his sinne punished by the law of the lyke called Lex talionis.

of

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of Nebath. But his fault spred abroad into his posterity. For Ahas, Manasses, and many other vngodly kinges had wicked and detestable wooshippinges at Ierusalem. Wherefore they were by the Prophetes grieuoufly and sharpe re-

The magistrat proued. And vndoubtedly a Magistrate cannot but be blamed, when he nourisheth idolatry, when as he beareth the sword to reuenge wicked actes. Wherefore he must either thinke that idolatry is no wicked acte, or that it is by the Magistrate and other to be aduenged. Augustine often times excellently well entreateth of this place of Dauid: Be wise now therfore O ye Kinges, be learned ye that are Iudges of the earth, serue the Lorde in feare. &c. He sayth also, it is mete that kinges serue the Lorde. Neither entreated Dauid of them, in that respect that they are men: for so are they wyth other bounde to obserue common lawes. Wherefore for so much as they are kinges, they are admonished, namely to vse the power and sword genen them by God, to defend the verity of the truth, and to put downe the vngodly, that the catholike truth and church of the sonne of God, as far as their dominions extend be not assaulted. Wherefore it is not lawfull for Princes to graunt vnto the vngodly vnpure wooshippinges, yea it is their part, chiefly to bryng sound doctrine, ceremonies and rites, which agree with the word of God.

Augustine.

Howe and in what sort Kinges ought to serue God.

And yet for al that (to speake a word or two of that by the waye) I doo not thinke that we should to much contend, that rites and ceremonies may be all alike, and obserued enery where, after one maner. But this is to be prouided for, that they be not against the word of God, yea rather let them bryng vnto it as much as may be, and as farre as they are able, let them set forth edification, and a decent order. For otherwise it skilleth not whether we receaue the sacrament of the Lordes Supper, standing, or sitting, or kneeling, so that the institution of the Lorde be kept, and occasion of superstition be cut of. Neither is it any matter when the brethren communicate, whether some one place of the holys scriptures be red, or Psalmes and thanksgyuinges be song of the people. Yea I thinke that this variety in rites much profiteth to bryng in a true opinion of ceremonies, namely that al men may vnderstande, that those ceremonies which are not set forth in the holy scriptures, are not necessary vnto saluation, but may be chaunged for edification sake as time shall serue. And Augustine to Ianuarius and to Cassulanus was also of this opinion.

We maye not bryng to keepe the externall rites alpe euer where.

Diversity of ceremonies is profitable.

Augustine.

3. caution.

4. caution.

5. caution.

They must be compelled at the last to the souerayn and pure outward wooshippinges of God.

Whether a prince ought at the length to compell his subiectes to the right vse of the sacramentes.

The thirde condition or caution that is to be added, is that Princes take heede that those infidels whom they suffer in their dominions, be continually with diligence instructed. And not (as the maner commonly is) neglect them in those thinges which pertain vnto godlines: otherwise the glory of God cannot be looked for, by their suffering, if without teaching they may be suffered continually to abide in their vngodly opinion. For in proceesse of time they become nothing the better, but farre worse then they were before. Wherefore they must be ware that by that mutual conuersation they infect not the people committed to their charge with the scab of infidelity and errors. And finally, when they are wel instructed and taught, they must compell them to sound and pure wooshippinges, which are prescribed by the holy scriptures. For the Magistrate maye not suffer his Citizens to liue without exercises of godlines. For the ende of ciuill rule, is that the Citizens should lyue both vertuously & happely. And who seeth not but that godlines & the wooshipping of God is the chiefe of all vertues?

But peradventure some wyll say: If a Prince should compell those vnto the right vse of the sacramentes, which are not yet perswaded of the truth, he should bryng them hedlong into synne: so farre is it of from setting forthwarde their saluation. For there they should do against their conscience: and what so euer they do (euen as the Apostle witnesseth) is synne. Wherefore I thynke it good to make a distinction betwene that which is of or by it selfe, and that which is at aduene

adventure and by hap, or (as they are wont to speake in Schooles) that which commeth per accidens, that is by chance. The Magistrate in this thing which we haue now in hande, setteth foorth to his subiectes that thing which is of it selfe right, good and iust, but in that synne therby commeth that happeneth nothing at al by his default, but rather by those mens incredulitye or misbeliefe, whereof he is not to be accused, when as he hath diligentely laboured to haue his Citizens wel instructed. Neither the Papistes, which at this daye are suffered of Christian Magistrates are ignorant that wee oughte to haue in vse the Sacramentes instituted by the Lord. Wherefore they cannot iustlye complaine of their Magistrates, if they will haue them by sightlye, and in due order ministered vnto them.

Moreover they which obiect these thinges vnto vs, must diligently marke this, that by the same waye wee maye cauill againste God. For hee hath sette foorth vnto menne his lawe which is most perfecte to bee kept of them. Shall we say vnto him, we are weake and of a corrupt and vitious nature, neither can we performe thy commandementes, as thou commandest; wherefore whether we do against that which thou hast commanded, or whether we endeavour our selues to performe that which thou hast bydden, wee shall euer synne, because we shall faile, neither can we obey as we shoulde doe. Wherefore whether what soeuer we do we shall not auoide synne.

If anye manne braueringlye shoulde speake these thinges againste God, myghte not hee by good ryghte answer. They be iust and ryght which I haue sette foorth vnto you to be observed. But in that ye are feble and weake, it oughte not to be counted a fault in me. For I haue excellentely holpen your weakenes, whiche for your sakes haue genen my Sonne vnto the death. If ye shall helpe onelye in hym, what so euer ye shall not accomplish in performing my preceptes, it shal not be imputed to you to euerylasting death.

So also maye a good Prince answer, I require of you those thinges which are wrytten in the booke of God, and which are decent and to be obeyed. Wherefore if your opinion or conscience be againste it, that is not to be ascribed vnto me, which haue diligentely laboured that ye might not be ignorant of the truth and miserably perishe. For I haue diligentely sente vnto, that ye shoulde be taught and instructed in the truth, & so will I yet go forward in exhorting, admonishing and commaunding you; but reade ye the holy Scriptures, heare your Teachers, and pray vnto God to open the eyes of your mynde. These thinges if the Prince shall say vnto those men which doe so rancill against him, I do not see by what right, or by what meanes he can be repzebended.

And I thinke this is not to be omitted that Augustine sayde, that hee was once of that opinion, that nothing shoulde be done by violence against heretiks, but onely they shoulde be instructed by admonitions and doctrine. But hee confessed that hee was admonished by certayne Bishoppes of more experience, which shewed hym of certayne Cities, which before were in a manner utterly destroyed by the error of the Donatistes, and were by violence and lawes of the Emperours compelled to come vnto the Catholique Church, which Cities being thus at the length sincerely converted vnto the truth, rendered thanks vnto God, neither woulde they, if by anye meanes they mought haue retourned agayne to so pernicious opinions. Wherefore a godly Prince shall nothing hurt suche men, yea he shall profit them muche, if after he haue instructed them, he compell them to receaue the Sacramentes due, as they be deliuered by the woorde of God.

But this is to be vnderstande as touching his owne Citizens, his native country

commercy men and Denizens, whiche enioy the right of the Citie or prouince. Other wyse I do not thinke that he ought to vse any violence towarde straungers that passe to and fro, and whiche doo occupie the trade of Marchaundise, either inward or outward. Although he also as touching those men, I thinke that he must diligently beware that they infect not the people with wyched doctrine. Wherfore I suppose that the keepers of the Israelites are to be followed, whiche made none a Jewe or a Proselyte, neyther endowed any with the right of their people, except first he circumcised hymselfe, receaued the lawe of Moyses, and communicated with their sacrifices. And seeing that that was so diligently obserued of them, there is no cause, why our Princes ought not to doo the lyke, namely to suffer none to be of their Citie, or as one of them, or a stranger to be made free, but first they shoulde constrainyng hym to seruices and ceremonies agreeing with the word of God.

An example of the Israelites which is to be obserued.

What is to be sayd of magistrates which are subject to a superior power & distinction.

But now let vs go on and speake of those Magistrates or Lordes whiche are subject to a superior power. These seeme after this manner to be denoted, some to haue iurisdiction either proper, or by heritage, or els committed vnto them by Emperours, Kyniges, and publique wealthes. Or els they are without iurisdiction and are counted noble onely for nobilitie of bloude, or for riches heaped together.

And assuredly for so much as those latter sortes differ nothing almost from private menne, in myne opinion wee muste so iudge of them, as before I haue taught of private men. But the first whiche are Rulers of Prouinces, Cities and places, either by inheritance, or by office committed vnto them, they ought not other wyse to doe in the thing wherof we now entreate, than wee haue before prescribed for those whiche are mere and full Magistrates. For by the commaundement of the superior Princes, it is not lawfull for them to compell the subiects to that they governe, vnto any godly religion, neyther to permit the same to those Infidels whych inhabite in their dominions. But if thou wilt say, we must obey the higher power, I graunt that, but vsque ad aras,

An answer of the Lacedaemonians.

that is, as farre as religion concerneth. When they whych ouercame the Lacedaemonians commaunded such thynges as were against their lawes and institutions, they sayd: We woulde rather dye, yea, than we shoulde commaunde by thynges harder than death. Wherfore such kynde of Magistrates must in all other thynges be subiect to the superior power: but in those thynges whiche are against the word of God, they muste not in anye sorte followe theyr assention.

An example of the Machabees.

The Machabees when the Jewes then lyued vnder the Macedonians, Antiochus, Demetrius, and Alexander, who wythholde the Jewes from the true worshipping of God, would not be obedient vnto them. And when that that house of priesthode was chiefest next to the kyniges house, least the sincere and auncient religion shoulde be destroyed, it fell from these kyniges.

The bookes of the Machabees conceyue not soio arguments wherby the doctrine of the faith shal be proued

Neither in alleddging these thynges coult I not the bookes of the Machabees to be suche, from whence I woulde iudge any strong argumentes of doctrine maye be taken, but that I counte that to be true, as a worpe whiche is not onelye contayned in these bookes, but also hath bene wyrtten of other authors.

An example of Ezechias.

I will adde also the act of Ezechias the kyng, who as it is wyrtten in the seconde booke of kynges the xlii. Chapter, was bounde to the kyng of the Assyrians. For as it is mentioned in the same booke the xvi. chapter, Ahas had helde hymselfe vnto the kyng of the Assyrians, to whom hee dyde not onelye paye tribute, but to please him with all, he chaunged the worshipping of the true God. For he goyng to Damascus to meete the kyng, commaunded an

altare

altar to bee made at Jerusalem, according to the example which hee had there seene, and followed the religion and woozshyppe of the Sirians. But Ezechias his sonne being verie godlye, perceauing that those thinges which his father had done were against the woozd of God, utterly fel from the king of the Assirians, who then ruled ouer him as a superiour power. But first he assayed to pacifye him with giftes and money: but when he saw that would take no place, he defended both his people and him selfe against him with al his power. We must take heede neuerthelesse that in those thinges wee beware of seditions, as much as may be, and we must most diligently prouide, that suche Magistrates vnder pretence of religion seeke not their own.

We must be
sware as muche
as is possible of
seditions.

These thinges if they obserue, and resist their superiour Magistrates, onely for godlynesse sake, let them not suspect, that they commit any vniust thyng. Moreover the holy Scriptures commaunde, that euery soule shoulde bee subiect to the higher powers. But that must be vnderstande as muche as shall be lawfull by the woozd of God. For in the same scriptures it is written: That a Magistrate is a feare not to good woozkers, but to euill. Wherefore if the inferiours doo not set forth euell woorkes but good, they do not then resist their powers. Wilt thou not feare the power, sayth the apostle: do good and for that thou shalt be praysed. Wherefore if they defend godlynes, they shall deserue rather prayse than blame. But if thou do euill, feare the power: for he beareth not the sword in vayne: for he is the minister of God, and a reuenger to anger against him which doth euill. All these sentences do confirme the courages of the inferiour powers, that they should be nothing afearde of the superiour power, when they in defending of religion obey it not.

But thou wilt say: by what lawe doo inferiour Princes resist either the Emperour or Kinges, or elles publique wealthes, when as they defend the sincere religion and true faith: I answer by the lawe of the Emperour, or by the lawe of the King, or by the lawe of the publique wealth. For they are chosen of Emperours, Kinges, and publique wealthes, as helpers to rule, whereby Justice may more and more flourish. And therefore were they ordeyned according to the office committed vnto them, rightly, iustly, and goodly to gouerne the publique wealth. Wherefore they doo according to their duty, when in cause of religion they resist the higher power. Neither can that superiour power iustly complain, if in that case the inferiour power fall from it.

The Emperour testifieth in the Code, that his mynde is not that any of his decrees shoulde take place in iudgements agaynst right, but that they ought to bee made voyde and of no force, if that peradventure they bee knowen to deelyne from Justice. Wherefore Traian is not vnwozthily commended, whych when he deliuered the sword and the gyrdle vnto the Lieutenant of the Pze, tozshyppe, sayd: If I rule iustly, vse it on my syde: but if I rule vniustly, vse it agaynst me.

Justinian.

A goodly sentence of Traian.

Gregory a Byshoppe of Rome can not bee excused, whyche knowing that the lawe made by Mauritius was vniust (for he had decreed that no manne being occupied with busynes of the publique wealth, or appoynted for warre, shoulde be made a Clarke or a Monk) wrote in deede to the Emperour, that when hee had seene his lawe, he was wonderfullie affrayde, and therefore despyed hym, eyther to remytte somewhat of the rigour thereof, or els utterly to alter it. Howebeit he added, that he woulde (nowe that hee hadde done his duty in admonishing hym) because of that obedience and seruice which he oughte vnto hym) publish the lawe at Rome as he was commaunded. Andoubtedly this act of Gregory cannot but be reprobued, because he ought not to haue obeyed the superiour power in that thing, whych he iudged to be vniuste or wycked.

An error of Gregory Bishop of Rome.

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When we do after this sorte write of these thinges, we do nothing at all open a way vnto seditions, but onely this is our care, that those thinges which belong to God may be geuen, yea rather restored vnto God, and those thinges whiche pertaine vnto Cesar, may be rendred to Cesar. If the hygher power woulde require, either goodes or thinges of this worlde, for the vse of the publike wealth, my counsel is that they should be geuen, but not when those thinges are required to bee subuerted and destroyed, whiche belong to the woozshipping of God. And vndoubtedly by this meanes we maye easely excuse Iust Naboth, whiche woulde not graunt vnto his King his vyneyarde. For hee dyd not that of covetousnes or of pryde, but because he sawe thereby the lawe of God to be violated, whereby it was ordained, that landes and possessions among the people of Israel should remaine distributed by iust diuision. This lawe of god the king went about to violate, and to the perfozmaunce thereof hee sought the consent of that man, which he with a good conscience could not perfozme.

Naboth is excused,

Whether inferior powers ought in those cases to forsake their offices.

Some thinke that when superiour powers go aboute to dylue the inferiour powers to wicked thinges, it were good and meete, that they whiche exercise the inferiour office should resigne and departe from their office. But I thinke not so, for this were to fall from his vocation, which ought not to be done, especially, when as we see that we must geue ouer to the vngodly, which eyther resist or oppresse the kingdome of God. I iudge therfore that they ought to continue, vntill they be by force cast out by the superiour powers, that they maye in keeping their office valiantly defend the glory of God. But (alas) we see verie manye Dukes, Charles and Princes which if the King or Emperour woulde take away fro the their dominions, they woulde not leaue a stone vnmoued, to defende keepe their own. There woulde they with al their force resist the higher powers for this cause and vnder this title, because they woulde vniustly depriue them of their thinges. But when the kingdome of god, godlines, and pure religion are assailed of them, and these inferiour powers are required as Ministers to be at hand, and to helpe to ouerthrowe them, they dare not speake or resist any thing at all. Wherefore wee can thinke nothing els, but that they haue lytle regarde of the kingdome of Christ, and of true godlynes.

Answers to arguments put in beginning. To the first. Christ did well in being conuersant with the vngodly.

Now resteth to answer to those argumentes, which were put forth in the beginning by which seemed to be proued, that conuersation together with Infidels is lawfull. Christ was alledged who was conuersant with Phariseys, Synners, and Publicanes. But he was not onely strong and wyse, but also the chiefe of all wyse and strong men, and he could so profit the euill, that the malice of others could nothing at al hurt him. Wherefore they which are constant and learned, may lawfully (as we haue taught) be conuersant with Infidels, to the end thereby to profyt them to saluation.

To the second. How farre the vnfaithfull are or wylde ought to be kept with all.

Secondly was brought forth a place of Paule, who prohibited, that a saythfull husband or wyfe should not departe from an Infidell, so that he or she were content to dwell together. We declared also that natural and ciuyl necessities, especially suche as are instituted of god should be obserued. And yet for all that, that which is there sayde by the Apostle, must not be vnderstand so simply as it is pretended: because if an vnfaithfull husband should entise his wyfe being a Christian vnto vngodlynes, or woulde not cease to blasphemie Christ, suche a matrimonye ought not to continue.

To the third. Why Paul could maide not the infidels but euill brethren to be auoyded.

Thirdly there was declared a sentence of the same Apostle to the Corinthisans, which is that all conetous persons, euill speakers, drunkardes, and whozomongers are not to be auoyded, for otherwyse wee must go out of the worlde, but he sayd that those onely were to be eschewed which were counted brethren. As touching this purpose of Paule, we must diligently marke, first that he sawe ryght well, that the necessities of lyfe could not suffer, that all those which beleue

ued not at that time in Chyist, shoulde be auoyded: for the greatest parte of men at the beginning were farre from Chyist, neyther coulde the infideles haue bene made better, if our men had seperated themselves altogether from them. But by the sentence of Paule the corrupte bzethzen were dzyuen both to grieve and shame, whylest they saue that for their synnes they were eschewed of those, to whom befoze they had bene familiar and deere, and were ioyned vnto them as members of one body. Furthermoze when this discipline flozshed, the Church was not euill spoken of for the synnes of the bzethzen, which woulde otherwyle haue happened, if they had wincked at wicked actes. Therefore these sentences are nothing agaynst those thinges, which we befoze determined. And much lesse that which was alledged of Abraham how he tourneyed as a straun-ger among Ethnikes and Idolaters. First bicause he did it by the calling of God. Secondly bicause he was of so greate constancye and wisedome that he coulde be conuersaunte with the vngodly withoute any hurte to hymselfe, and to theyr greate pzoofite. For whether so euer he went, he caried aboute with him the name of God and the worshipping of him. We may aunswere the same also of Loth: If he went vnto the fyue cities with a good mynde, namely to teache the Sodomites godlinesse and the right waye. But if he wente thither being moued onely with the commoditie of the place, he dyd not well. And assuredly his going thither had but ill successe. For he was ledde alwaye captiue, and Abraham was fayne to redeeme hym. And when afterwarde those places were by the power of God burnte, he was compelled whether he woulde or no, to remoue from thence. I neede not to speake muche at thys presente of Naaman the Sirian, for I haue befoze entreated inoughe of hym. Mozeouer I thinke it be manifeste inough what was the cause, why some of them that were healed by Chyiste were sente backe to theyr owne, namelye to preache and saythfully to declare vnto them, what had happened vnto themselves.

To the fourth.

The peregrina-
tion of Abrahā
among Eth-
nikes is defen-
ded.

To the fyfth.
Of Loth.

Now resteth somewhat to speake peculiarly of Jewes and Heretikes. For these kynde of men are suffred almost in all cities, pzoouinces and kyngdomes to dwel together with Chyistians. Why the Jewes shoulde be suffred, Augustine among other bringeth forth certayne reasons. He in his. iiii. and. xlii. bookes de ciuitate Dei, and also vppon the. lvi. Psalme, and in other places, wryteth, that they ought therefore to be suffred, bicause they befoze other kynde of men had the pzoofite of saluation, neither are they paste all hope, when as daylye some of them, although but a fewe, retourne vnto Chyist. Blindnesse (sayeth Paule to the Romanes) fell partly on Israel: as though he woulde say, not on al. Mozeouer the same Apostle addeth, when the fulnesse of the Gentiles is entred, then all Israel shall be saued. And least thou shouldest peraduenture thinke, that these wordes are to bee vnderstand allegozically, Paule wryteth them as a miserie, and to confyrme his sentence he byngeth the pzoopherye of Esay the pzophet: namely that iniquitie shal be then taken away from Iacob.

Augustine.

Furthermoze they are now called enemyes vnto God, for our sakes: but cal- led frends, bycause of their fathers. The same Augustine in hys Questions vppon the Gospell, the second boke and xxxiii. Question (if that these bookes be of Augustine his wryting) when he interpreteth the parable of the prodigal sonne, he sayeth that that sonne signifyeth the Gentiles. For it is wrytten, that he departed into a farre countrey, bycause the Ethnikes were so farre departed from God, that they openly worshipped Idoles, and with open pzoofession, But the elder sonne, by whome was shadowed the people of the Hebrewes, went not so farre. And although he were not in hys Fathers house, whiche is the Church, he dwelled for all that in the fildes. For the Jewes are exercised in the holy Scriptures whiche they doe not ryghtlye vnderstande, nor yet

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With that spirituall sense wherein the Church of Christ taketh them, but in an earthly and carnall sense. Wherefore they are not vnaptely sayde to bee in the fildes. Thys Elder sonne entred not at the begynnyng into the house of hys Father, but in the latter dayes he shall also bee called and come.

The same Father also bringeth for thys sentence that which is wrytten in the 58. Psalme, as he readeth it, Do not kill them least they forget thy law, but in thy power disperse them. The Sonne of God (sayth he) prayeth vnto the father, that that nation might not be destroyed, but might wander euery where throughout the worlde.

The Jewes received not the lawes and customs of the Romanes.

Other prouinces when they were overcome of the Romanes, followed the lawes and rites of the Romanes, so that at the length they were made Romanes; but the Jewes, although they were overcome by the Romanes yet would they neuer followe their lawes, rites and ceremonies, they yet obserue theyr owne as muche as they maye, and being dispersed they wander abroade. Neither haue they vtterly forgotten the lawe of GOD: not that they Godlye applye themselves to obserue it, but only reade it, and kepe certayne signes and institutions wherby they are discerned from other Nations. Moreover it seemeth that God hath put a signe vpon them as he dyd vpon Caine, because he had killed his brother Abell, namely that euery man shoulde not kill them.

The dispersing of the Jewes is profitable to Christians.

1

2

Against those which burne the Bibles in Hebrue

Augustine.

Whether the Hebrues haue corrupted the booke of holy scriptures. Jerome.

Neither is thys theyr dispersion through out the worlde vnprofitable to the Christians, because (as it is wrytten to the Romanes) they are shewed vnto vs as broken bowes. And so for so much as we were grafted in their place, when as we see that they were so miserably cut of, we acknowledge the grace of god toward vs, and by beholding of them we are taught to take heede that we also bee not likewise cut of for infidelitie sake, for which self cause they are broken of. There is also an other commoditie, whiche cometh vnto vs by theyr dispersing, because our booke is saued by them, I meane the holy Byble, whiche they euery where carpe aboute with them and reade: And although they are mynded, they beleue not, yet they confesse that those wrytynges are moste true. They are in harte deadly enemyes agaynst vs, but by these booke which they haue and reuerence, they are a testimonye to our religion. Wherefore I can not inough meruaile at those, whiche doe so much hate the Jewes tongue, and Bibles in Hebrue, that they desire to haue them destroyed and burnt, when as Augustine de doctrina Christiana thinketh that if we chaunce somtymes to doubt of the Greke or Latin translation, we must fly vnto the truth of the Hebrue, And Ierome in many places wryteth the same.

But they say that the holy booke were vitiated and corrupted, by the Hebrues. To thys Ierome vpon Esaye the. vi. Chapter towarde the ende aunswereth thus. Eytber they dyd thys befoze the comming of Christ and preaching of the Apostles, or els afterwarde. If a man will saye that it was done of them befoze, then seing Christ and his Apostles reprehended the moste greuous wicked actes of the Jewes. I maruaile why they would speake nothing of that sacrilege, and so detestable a wicked acte. Undoubtedly they would haue reproued them for violating and corrupting the scriptures. But if thou wilt contend that there were afterward faultes brought in by them, then will I say that they ought chiefly to haue corrupted those places which do testifye of Christ and his religion, and which were alledged by the Lord himself, and of the Apostles in the new Testament. But they remaine vncorrupt, and the same sentence remaineth still in the Hebrue Bibles which they put. For they wer not so carefull for thys worlde. Wherefore it is not likely that they as touching other places haue corrupted the holy scriptures. Yea if a man diligently reade ouer their booke, he shall finde in them

them a great many more testimonies and those more plaine and manifest, than our common translation hath. Do not they read in the second Psalm: Kysse ye the sonne, which ours haue translated, Take ye hold of discipline: Which wordes undoubtedly are referred vnto Christ. But I meane not at this present to bring all such testimonies. It is sufficient if with Ierome I proue that the booke of holy Scriptures are not corrupted by the Hebrewes, neither assuredly if they would they should haue missed of their purpose. For there are found many most ancient & handwritten booke, which haue bene of a long time most diligently kept by Christians, which came neuer in their hands to corrupt.

But let vs retourne to treat of that commodity which Augustine hath declared. There are very many (sayeth he) that would peradventure thinke, that those things, which we declare of the ancient people, and of the Prophets are bayne and sayned of vs, vnlesse they saw the Jewes yet remaining on line, which with their booke maintaine our sentence eue against their will. Wherefore although the Hebrewes be blinded in hart, & are against vs as much as they maye, yet are they with their booke most plaine witnesses of our sayth. And undoubtedly of all testimonies, the testimony is most of valne, which is witnessed by our enemies. And god hath wonderfully prouided for this kinde of testimonies for his church, for we haue not only the booke of the Hebrewes witnessing with vs, but also Verses of the Sibillas, which were borne in sundry countreyes. Whether is it to be supposed that our elders sayned those Verses of themselves. For in the time of Lactantius, Eusebius of Cesaria, & Augustine, which alledged those Verses, the booke of the Sibillas were in euery mans hand. Wherefore if our elders should haue adioyned vnto them any counterfayte Verses, the Ethnykes which were then many in number, and were full of eloquence, and deadly enemies to our religion, would haue reponed them as bayne and liars. What then remaineth, but that god would wonderfully defend his church euen by the testimonies of our aduersaries: Wherefore the Jewes are now suffered among Christians, partly for the promise sake, which they haue that saluation should be geue to their kindred: partly because of the commodities, which I haue now rehearsed out of Augustine. Wherefore they are not only suffered but also they haue Synagogues, wherein they openly read the booke of the holy scriptures, and also call vpon the god of their fathers. In which thing neuertheless the diligence of the Magistrates and bishops is much to be required, who ought to prouide that they do there no other thing, and by all meanes to beware that in their common prayers, exhortations, and sermons, they curse not nor blaspheme Christ our God. If the Magistrates and bishops haue not a care ouer these things, they can not but be most iustly accused. But it is not lawfull to graunt vnto the Turkes any holy assemblies for that they haue not a peculiar promise of their saluation, neither would they there read either the old Testament or the newe, but only their most detestable booke called Alcoran.

The Hebrewes & their booke are most plaine witnesses of our sayth.

God will haue a church euen by the testimonies of his aduersaries.

Verses of the Sibillas.

The Turkes ought not to haue any Synagoges graunted them.

Furthermore the Jewes muste be forbidden that they exercise not false bargayning and vsury among Christians, thereby to bere and afflict the poore Christians before our face, which can not be done but with great horroz. But our princes exacte of them a very great tribute and receaue at their handes a great pray by their handes by vsury and false bargayning. So farre are they of from prohibiting them from these euill artes. Furthermore (which is more hurtfull) they proude not to haue them taught, when as they ought to compell them, to come often to the holy sermons of the Christians: other wise, whilest they are so neglected and vlooked vnto, they ware euery day worse and worse, and more stubborne. So that either very little fruite or els almost none at all, can now be looked for by they dwelling among Christians.

The Jewes must be prohibited from false bargayning and vsurie.

Princes ought to care that the Jewes may be taught

It is also diligently to be sene vnto, that they corrupte not our men, in seducing

Cap.2. A Commentary vpon the

The heresie of the Marranes. them to their Jewishe religion. By reason this thing hath bene neglected, the heresie of the Marranes hath much increased and that chiesly in Spaine. Wherfore it is mete, that they may by some apparail or certain signe be knowen from Christians, least a man vnawares should be as familiarly conuersant with the as with Christians. And as touching this kinde of infidelles these thynges are sufficiente.

What heresye is. Now must we speake of heretikes. The woorde *αἱρεσις*, is deriued of thys verbe *αἵρω*, which is to electe or choose, For those kinde of men chose vnto themselves some certaine opinions, which are against the holy Scriptures, and doe

The causes of heresye. stubbozely defend the same. And the causes of this their choyse, for the most part are either because they are ignoraunt of the holy Scriptures, or els if they know them they dispise them, and being dzien by some conetousnesse they applye themselves to the inuention of some errors. Wherfore Augustine in his booke de utilitate credendi wytteth. An heretike is he which for the loue of gayne or rule, eyther byingeth vp, or els followeth new opinions. The definition therfore of heresie is a choyse and stubborne defending of opinions, which are against the holy

Augustine.

The definition of heresye.

Scriptures, either by reason of ignorance or els contempt of them, to the end the easier to obtayne their own pleasures and comodities. The choyse and stubborne defending is in this definition in stead of the forme. But the opinions disagreeing with the holy scriptures serue for the matter. Pride and conetousnesse make heresie. And the obtaining of dignities, gayne and pleasures are appoynted as endes of thys so great a mischiefe. By this definition it is manifeste inough (as I thynke) who be heretikes, I minde not at this presente to speake of the kindes & sortes of heresies. I shall as I trust haue better occasiō, & a place moze mete to speake therof. This will I say bytesty, as touching this questiō, we must haue none otherwise to do with heretikes, than with infidels and Jewes. And I suppose that these things are sufficient as touching this question, which hath bene hitherto discussed, I woulde God so perfectly, as with many wordes. Wherfore I will returne vnto the hystorie.

The second Chapiter.

Ad the Angel of the Lord ascended from Gilgal to Bochim and sayd: I made you to go out of Egipte, and haue brought you vnto the Lande whiche I swore vnto your fathers: And I sayde, I wil not breake mine appoyntmente that I made with you.

Two things haue hitherto bene set forth vnto vs. First the noble victories which the Israelites obtained as long as they obeyed the woord of God. Secondly the transgression, wherby contrarpe to the commaundementes of God, they both saued and also made tributaries vnto themselves those nations, whom they ought vtterly to haue destroyed. But now is set forth vnto vs, how God of his goodnesse by his Legate reprobended the Israelites for the wicked acte whiche they had committed, and that not without fruite. For whē they heard the woord of God, they repented.

The principall poyntes of the Sermon.

First the messenger of God maketh mencion of the benefites which god had bestowed on his people. Secondly he vphaydeth the of their wicked actes, wherwith they being ingrate requited so great giftes. Lastely are set forth the threatninges and punishmentes wherewith God woulde punishs them excepte they repented.

But

But before we come to entreate of the oration of this legate, it were good to declare what he was. The Hebrew word Melach, and also the Greke word *αγγελος*, are doubtfull, and sometymes they signifie a nature without a body, I meane spirites the ministres of God, and other sometymes they signifie a messenger, what soeuer he be. There are examples of these in many places of the scriptures, which should be superfluous now to declare. Some supposed y some certayne spirite was sent from God, whiche appeared vnto the people in a visible forme, and rejoyued them as he was commaunded: And they persuaue them selues that he was first sene in Gilgal, and there commaunded the people, to ascend from thence to a place, whiche was afterward called Bochim of weeping. The Hebrew word Melach is not agaynst this interpretation: and that maketh with it also, because he speaketh as God. I haue made you (sayth he) to ascend out of Egypt. With whiche selfe same kinde of speache the Angell in Genesis spake to Abraham, and in Exodus to Moses. Where it is also written, that God put his name in him. But it seemed vnto the auncient fathers, that that angell which in the olde Testament appeared & spake in the name of God, was Christ the sonne of God. For it is written in Iohn, No man hath sene God at any tyme: the sonne which in the bosome of the father he hath declared him. These wordes declare vnto vs that what soeuer thinges are sayd to haue ben spoken by God in the olde Testament, the same were made open by Christ. But other suppose that this messenger or legate was a minister of the Church, y is either a Priest or a Prophet, whose office was, to reprobend the sinnes of the people. Amonge the Hebrew Rabines, Levi the sonne of Gerson doth therfore thinke this to be very likely, because it is not conuenient, that an angell should openly speake to so great a multitude. But his reason is very weake: for seeing God whē he gaue the lawe spake in the mount Sina to the whole multitude of the Hebrewes, what should let, but that he could teache an angell to do the same? But this is of some what more strength, because it is declared in the history, that this messenger ascended from Gilgal to Bochim. For if he were an angell, it seemeth that it should rather haue ben sayd, that he descended from heauen, & not ascended from Gilgal to Bochim. And surely it appeareth a sayned thing, y they sayne that he first appeared in Gilgal, and then called the people together to Bochim. For he mought haue in Gilgal exprest vnto the people those thinges whiche he afterward declared in Bochim. Wherefore the Hebrewes affirme that this Prophet or Priest receaued in Gilgal the spirite and inspiration of God, wherewith he was stirred vp and appoynted to the assembly of the people, whiche then for certayne causes were assembled in Bochim, there to expresse the commaundementes of God to the people, yea they say that that Prophet was Phineas the Priest the nephew of Aaron, I meane the sonne of Eleazar for he was a very seuerer man, and most zealous of godlynesse and righteousnesse. In the booke of Numb: it is mentioned how he slew Zamri a prince of the family of Simeon namely for this, because he committed open fornicatio with a Madianitish harlot. And the father of y harlot was a prince among the Madianites. And God manifestly allowed the zeale of Phineas. For he promised him the priesthode of his nation, with an euerlastyng couenant: and ceased from destroyeng the people, being mitigated with his noble acte. Phineas therfore was not onely godly, but also of a stoute and valiantte courage. He feared not for gods cause to entre into grievous hatreds, and to put himselfe to present daunger. Wherefore David in the 106. Psalm rehearsing this history commendeth him after this sorte: Phineas stood vp and reuenged, and the plague ceased, and it was counted vnto him for righteousnesse from generation to generation for ever. Wherefore that acte whiche by his owne nature mought haue seemed cruell and horrible, did not onely please God, and was of him allowed for a iust acte: but he also deliuered the people from a most grievous plague, wherewith they were then vered. The counte of the yeares if they

It is doubtful what this Legate was.

The angell speaketh in the person of God.

That angell whiche spake vnto y fathers is thought to haue ben christ

Leui the sonne of Gerson.

Priest of y hebreas the priest

Cap. 2. A Commentarie vpon the

R. Salomoh.

Kimhi.

Where Gilgal
lyeth.

The benefites
of God are like
wordes which
testifie of his
nature & good-
nesse.

God taketh sur-
names by his
benefites.

God beginneth
the rehearfall
of benefites last
geuen.

Two principal
thynges to be
considered in
the couenaunt.

be rightly counted is not agaynst this opinion now alleged. Yea and it is found in this selfe same booke, that he was on lyue, when warre was made agaynst the tribe of Benjamin to reuenge the wicked acte perpetrated in Gabaa. Rabbi Salomoh also declareth, that the booke which is entituled Sedar Olam, testifieth the same. Likewise Dauid Kimhi & the old Hebryes seme to encline to this opinion. But what soeuer he was, I thinke it skilleth not much. This ought to be most certain and sure, that the thynges declared by him were the wordes of God.

Gilgal, is a citie lyeng in the playne of Iordane, not farre from the citie of Iericho. And it had that name hereof, bycause there Iosuah by the commaundement of the Lord prouided that the people of Israel, whiche had wandred vncircumcised throughte the wilderness, celebrated a solēpne circumcision. And when they had so done, God answered, & he had remoued from the reproche of Egypt. For Gal signifieth in Hebryew to turne away and to remoue. Moreover in that place, but not at that tyme, but long before, was the tabernacle, & the Arke of the couenaunt. Namely in the tyme of Iosuah when the people passed ouer Iordane. And by that meanes that place was counted religious. Wherefore Saul the first king of the Hebryes was annointed in Gilgal. But Bochim was so called of the whiche wept as we shall straight waie heare. And it is called so now by the figure Prolepsis, bycause it was not yet named by that name. And as it appeareth by the history they goyng from Gilgal ascended to Bochim. Furthermoze we must note that the legate speaketh not in his owne name, but in the name of God & yet he useth not those kinde of phrases which the other Prophetes did, namely Thus saith the Lord, &c. The word of the Lord came vnto me, &c. And in rehearsing the benefites bestowed on the people. First of all he maketh mention of the deliuey of their fathers out of Egypte, bycause that had newly happened vnto the Hebryes. And God, to the end the knowledge of him should not be blotted out, useth to put men in mynde of those benefites that he hath bestowed on the, & will haue the to be as certain wordes, expressing his nature and goodnesse vnto vs. And he alwayes begynneth his rehearfall at thynges that are latestt done, and of them he claymeth vnto him selfe titles or names attributed vnto him, by whiche he would be both called vpon and also known, for at the beginning God was called vpon by that that he created heauen and earth, and afterward by that that he was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. After that as a deliuerer out of Egypte. Then as a deliuerer out of the captiuitie of Babilon. But lastly as the father of our Lord Iesus Christ. But now of the benefite lately bestowed on them, he calleth him selfe the deliuerer out of Egypte. Afterward he adioyneth an other benefite. And I haue brought you into the lande whiche I swaie vnto your fathers. It was not sufficiēt that they wer deliuered out of Egypt, but they had ample & noble places assigned vnto them. Thirdly he saith, This haue I geue you. That I would haue my couenaunt made with you to haue continued for euer, if it mought haue ben by your obediēce. But ye haue not suffred it. These benefites whiche in this place are rehearsed are playne and manifest ynough. But as touching the last, namely of the couenaunt, two thynges are to be considered in it, first whiche is also the chief of all good thynges, is the redemption whiche should be made by Christ. Neither could this be hindered by any synnes of me. For God is faithful (as Paul testifieth to the Romanes) neither departeth he from his truth, for our euill desertes. The second is, the successe of outwarde good thynges and ciuill ornaments. Whiche kinde of couenaunte or promesse, bycause it was conditionally it myght therefore sometymes be altered, and vndoubtedly of this doth our preacher at this present speake. And what conditions God required of the Israelites, here he declareth in this sermon.

2 And ye also shall make no couenaunte with the inhabitants of this

of this lande, but that brake downe their altares: neuerthelesse ye haue not obeyed my voyce, why haue ye this done? wherefore I haue also determined, I will not cast them out before your face, but they shalbe as prickes in your sides, and they Gods shalbe a snare vnto you.

God by couenaunt had prescribed two thynges in especiall, first that they should make no league with the Chananites: secondly that they should plucke downe their altares and temples. These are euery where written in the law especially in Exodus the 13. and 20. In the booke of Numb. 33. In Deut. 7.

what god prescribed the israelites in the couenaunt.

Now after these conditions required of God is set forth the transgression of the israelites. But ye (sayth he) haue not hearkened vnto my voyce. The Iewes were not yet fallen so farre that they committed Idolatry, they are only reprobated for violating the couenaunt, because they had saved the Idoles and altares of the Chananites. The wonderfull goodnesse of God surely is shewed by these wordes: Why haue ye this done? He demaundeth the cause as being ready to heare their excuse, if they could bring any that were iust and lawfull. And by this meanes also the greivousnesse of the sinne is amplified, as being so greivous yf it could by colour be defended. And undoubtedly thus it is. Gods cause agaynst vs is so good, that he is not affraid in Iudgement to reason with synners, as the Prophetes Esay and Micheas haue playnely taught. The preacher goeth forward, and sheweth what punishment they shoulde haue for this fault.

I. vehement manner of amplifying of synne.

God is not afraid in iudgement to contend with synners.

God is not afraid in iudgement to contend with synners.

God is not afraid in iudgement to contend with synners.

Augustine.

For so much as ye haue not stande by your couenaunt, I will also go from my promises: I will not expell the Chananites out of this region as I had promised: if so be that I do not expell them, ye are so weak and feeble that by your owne power, ye can not cast them out. They that remaine therfore as ye would haue it, but yet to your great vnsauour. For they shalbe as prickes in your sides, namely as thornes, wherewith ye shalbe oftentimes sharply pricked. The Hebrew word is Letdim. And in hebre Tlad signifieth a side. Although some thinke that word to be deriued of this verbe Tlad, whiche is to hunte or to fische and because the hookes of fishermen are very sharpe, therfore the word is by a certaine Metaphoze transferred to signifie thornes. And after the same sorte we might say they signified nettes, vnto the same Metaphoze whiche we may deriue of hunters. But the firste reason of the interpretation, to signifie sides, I see is both simple & also more allowed by the commentaries of the Hebrewes.

And theyr Idoles shalbe a snare vnto you. Namely wherewith ye shalbe taken, and when ye shalbe geuen to their Idolatry, ye shalbe punished with most greivous punishments and vnsauours. Augustine in his 13. questio vpon this booke hath noted, that God threatneth after his accustomed manner, yf at the length it shall come to passe, that he will punish synners by synnes. For yf israelites in not obeying the commandement of God committed synne: and he agayne threatneth that Idoles shalbe a stumbling blocke vnto them, namely that they shoulde worship them, wherfore afterwarde they shoulde be greivously punished. By whiche wordes he declareth that the first transgression shoulde be punished and chastised with the wicked crime of Idolatry, as Paul testifieth to the Romanes, that the Idolatry of the Ethnikes was punished with most filthy lusts. But yf punishment of the israelites (as it is here set forth) hath with out doubt a great emphasys. For what can there happen more greivous, than to be among thornes, and continually to fall among them: Undoubtedly hereof folowe woundes almost throughte out al the partes of the body, and new paynes, and those vehement succede one an other. And as thornes if they sticke in the flesh do sharply pricke, so to dwell among enemyes, and to haue them open

ned

Cap. 2.

A Commentarie vpon the

ned together with vs, can not be but very full of troubles.

The punishment whiche God here threateneth, is no new punishment, for al that is here written, was foretold in the booke of Iosua the 23. chap. Namely that it should come to passe, that if they obeyed not the preceptes of the law of God, God would not then perforce to destroy those nations before them: yea, he sayth, they shalbe vnto you a snare, a stumbling block, a whip for your sides, and thornes to your eyes, vntill ye be destroyed out of this good land, whiche the Lord your God hath geuen you, &c.

For the Israelites had afterwarde experience of these miseries, because they were oftentimes brought into bondage by their enemies among whom they dwelled, and with whom they had vngodly ioynded them selues. And finally for y they would not cease of from Idolatry, they were cast out to the Assirians and Babilonians. This chiding of God containeth last causes, wherfore the Israelites were destitute of his helpe for a tyme. And the end of the whole sermon is, that the people might be stirred vp to repentance, and that most aptely. For among those thinges whiche do vehemently amplify synne & do set it playnly before our eyes, is the greatnesse of y benefites of god, whiche ought to stirre vs vp to y obseruing of the law. Afterward is set forth y gruousnesse of the punishments, because the weight of the synnes committed, both evidently declare y burthen of the. Wherfore these two thinges are worthily alledged in the sermon, to the end the Hebrewes might fele the enormity of the wicked acte whiche they had committed, whereas otherwise they would haue thought it but a light fault.

Causes why
god forsake the
Israelites for
a tyme.
A vehemente
amplifying of
synne.

Two Antithe-
ses to be con-
sidered in this
oration.

Whether the
people were by
this oration stir-
red vp to faith.

Furthermore we must consider in this oration the contrary positions artifi- cially ioynded together to augment the vehemency. For to that benefite, wherin God had brought them out of Egypt this is layde agaynst, that they dyane not the Chananites from the countrey geuen vnto them. And to this benefite, that God had geuen them an abundant and fertile countrey, this is contrary, that the people suffered Idolatry to be no lesse vsed there than it was before. And this was to rendre euill for good. Wherfore God would not suffer that to be left unpunished, but caused it to happen otherwisse vnto them than they thought. For the nations whiche they for their comoditie had saued, did them great hurte, so y they are copared to thornes. And the Gods of those nations, whiche they had not abolished turned to a snare & greuous stumbling block to the Hebrewes.

But this sermon may seme vnperfect enoughe, for so muche as sayth is not set forth in it. wherunto the myndes of the hearers should be erected: onely the synne is declared, and the punishment wherewith they should be punished is expessed. And these thinges, except sayth be mixed with the byerde rather despe- ration than saluation: so farre of is it y they should bying a iust remedy. To this I answer, that that parte whiche seemeth to wante, is elegantly contayned in the sermon now alledged, so that it be some what more diligently considered. For when the benefites bestowed on them by God are expessed, they make vs assured of the goodnesse and mercy of God, whiche benefites also remayne still for the Israelites if they will repent. For god is not chaunged, but is perpetually of the selfe same nature and will. And vnlesse he be resisted by synnes he is towarde men very sauozable and longyng. Furthermore sayth is stirred vp in the hearers, when it is shewed vnto them, that god would that his coneuant made with them should abide for ever. Wherfore it is manifest that this was his will, that the impediment of synnes bying by full repentance taken away, his coneuant whiche he had made might be of force for ever. Wherfore there is no cause why we should complayne that sayth is left out, when as both the promises and the coneuant are mentioned, whiche can not be concealed and established but onely by sayth.

There

There yet remaineth a doubt whether God require the selfe same thyng of Christians, whiche he woulde haue to be done of the Hebrewes, namely that they should by violence take awaye and breake in pieces the Idoles and superstitions both of the infidelles, & also of heretikes. If this should be demaunded as touching Princes and Magistrates, it is without controuersie that they ought to purge their dominions from such evils, and to that end haue they receaued of God the sword and power. But they which are private persons ought to abstayne from violence, so; so much as to them is not committed the sword and power to constraine. Of this thyng Augustine in the .x. tome and 6. ser. mon after this manner answereth, that the Christians ought so to do as God commaunded the Hebrewes in the 7. of Deut: where he expessedly commaunded that these thinges ought then to be done of the Jewes, when the lande was in their owne power. Wherefore Christians ought also to do the same, but yet in those landes, cities and houses which they possesse, namely they must there overthrowe Idoles and superstitious altars. Howbeit it is not lawfull for them to breake into other mens houses landes and Townes, and with violence to breake and overthrowe Idoles and altars. This (sayeth he) is not to heale the synne of Idolatrye, whiche lyeth chiefly in the hearte, it ought chiefly be weped out of the heartes of our neighbours, by the worde and doctrine, whiche being done, as many as we shall wyne vnto Christ, will helpe vs to take awaye outward Images, when as they are perswaded by the worde of God, and that by our diligence, they haue first shaken away the same thinges out of their own heartes. And accordyng to this meanyng the Counsell holden at Eliberium did decrees in the 60. Canon.

By these thynges we muste note, that this is the will of God, that we should abstayne from traffikes, matrimonyes and fellowshipes with infidels and heretikes, as by the lawe it was forbidden, that the Jewes should make no league with the Chananites, but this would I haue so to be vnderstande, as I haue before and that largely declared. Whoeuer we are playnely taught, that the commaundementes of God are simply to be obeyed, so that we may not go about either to mollesce or to mitigate them by mannes inventions. Seeing that God punished the Hebrewes and that grieuously, whiche peradventure thought that they had sufficiently fulfilled his precepte, when they had made the Chananites tributaries. But as touching their Idoles and superstitions he required nothyng elles of the Israelites, but that they woulde not worshyppe them. Wherefore suche interpretations are to be taken hede of, whiche do either utterly take away the worde of God, or at the least do make it to be of small force. This did the sonne of God sharply reprove, when he sayed that the Phariseys by their doctrine and humane inventions did wressle the law of God, as though it had ben made of ware, to their filthy lustes & wicked desires. We must also marke that this whole sermon is taken out of the holy Scriptures: for there is nothing contayned in it, which is not found in the bookes of Numb: Deut: and Iosuah. Whereby we gather, that preaching is then of efficacy, when it is drawen out of the worde of God, and not of the invention of man. Whether is it to be passed over, that it is a common thyng with the Justice of God to punish synners by the same thynges whereby they transgresse. As nowe it is declared that the Israelites should incurre most great damages, as well by the nations, as also by the Idoles, whiche they contrary to the commaundement of God had saued. Furthermoze let vs learne hereby, every man for his owne parte to beare continuall hatred to the wicked affections of the fleshe. For we ought neuer to come into fauour again with them, or to make peace or a league with the: so; so much as God hath appoynted, that we should continually make warre agaynst his enemyes.

Whether it be required of vs that we should breake Idoles

Augustine.

Cōsiliū Eli-berinum.

We must haue no fellowship with the vn-godly.

The comma-ndments of god are not to be mitigated by man his inuen-tions.

This sermon is take out of the holy scriptures

Sinners are punished by the same thynges whereby they haue transgressed.

We must make no league with wicked affecti- ons.

P. 1.

Finally

Cap. I. A Commentarie vpon the

What is the
office of Prin-
ces against he-
reticks & Pa-
pistes.

Finally let Christian Princes be taughte, howe they ought to behaue them
selues agaynst Papistes and heretikes, namely diligently to persecute, correcte,
and amende the errors in them, and at the length to compell them to returne
into the right waye: otherwise in permittynge them to take deeper roote, and to
lyue at will and idely, they noy the thoznes for them selues, and do willingly
gyue vnto them blockes, to stumble at.

4 And when the Angell of the Lorde spake these woordes vnto
all the children of Israel, the people lifted vp their voyce & wept.

5 And they called the name of that place Bochim, and offered Sa-
crifices there vnto the Lorde.

The apt wit-
nes of repen-
taunce.

The fruite of the sermon, whiche was preached is by certayn outward syg-
nes expessed vnto vs, whiche were in a manner apt witnesses of repentaunce,
and of a conuerted mynde. Wherbynges therfore are mencioned. First when
the people had heard this sermon they lifted vp their voyce wherby as it is to be
beleued, they confessed their synnes, and implored the mercy of God. Secondly
it is added that teares were loyted with the voyces: and lastly that they offered
Sacrifices vnto God. What they said when they lifted vp their voyce, the scrip-
ture doth not expresse, but I haue expounded what is most likely that they sayd,
and therfore I will stande no longer about that thyng: but I will somewhat ta-
ry in those thynges, whiche the hystory hath mencioned of, what thynges they
are, namely as touchyng teares and Sacrifices. Wherein we must knowe that
true and lawfull repentaunce consisteth chiefly of two principall poyntes, na-
mely of a sorowe conceaued for the wicked Actes committed, and of a sure confi-
dence to obtayne pardon by Christ. Neither ought we to be ignozaunte, that
these two thynges do burgen out of fayth, as out of their propre and naturall
roote. And sayth, when it byngeth forth suche frutes, is occupied about two
thynges. First it assenteth vnto the lawe of God, and to the threatnynges
there set forth, and confesseth them to be true, wherby we beynge assured of the
will of God, whiche we vnderstande to be by our synnes violated, and no-
thyng doubtyng of the threatnynges adioyned, we can not but be grienously so-
ry. Secondly sayth embaseth the promise of forgiveness of punishmentes by
Christ. And whylest it is occupied about these two thynges, so many outwarde
signes also do folloiw. For of sorowe come syghinges & teares, which haue adioy-
ned vnto the confessio of the synnes committed, whiche is sometymes expessed, &
sometymes close. And where there is conceaued an assurance of forgiveness,
there folloiw Sacrifices. And bycause sayth is the mother of these thynges, and
it is conceaued by the worde of God, therfore the hystory declareth that the

Two principal
poyntes of re-
pentaunce, which
do spring out
of fayth.

Two outward
signes folloiw
true repentaunce

The worde of
god stirreth by
repentaunce.

What is the
grief & sorowe
of repentaunce

The Churche
do not allowe
teares.

Israelites did at the length wepe and do Sacrifice after that they had heard the
sermon. For (as Paule sayeth) sayth cometh of hearyng, and hearyng by the
worde of God. Wherefore weeping and sighing folloiwed sayth by whiche
weepyng the sorowe then conceaued in the hearte manifestly appeared, whiche
affection of the mynde it is manifest to haue come by reason of the euill whiche
then did oppresse them: and that euill was the anger of God, wherewith they
felte them selues to be oppressed, and wherunto they knelwe by the sermon
preached that they were guilty. Neither is this to be passed ouer, that the wee-
pyng of those repenting people was no common or false weeping, for so much
as of the efficacy and abondance thereof, the place was called Bochim. Whiche
worde signifieth in the Hebrew tongue, men weeping.

The teares, whiche the Churche wyse men, do either repzoone, or contempne
as coming from a softe and womanlyke hearte, God, when they burst forth
of true repentaunce, doth exceedingly allowe them, and counteth them as most
acceptable,

acceptable; Seneca writeth in hys 64. Epistle to Lucillus, that sometymes we may let teares come from vs, but we must not weepe. He would not therfore haue weeping to haue the rayne: howbeit somewhat he permitted it, bycause by the violence of nature they are expessed, and they burke forth euen of them whiche will not, and do restrayne them, as the same authour testifieth in hys 60. Epistle. But we ought not to consider what they would, but what is allowed of our heauenly Father. And he wonderfull louingly accepteth a contrite and humble hearte, and the teares of suche as are repentaunt. Then it is sayde that they offer Sacrifices, whiche were certain tokens of sayth conceaued of the forgiveness of synnes by Christ. For whilst the Sacrifices were a kyllyng, it was set forth, that synne in a sozte was transferred into them. For the Sacrifice bare the punishment, whiche the transgressor ought to haue had. Neither is it to be doubted, but that those Sacrifices whilst they were sacrificed, dyd shadowe the death of Christ. Wherefore those ceremonies did testifie that the Elders, did constantly beleue, that by the oblation and death of Christ all their synnes were taken away, and already forgiven them. Neither vndoubtedly can true repentaunce be founde wantyng suche a sayth. For take awaye this sayth, and it may rather be called desperation, than repentaunce. Furthermore in these Sacrifices were thanks geuen vnto God, whiche would so by Christ be reconciled vnto men.

Seneca.

God accepteth the teares of such as are repentaunt.

What the kyllyng of sacrifices signified.

Take awaye sayth & repentaunce is desperation.

Some man will say, what shall we do therfore when we repente: we may in dede haue teares as witneses of our inwarde sorrowe: but there remaine no Sacrifices in our tyme, whereby we should testifie the sayth of the forgiveness of synnes by Christ. To this I aunswere. That whiche they did then by the blood of beastes, and death of cattell, we do also now in celebratyng the Supper of the Lorde. For there we kepe in memozye the death of Christ by outward signes, as he hym selfe hath instituted: and thereof it came that the olde Fathers did so often call the administration of that Sacramente, a sacrifice. Not bycause (as the Papistes falsely beleue) the Sacrifice offreth Christ vnto God the father, but bycause the memozye of hym being once offred is called to remembraunce. Wherefore we must take heede that we perswade not our selues, that God is pacified, either by teares, or by Sacrifices, or by the receauyng of the Sacramentes whiche are but outward thynges. For by one onely Sacrifice, by the death of Christ, God is made mercifull vnto vs: the fruite, of whose death euery man applyeth vnto hym selfe by sayth. And of that sayth we haue those outward thynges as witneses and signes. Wherefore if at any tyme we shall heare either the Fathers or the Scriptures them selues to saye that by teares synnes are wyped awaye, or that by Sacrifices, or Sacramentes God is made mercifull vnto men, so ought we to vnderstande their speeches that we referre the Sacrifices, and Sacramentes both to Christ hym selfe, and also to faith in him, for so much as all those are signes of him. Neyther let vs thinke that this is a newe, or an vnaccustomed thing, that the properties, operations, and efficacy of thynges shoulde be transferred to the signes, whiche by the institution of God do note and signifie vnto vs the same thynges. But these thynges left a syde let vs speake somewhat particularlye both of teares and syghing, and also of Sacrifice.

That whiche the old fathers did by the blood of beastes, the same do we in the supper of the Lorde.

Why the Papistes called the supper of the Lorde a sacrifice

God is not pacified by outward thynges of them selues.

The properties of thynges are oftentimes attributed to the signes of the same thynges

Of Teares.

Teares are counted as certayne thynges added and ioyned to repentaunce, and also to prayers. For not onely the repentaunte, when they with a grievous sorrowe deteste their synnes, do vse to weepe: but also as many as do earnestly and vehemently contend to obteyne any thyng. Howbeit the tokens of

Teares are adioyned both to repentaunce & also to prayers

Weeping is
not alwayes a
token of true re-
pentance.

Tearres do not
alwayes decla-
re the pray-
ers are of efficacy.
2. Sam. 12.

True repentance are not alwayes measured by teares. For we reade both in the booke of Genesis, and also in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, that Esau also wepte. Teares also do not alwayes declare, that the prayers are of efficacy to obtayne that whiche is desired. For Dauid after hys aduoutry fasted and wepte whilest he earnestly prayed that lyfe might be spared vnto hys sonne whiche was borne vnto hym by Bethsabe: whiche thyng neuerthelesse he could not obtayne, but that teares in those examples had no good successe, there were diuerse causes thereof. For Esau as we shall straght waye declare, mourned not of fapth: And Dauid obtayned not that whiche he desired, because God had ordayned to geue him that, whiche was much better and moze noble than that whiche he required. In dede the sonne whiche was conceived by aduoutry remayned not a lyue. But of the same mother he afterwarde had Salomon, who succeeded the Father in a peaceable and mosse ample kyngdome after his death, pea and he beyng yet lyuyng. But contrarywise let vs marke howe in Peter teares were tokens of very true repentance. And also in that woman, whiche (as the Euangelistes declare) with her teares washed the feete of the Lorde. And as touchyng prayers Ezechias was hearde, when with weeping he prayed, and the death whiche was threathned hym was differred to an other tyme. Iosias also was hearde, who prayed vnto God with many teares. The 126. Psalme speaketh thus of the fruite of prayer, whiche hath sighyng and teares adioyned with it: They wente and wepte, castyng their sedes, but doubtlesse they shall come, & with ioye shall byyng with the their sheaues. And they which sowe in teares, shall reape in ioye. It is also wrytten in the 7. Psalme: The Lorde hath hearde the voyce of my weeping. And in the 56. Psalme: The teares of the Sainctes are in a manner put befoze God in a bottle or pottle, and saythfolly sealed in hys booke. Dauid also in hys 95. Psalme stirreth vs up by these wordes: Let vs weepe befoze the Lorde whiche made vs, &c. But muche moze are we instigated vnto it by the example of Christe, who (as it is wrytten in the Epistle to the Hebrewes) with a loude crye, and with teares prayed for vs. Paul also in the 20. of the Actes sayeth, that he had longe serued the Lorde with an humble hearte and with teares.

What teares
ar not allowed
of God.

After what af-
fections teares
do folowe.

Neuerthelesse God alloweth not those teares, whiche are by a certayne naturall nation powzed out without any affection of the mynde: as it commonly happeneth vnto those, whose eyes are stricken with any stroke, or to those whiche runne either on soote or on horsebacke, and whiche with ouer muche drinke become dronke: for these are naturall accidences, neither pertaine they any thyng to godlynesse. But affections after which teares do folowe are these: heauynesse of the mynde, whiche other call sorowle, also gladnesse: and that by contrary reasons. For of sorowle spryngeth cold, whereby as the whole bodye is constrained together, so also are the humours of the hed, whereby it cometh to passe that weapyng by violence bursteth forth. But contrarywise in gladnesse the pypes, pores, & wayes about the eyes are loosed, whereby there is made a waye open vnto teares. And vndoubtedly of those two affections we haue a testimony in the booke of Eldras. For there it is wrytten, that when the temple was built, the people wept, but not all for one cause. Parte of the very sorow that the new buyldyng differed muche in dignitie and ornaments from the fyrst. But contrarywise other reioysed, that the house of God, whiche had layen so longe prostrate, was rased up agayne. And it is manifest in the holy bystorye, that Ioseph when he sawe hys brother Benjamin whome he loued, wepte for ouer muche ioye. Furthermoze there are other affections mixed of sorowle and ioye, whiche make vs to weepe: as is a vehement anger, whiche hath by reason of contempt sorowle myngled with it and also some ioye and pleasure, whilest it goeth aboute reuengement as though it were present. Percy also shaketh

Anger hath sor-
rowe and plea-
sure mingled
together.

Shaketh out teares, for that we are troubled and are soze for other mens evils, and are desirous to profite the afflicted. For a vehement desire also casteth out teares. Wherefore the men of God, when in prayeng they earnestly desire to ob-
tayne any thing, easely burst forth into teares.

But what the matter of such an humour is, we leaue to the consideration of naturall Philosophers: for they do not well agree among them selues as touching it. Some thinke that they do come by reason of the gaule beyng troubled, vnto which opinion agreeth the first booke de mirabilibus sacra Scripturae, the 1. chap: whiche booke is entituled to be Augustines wytyng. Other suppose them to be a certayne kynde of sweate, whiche Plutarche affirmeth, but some do thinke, that euen as from mylke is seperated whey, so also a watrish humour is separated from bloud, wherof the greater parte turneth into vyne, and that whiche remaineth is thrust forth into teares. Lastly Seneca in his 100. Epistle to Lucillus thinketh that with the stroke of grief and sorow the whole body is almost shaken, and therewithall the eyes, out of whiche eyes, the humour ly-
eng nighe vnto them is expressed. But howsoeuer this matter be, it littell per-
sayneth vnto vs. Wherefore let vs come to the causes, for whiche it becometh a godly man to weepe.

Augustine in his 4. sermon of the first Sunday in Lente wytyeth y there be two causes in true repentaunce that byng forth weeping: one is, for bycause we haue thozonghe negligence omitted many thynges whiche we ought to haue done, And by ouer much boldnesse comytted many thyngs which we ought not to haue done. These are commonly called synnes of comyttynge and omittynge, and in the same place he interpreteth thys sentence. (Brynge forth worthy fruytes of repentaunce) after this maner, that we shoulde weepe for the synnes already committed, and we shoulde take hede that we do not the same agayne. Chrysostome also vpon the Epistle to the Collossians, the 12 Homely co-
playneth that the Chyistians abused teares, and when as otherwyse teares are good creatures of God, they disfigure them in adioynng them to those thynges whiche deserue not weeping. Synnes onely (sayeth he) are to be weeped for, not onely our owne synnes, but other mens also. Whiche Paul perfozmed in very dede, who in the 2. to the Corinthians: sayde that he was affeard, not to come vnto them, but so that he was defected & compelled to weepe for very ma-
ny which had fallen and not repented. Yea and he exhorted the same Corinthi-
ans, to weepe for other mennes synnes, when in his first Epistle he sayde, ye are puffed vp, and ye haue not mourned, namely for a grieuous cryme of an in-
testuous man. And Dauid in his 119 Psalme wytyeth, Myne eyes haue brought forth riuers of waters, bycause they haue not kepte thy lawe. What most holy
Prophete wepte, bycause of the publicque transgressions of the lawe, and when
he sawe the same transgressions euery where perpetrated, he abundantly pou-
red out teares.

And Ezechiell in the 8. chap: commended certayn whiche wepte for the wicked Actes of other men. And hereof it cometh that when holy men see horri-
ble spectacles of synnes ostentymes to happen, they easely burst forth into
teares than into laughter. For so Chyist bled, whom we read to haue oftentimes
wepte, but neuer to haue laughed. Whiche selfe same thyng also we must do at
thys day, when as so great, and euill an haruest of synnes doth on euery syde
offer it selfe vnto vs.

Lastly we must knowe, that all kynd of mournynge is not allowed of god. For some there are, whiche (as I haue before said) are moued only with y feeling
of the punishmetes, neyther are they moued any further. To be soze in dede for
cause of paines and punishmentes, is a certayne degree of true repentaunce:
& for that ende, G D doth both punyche and also threaten men whylest they
lyue here. Howebeit this sorow is not sufficient, neyther is it by it selfe al-
lowed

The Physicall
matter of tea-
res.

Augustine.

Plutarche.

Seneca.

Augustine.
Causes why
we shoulde
weepe.

Synnes of com-
mittynge and om-
ittynge.

Chrysostome.

The abuse of
teares.

Oure owne
synnes & other
mens also are
to be wept for.

Godly men do
easelyer weep
than laugh.

That weeping
is not allowed
whiche cometh
only of the fee-
lyng of the pu-
nishmentes.

Cap.2. A Commentary vpon the

loved of god: for it springeth of selfe loue, & is in a maner a thyng vnprofitable vnlesse it go further: Wherefore the Lord sayeth in Zacharie the 7. chap: that the Hebrewes had fasted for them selues, & not for his glorie: so these wepe for them selues and mourne, not because they haue violated the commandementes of God. Furthermore thou mayste see other some somewhat worse than these, whiche being moued with the sorowe of troubles do wepe, and among these teares do speake euill of God hymselfe, being angry with his Justice, as though he were to seuer, and a harder Lord than he ought to be, and suche mourning belongeth not to repentance, but rather to desperation. An example therof we haue in the booke of Numb. the 14. chap. Where the people when they heard the bytter relation of the spyes, fell to weeping, and spake euill both agaynst Moyses and agaynst God, and determined to returne into Egypt.

Their teares are condemned whiche when they weape speake euill of God.

What mourning pleaseth God most.

Repentance is sometymes openly to be renewed,

The thirde kynde of mourning, is very acceptable vnto god, and that is when we are grievously sorowe, for that we haue violated his lawe, and because we see a great numbre of others to resist his moste holy will. To this kynde of lamentations did Iocel and other holy Prophetes stirre by the people of the Hebrewes. Christe also perswadeth vs vnto them, when he sayeth, that they are blessed whiche mourne, because consolation is layed by for them. The Church likewise bleth sometymes to stirre by the people to these kynde of mournings, when as at sometymes it set forth publique repentance, whiche although it ought continually to cleave in the heartes of Christians, yet by reason of publique calamities, and a certayne sluggishnesse grafted in vs, is sometyme to be renewed by the diligence of the Pastors. Wherefore god in the olde lawe once in a yere, in the 7. moneth I saye, instituted a fast, whereby that daye the people of Israell myght for the synnes whiche they hadde committed, afflict them selues before god. And to the ende it myght the oftener be done, he daye ly sent his Prophetes to rebuke the people, as we see in this hystorie he did, when he commaunded this sermon whiche we nowe expounde to be made vnto the people.

Of Sacrifice.

Dure actions are either voluntary, or natural

Some actions are religious & are separated from political & oeconomicall actions.

Augustine.

The difference betwene a sacrifice and a Sacrament.

The definition of a Sacrifice.

Now riseth somewhat to speake of Sacrifice. The definition wherof when we searche out, first we fynde it to be a certayne action, and that voluntary: whiche I therefore saye, because there are founde some actions whiche they call naturall: but those for so muche as they depende not of humane election, they can not therfore be called voluntary. Furthermore Sacrifice ought to be referred vnto religion: whiche I do for this cause adde, to remoue and separte it from oeconomicall and ciuill woorkes. For domesticall woorkes, are profitable to gouerne a family, and ciuill woorkes serue for the administration of a publique wealthe. But sacrifice is a religious action, because it pertayneth to the woorking of god and was by hym instituted, that we should offer our thyngs vnto hym, and that to this ende, that he might be honoured, and thereby (as Augustine sayeth in his 10. booke de ciuitate Dei the 7. chap:) to cleave vnto hym with an holy societie. And hereby may we see in what sorte a Sacrifice (if we speake of it as it is properly) differreth from a Sacrament, whiche is also a voluntary and religious woork, and also instituted by God, that by it the promyses and good giftes of God should be sealed and exhibited, because ther we offer nothing vnto God, but he offereth signes, and amplifieth his giftes vnto vs, when as those thynges which are offered, are receaued with a sound saith.

But that the thyng may be made more plain, let vs in a summe gather the definition of a sacrifice. And that is this: A sacrifice is a voluntary and religious action, instituted of God, to offer vnto him our thynges, vnto his glorie, and that thereby we may with a stragghter bond be coupled vnto hym in holy societie.

To this definitiō of sacrifices, must be added a participation. Certain sacrifices are propitiatory, & others are of thanks giving. By the first kinde God is made mercifull vnto vs, by the power & iuste merite therof. But of this sorte we haue but onely one, for as much as onely by the death of Christ the eternall father is reconciled vnto vs, and by the merite of this one only oblation the sinnes of the elect are forgiven. But in the other kinde of sacrifice we geue thanks vnto God, we celebrate his name, and to our power we obey his will. Agayne, we must know that this kinde of sacrifice consisteth of two partes, whereof the one is an inward part, namely whereby we freely and without compulsion referre vnto God our own will and our selues wholly, and all that wee haue receaued, and we make them subiect vnto him, and consecrate them vnto his name. The other is an outward part, whereby by some gift, and that visible and sensible, we do as it were by some token and signe, testify what we haue in our hart, and we offer vnto him somewhat of those things, which he himself hath geuen vnto vs. So they in the old time offered first frutes, tenthes, and sacrifices. In which things they dyd not onely shadowe Christ, the most acceptable sacrifice vnto God, but they testified also, what loue they then selues bare vnto God. By these things it appeareth, that the outward oblation of sacrifice is nothing acceptable vnto God, except it haue the inward part annexed with it, which maye testify it to be in vs in very dede, for because they which do make any such oblation do most filthily lye vnto God, for to testify that which is not so, pertayneth to deceite, and being that a lye is bituperable in all things, & every where, much more pernicious & detestable is it, if it be used before God. Hereof it came that god often times said by his Prophets, that the sacrifices of the Iewes were not acceptable vnto him, and chiefly for this cause, namely because they dissimuled to honour him with lyes and outward signes, when as they were farre from him in hart. He requireth therfore the inward part by it selfe, but as for the outward part, he hath no other wise commanded, but so that it be offered with the inward part ioyned together with it: otherwise if it be naked & alone, it is both vnacceptable, and also highly displeaseth him.

If thou wilt aske, what be those outward woordes, whereby we may testify the inward sacrifice: I could rehearse a great many, the killing of beastes, the oblations of first frutes and tenthes, which the fathers had, whilest they were vnder the law. To them are added outward woordes, wherein we geue thanks vnto god, we celebrate his praises, and we make our prayers. To these must be added duties of charity toward our neighbours, mortification of the affections of the flesh, and obedience vnto the commandementes of god. All these latter kinde of sacrifices are as well common vnto vs, as to the fathers. These things we geue vnto god, to beare witness of our faith, and obeyaunce toward him. And seeing that it is not to be doubted of those first, which were offered in the time of the law, but that they were in their time sacrifices, least there should be any ambiguity had of the other which were mentioned in the latter place, whether they ought to be counted in the place of sacrifices, we wil confirme it by testimonies of the scriptures. It is written in the 50. psalme: Offer vnto god the sacrifice of praise. And in the 51. psalme: A sacrifice vnto god is a troubled and a broken hart, &c. In the 12. to the Romanes: I desire you for the merry of god, that ye would set forth your bodies a lively sacrifice, holy, &c. Michias saith in the 61. chap. I will tell thee O man, what god requireth of thee: Doo iudgement, loue mercy, walke reuerently and modestly before God. I say also, and the rest of the Prophets haue in many places confirmed this sentence.

Neither is it to be passed over, that among these outward things which are offered as sacrifices vnto god, there are certayne degrees and an order appoynted. For god himselfe testifieth, that he farre above the other preferreth mercy and charity toward our neighbours. Wherefore in Mathew the 23. is this place

A. iiii.

brought

A definition of sacrifices.

Sacrifice propitiatory is onely one.

A sacrifice hath an outward part and an inward part.

The outward sacrifice without our inward pleasureth not god.

Why the sacrifices of the Iewes were sometimes unacceptable vnto God

The outward sacrifices of the Iewes.

Outward kinde of sacrifices common to vs & to the fathers.

An order of certayne degrees amonge outward sacrifices

Cap. 2. A Commentary vpon the

brought out of the Prophet Hosea: I will mercy and not sacrifice. Moreover, it is written in the 1. of Samuel: Obedience is better than sacrifices. These words teache vs, that among outward oblations, the killing of beastes, and tenthes, and frutes in the old time held the last place. But the principall part was geuen to the obedience which was shewed vnto the word of God, to charity towards our brethren, to thanks geuing and to prayers.

The end of sacrifices.

Why the death of Christ so much pleased God.

Augustine. Two things are required in every sacrifice.

Whither the selfe some thing may be both a sacrament and a sacrifice.

The supper of the lord is both a sacrament & a sacrifice.

The killing of sacrifices were both sacraments and also sacrifices.

Neither is the end of sacrifices lightly to be passed ouer, but with diligence to be considered, especially as Augustine hath expressed it, namely that we might with an holy fellowship cleaue vnto God. For without it our works though they be neuer so excellent, can be no sacrifices. And the death it self of Christ which was the chiefe and onely sacrifice pleased god for this cause especially, because Christ to no other end offered himselfe, but to fulfill the will of his father, and to obey him as it was meete. But to these things which I haue sayd I will adde an other thing which Augustine writeth in his Epistle ad Deo gratias the 3. question. Namely that in every sacrifice god requirerth twoo certaine things. First that our oblations be made vnto the true god: from which intent for as much as Idolaters do wander fro, whatsoever they do in their rites, turneth to their own destruction: The other thing is, that the manner of the oblations consist of the doctrine of the holy scriptures, and come not of our owne inuentions and saynings.

Here ariseth a doubt, because we haue put a difference betwene a sacrament and a sacrifice: and yet if the elders in their oblations and sacrifices had the selfe same thing, that we haue when we celebrate the supper of the Lorde, whyeth no man doubteth but to be a sacrament: How shall that be true that we said before that there is a difference betwene a sacrifice and a sacrament, seeing that of necessity the sacrifices of the Elders must also be Sacraments: To this I answer that the reasons of these things are diuers, and yet that letteth not but that one thing may be both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. For no man doubteth but that philosophy and strength of the body are diuers things, which neuertheles may be sene both in one mā: So also it happeneth here, that one thing may be both a

sacrifice & a sacrament, although the reason of a sacrament and a sacrifice be diuers. When the supper of the Lorde is celebrated, in that the body and blood of Christ are by faith & spirit geuen vnto vs to be receaued, and the promise of that coniunction which we haue with Christ, is sealed, so that we are the members of his bodye, in this respect I say, it is a sacrament, and also so called, because in that action god geueth bys gyftes vnto vs. But in that by the same action we do celebrate the memozy of the death of Christ, we render thanks vnto him for the gyftes which we haue receaued, we consecrate & offer our selues vnto god, it is, & may be called a iust sacrifice, whereby we geue most acceptable oblations vnto god himselfe. This selfe same thing may we se in the killing of the sacrifices which wer in the old time done before god: for they wer both sacraments, when in Christ was geuen to the men in the old time to be receaued of them by faith, & by which they communicated before the Lorde in eating & drinking together. All these things I say pertained to the reaso of a sacrament. And yet the same wer also sacrifices, when as they thereto both consecrate theys & them selues vnto god.

But to retourne to the history, when as very many kinde of sacrifices were commanded in the law, namely for synnes and for faultes, peace offerings also and burnt offerings, it is interrain which of these the Israelites vied at this present: for the history declareth it not. But by as much as maye be coniectured by those things which are spoken, he should not erre in my iudgement, whiche should affirme that they sacrificed for synne. For to this ende pertaineth both the sermon that was preached, and also the weeping of the people, namelye to haue forgiveness of their synnes, and to retourne againe into fauour with god.

But some peraduenture wyl marnayle, why they durst sacrifice there where the

the tabernacle of God was not fixed, when as in Deuter. it was most manifestly forbidden by a law, that the people should not sacrifice in anye other place. ^{whether it were lawfull to sacrifice there where the tabernacle of God was not.} But as touching that law we must vnderstand, that it was not of efficacy till such time as the Arke and Tabernacle of the Lord had a fixed and firme place. Which came not to passe before Salomon had built the most noble Temple at Ierusalem. Wherefore before that time, we reade that they sacrificed in wandering and vncertain places, namely whersoever any occasion of religion was geuen. Furthermore they which thinke that this man of God which preached this sermon was Phineas, do say that it is not to be maruailed, that sacrifices wer offered here at Bochim as the history teacheth. For it might easely be that the selfe same man which preached the sermon, offered sacrifice in the name of the whole people for synne, for that he exercised the office of priesthoode. For he succeeded Eleazer his parent, according to the promise of God.

And by these things which haue ben intreated of in this place, we may gather what thinges ought chiefly to be obserued in an holy assembly. The word of god before al thinges must be preached vnto the people, thereby to allure the hearers to repentance, namely to acknowledge the sinnes which they haue committed, and to repent them therof. Then must they procede to the administration of the Sacramentes, wher the faithful may be made moze assured that their sinnes are by Christ forgiven them, they may also geue thanks vnto God, and with many and sundry praises celebrate and call vpon him. ^{What thinges ought to be obserued in an holy assembly.}

6 And when Iosua had sent the people away, the children of Israel went every man into his inheritance, to possesse the lande.

7 And the people serued the Lord al the dayes of Iosuah, and all the dayes of the Elders, that outliued Iosua, which had sene al the great woorkes of the Lord, that he dyd for Israel.

This narration is therefore put in, to declare how long the Israelites kept the sincere and true wooshipping of God. And it is sayde, that when they were come into the land of Chanaan, they did their duty wel as long as Iosua lyued, & as long as the Elders wer remaining, which had sene the wonderful woorkes of God, which he had wrought for the Israelites sake. And vndoubtedly it had bene vnaptly if this history should haue declared the transgression of the Children of Israel, and should not haue noted the tyme wherein it happened. Aptlye therfore is the death of Iosua and the Elders which lyued in his tyme, repeated in this place, and afterwarde is mencioned that an other age of men succeeded, which knew not God, neither had they sene his woorkes. Wherefore the Israelites easely fel from the lawfull wooshipping of God.

We gather by this place that the repentance of the Hebrues before declared (which happened after the death of Iosua, when the publike wealth was gouerned by a Senate, and the enemies wer by manye battailes destroyed, & compelled to paye tribute vnto the Israelites whiche had conquered them) bybled and restrained the people a long time, from falling into moze grievous synnes. They had sinned in dede, as we haue now heard, in sparing the Chananites, and not abolishing their wicked idolatry. But afterward when they had desired and obtained pardon of so great a crime, they abstained a long time from the wooshipping of Idols, and the repentance now mencioned brought forth his fruit. ^{The profite of the repentance before mentioned of people.}

Some peradventure will maruaile, howe chaunce, that they still kept the league which was wickedlye made with the Chananites, & ouerthrew not their detestable wooshippinges, Temples and Idols. Vndoubtedly if they repentance had bene true and perfect, they ought saythfully to haue amended that wherein they synned: for among other thinges those are counted the iust frutes of repentance. I haue nothing els to answer here, but that I thinke they dyd not thys, because ^{why the Israelites after their repentance did not breake the league made with the Chananites.}

Cap. 2. A Commentary vpon the

God forgetteth
sinnes but he
doth not by &
by restore the
good thinges
taken away.

bicause they wanted force, lucke to fight against those nations. For God, to punish the transgression and violating of his law, had now withdrawn their strength and audacity. And although they repented, yet he did not by and by restore vnto them their old strengthes. For he bleth in deede straight ways to receaue repentaunt synners into sauour, but he doth not by and by restore those thinges which he by his iust iudgement hath for sinnes taken away. This maye we easely see in the fall of our first parentes. For the euils thereby comming vnto mankinde, wer not taken away of God. Pea and those commodities & most quiet state, whiche they had in Paradise, men neuer afterwarde reconered, although God hath reconciled vnto himselfe those that beleue in Christ. For Dauid had woord brought him by Nathan the prophet, that his sinne was forgotten him, yet he could not escape, but that his sonne which was bozne vnto him, perished, and he himselfe fel into grievous miseries. So God woorketh sometimes, partly to keepe discipline, and partly to make manifest vnto men, how much he detesteth sinnes. Againe moze and moze to stirre by repentaunce, and that an earnest repentaunce of wicked actes committed in suche as are renewed. But let vs returne vnto the history, wherein certain thinges, which happened vnder Iosua are moze fully repeated.

Iosua sent
away the peo-
ple twice from
hym.

Now (saith he) He had let the people go, and every man went into his inheritaunce, to possesse the land. The Israelites were twice thus sent away by Iosua. First when the land of Chanaan was deuiled by lottes. For at that time every Tribe went to possesse those places which fel vnto them by lot. Iosua also sent away the people when he should dye. For he had called together vnto him the whole multitude of the Israelites, by his last sermon to admonish and exhort them. Which he preached in such sorte, as it is described in his booke the 24. chap. And as it is most likely, we ought to vnderstande that sending away in this place, to be the same which was done last. Seeing that it is writtem in the place now alledged, that when the people had heard the woords of Iosua, & renewed the conenante of god, they wer sent away, and euery one went to his owne possession. After that is mencioned the deathe of Iosua euen with as many woordes, as it is now repeated.

Iosua when
he should dye
executed the
office of a good
prince.

Here let vs note, that Iosua being almost at the poynt of death executeth the office of a good Prince, in exhorting & people openly, & that with many woords, not to depart from the sincere religion. In which thing he with a godly and holy study imitated Moyses, whom he succeeded, who (as we reade toward the end of Deut.) behaued himselfe after the same sort. Iacob also the most holpe Patriarche, euen now ready to dye, called vnto him al his childezen, and seriously, and with great holines preached vnto them. And that Princes and Kinges shoulde comodiously do the same, it is prescribed vnto them in Deuter. that they should be most studious in the law of God. For by that meanes were they made apt to admonish the people, and to exhort them faithfully to obserue the commaundementes of the Lord. The Israelites when they wer sent away by Iosua, as sayd to haue gone to possesse the land, bicause as yet ther remained very many places for every Tribe not yet conquered. Of which places when Iosua was dead, and in the time of the Elders they obtained certain, when as they got the victories in battalles, as we haue heard fro the beginning. After which victories the first transgression folowed, vnto which succeeded the repentaunce before mencioned. But they abstained from idolatry as long as Iosua lyued, and all the time of the Elders, which wer equall with him, and ouerlyued him, who also had scene the wonderfull woorkes of the Lord. For at that time sound doctrine, and the woord of the Lord testified by notable victories, wer of great force.

That good Magistrate by whom the publike wealthe was then gouerned, had had experience of the wonderfull power of the woord of God, and therefore he continually laboured openly to inculcate & vze it vnto the people of Israel, which

which thing could not want iust fruit. Experience declareth, that almost in euery age, the people frame them selues to the example of their Magistrates. For if the Princes be zelous both of religion and godlines, their subiectes also wil embrace godlinesse and religion. But contrarywise if Princes liue vngodly and dissolutely, the people wil likewise despise religion and lyue filthily. Whereouer, let the Magistrate as long as he is in authoritie, chiefly haue a care to this, that the holy ministry be perfect, and that it teache and administer sound doctrine, and pure rites, and that he suffer not superstitious or wycked opinions to be thrust into the church. But euen as he prouideth that other Artificers abuse not their sciences: so let him diligently beware of the Ministers of the church do not either corrupt the godly rites, or falsify the holy doctrine. We see that sometimes it happeneth, that the ministry in the Church is very laudable and pure. But if an vngodly, and wicked Magistrate obtaine the chief rule of thinges, that holy ministry is easely despised of the people, wherefore it is made of lesse efficacy, than it would haue bene if it myght haue had the Magistrate a furtherer of it. Wherefore we must with most sergent prayers desire, that seeing the church hath now by the benefit of God in many places recouered godly doctrine and sincere Ministers, that it would please God to geue vnto it Magistrates which may be most zelous of godlines and religion.

People frame
them selues
to the example
of their princes

It profiteth
much to the
ecclesiasticall mi-
nistry to haue
the magistrate
a helper.

If a man should aske whether the people may be good and godly, although the Magistrate and Minister of the Church be corrupt. I answer, that somtyme they may be, as touching some: as we see to happen in the Papacy, where some godly and holy men are euery wher found, which neuertheless lyue vnder wicked, corrupt, and vngodly ciuyl Magistrates and Ministers of the church. Howbeit publike exercises of sound religion and godliness, can not vniuersally be had without them.

8 And Iosua the Sonne of Nun, the seruant of the Lorde, dyed, when he was an hundred and ten yeares olde.

9 And they buryed him in the border of his inheritance, in Thimnath-Heres in mount Ephraim, on the North syde of the hyl Gaas.

10 And euen so also all that generation were put vnto their fathers and ther arose an other generation after them, which neither knew the Lorde, nor yet the woork which he had done for Israel.

Iosua lyued not so long tyme as dyd Moyses, whom he by the commaundement of the Lorde succeeded, for Moyses was an. 120. yeares old whē he dyed. But the same thinges which we reade in this place concerning the death and burfall of Iosua, are by as many wordes expessed in his owne booke the. 24. chap. The place wher they buryed him namely in mount Ephraim was his owne possession. For of that Tribe came Iosua. And the Elders prouided to haue Funerallles and Sepulchres in their owne possessions. For which cause it is written in the booke of Iosua towarde the ende, that the bones of Ioseph, which the Israelites brought with them out of Egypt, were buryed in Sichem, in that fildes I saye, which Iacob had assigned as proper vnto Ioseph. And it followeth: Eleazer also the sonne of Aaron dyed, whom they buryed in a hyl that pertayned to Phinehes his sonne, which hyl was geuen him in mount Ephraim. But as touching the name of the Citie, in that it is here called Thimnath-Heres, Rabi Selomoh toward the end of the booke of Iosua wyrteth that Thimnath is as much as Temunath, which is an Image. And so for so much as Chares signifieth the Sunne, it declareth that the Chyldren of Israel placed the Image of the Sunne vpon the Sepulchre of Iosua, that it myghte remayne as a monument of the myracle by hym wrought. For he commaunded the Sunne and the Moone to stande still, vntyll

Iosua lyued
not so long as
Moyles.

The Elders
had sepulchres
in theyr owne
possessions.

R. Selomoh;
why the figure
of the sun was
set vpon the se-
pulchre of Iosua.

Cap.2. A Commentarie vpon the

D. Kimhi.

It is lawfull
to set forth the
benefites of
god by certain
tokens and out-
warde signes.

A godly magi-
strate wonder-
fully profiteth
the safety of the
people.

They which
dye ar sayde to
be adioyned vnto
the fathers.

Howe some are
sayde not to
knowe the lord.

Augustine.

until he had finished the battaile. That therfore so noble a worke might not be had in oblivion, he supposeth that his tombe was adourned with those tokens. That this word Chares signifieth the Sunne, Esay the. 19. chap. and Job the. 9. doo testifie. Howbeit, this is to be considered in the booke of Iosua, that the name of this place doth vary. For in the booke of Iosua it is wrytten Timana Serech, which yet R. D. Kimhi thinketh to be al one, the letters being somewhat transposed, which is a familiar and a thing much used in the hebrewe tongue, as they that are learned in the same wel know.

Neither was it absurdly or wickedly done of the Israelites so to adorne the tombe of Iosua. For it is meete that the benefites of God be set forth by tokens and certain monumentes. They had not at that tyme the abundance and ble of bookes, which we haue. And therfore they used certain outwarde Symboles and tokens to helpe and to renewe their memozye. Iacob erected a Stone in the place where he had sene God. Moyses dyd set by twelue pylers there, where he made a league betwene God and the people. The same was done also, when the people were passed ouer Iordane: for they gathered twelue Stones out of the channell of the riuer, which should be a token to their posteritye, that God had by a great miracle dyed by the waters of Iordan, when they passed ouer it. For by reason of our naturall ingratitude we do easely forgette the benefites of god, wherfore yf the figure of the sunne were set vpon the tombe of Iosua to testifie the miracle, wherin god at the prayers of Iosuah had commaunded it to stand that therby the hebrewes might by his conduite and leading obtayne a perfect and noble victorie, this I say semeth not to be done either vngodly or absurdely for yf Image of the Sunne was not therfore put ther, to bee worshipped, neither were there any holly assemblies in that place, wherin yt was. Hereby it appeareth how a good and godly magistrate may wonderfully profite the health of the people. For the Israelites departed not fro the worshipping of god, so long as Iosua and the wise and godly senators lyued. Aptly therfore is it wrytten in yf Donerbes the. 29. chap: When the vngodly beare rule, the people mourne. And in the same booke. 20. chap: a wise king destroyeth the wicked, And in the 29. a iuste king setteth by the land. Reason also sheweth that it is so, for the people do therfore endeour them selues to please their princes, to synd the moze fauour at their handes: and therfore they frame them selues to their maners and fashions. And also because the people is by lawes and decrees compelled to obey the will and sentence of the princes.

They wer put vnto their fathers. It is a kind of speche much used in the scriptures, that they which do dye, ar sayed to be adioyned to their fathers. For as touching the bodey they ar buried with them, and as concerning yf soule they ar adioyned vnto them. For if they haue lyued godly, they lyue with their holy elders, but yf vngodly, they ar toymeted with their wicked progenitors, if they haue had any suche.

And there arose an other generation after them, which knew not the lorde. Not vndoubtedlye that any of them wer so rude, that altogether they knew not god. For the constante administration of the world & the vndisturbed order of thynges do testifie & crye that ther is a god. But this knowledge, wherof the history now speaketh, is vnderstand to be that which hath annexed with it allowyng, sayth and obedience. And they are thus sayd to be ignorant of god, because they obeyed him not, they did not put their hops and confidence in hym, neither wer they zelouse to worshipspe hym purely and sincerely. Augustine in his questions vpon this booke the 15. question affirmeth that it is playnely expressed in what sort the Israelites knew not god, namely in those excellent and wonderful workes, by which their elders came vnto the knowledge of the lord. The rede also of Pharaos, yf he (as it is wrytten in Exodus) answered vnto Moyses, that

that he knewe not the God of the Hebrewes and the Lord, eyther because he was not minded to hearken vnto his commandements, or els, though after a sorte he knewe him, yet he knewe not by certayne pzoofe that he was the God of the Hebrewes.

11 And the children of Israel dyd euyl in the syght of the Lord, and serued Baalim.

12 And they forsooke the Lord, the God of their fathers, whych brought them out of the land of Egypt: & followed straunge Gods, euen the Gods of the nations that wer round about them, & bowed them selues vnto them. Wherefore they angered the Lord.

13 They forsooke, I say, the Lord, and serued Baal & Astaroth.

Under those vngodlye Princes which succeeded the good, the people grievously fell. Not because that they before had not also transgressed: for that (as we haue shewed) they grievously sinned in sparing of the Chananites, but now they began to contaminate and defile them selues with the superstitions and idolatry of those Nations.

R. Leui demaundeth in this place, how it could be, that none of those should be on lyue, which had sene the woordes of God which hee hadde done for Israel, when as from their comming out of Egypt to this present time there were but 67. yeares passed. He answereth, that there might easely be some sound, which had sene those woordes: yea all men confesse that Phinches lyued at that tyme, but there were but fewe suche, and there were not many wise men, and whych could rightly and with authozity instruct the young of those things, which they had sene. And it might be that the scripture spake not these woordes of al h people, but onely of the new Magistrates which succeeded. Neither ought we here, by to vnderstand that all the Israelites were become Idolaters, but the moste part of them, and which was moze haynous, they openly pzoessed wicked wo: shippings, when as neuerthelesse some, although but few, and peradventure secretly, claue vnto the true God.

All h Israelites became not idolaters.

Miracles are not sufficient to persuade godliness.

They which sawe not h miracles in the old tyme, are not therfore excused from infidelitie.

The miracles which wer don in the old tyme profite vs also.

Neither maye wee gather hereby, that myzacles of them selues haue the power to be sufficient, either to bying in, or to retaine godlynnes. For Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, Zimri, Achan, and the ten spies were without dout at the doing of the myzacles which were done as well in Egypt as in the wilderness: and yet neuerthelesse they fell from God, and defiled them selues with moste grievous wicked actes. Whereouer they whiche when Moyses was absent, wo: shipped the golden Calf, and were consecrated to Baal-Peor the God of the Moabites, they I say vndoubtedly beheld the wonders, whereby God defended the people from their enemies, and helped them in diuers necessities, and yet for al that they became Idolaters, & committed wicked wo: shippings. Euen so came it to passe of the Scribes and Phariseys: for the hystory of the gospel declareth that they sawe the wonderful wo: kes of Chyist, and yet they wonderfullye contemned and maliciouslye despised him. Wherefore we must thinke that this is not now reherfed of our hystory as a lawfull excuse of the transgressio which afterward happened. For if by that meanes the act of the Hebrewes coulde be defended, then might the superstitious & Idolaters of our time defend their cause: for they might say, miracles haue now ceased, and those thinges which Chyist or his Apostels did, are not in our time sene.

But we in this sort answer to them which doo thus excuse their infidelitie, namely that the miracles of Chyist & the Apostles which were done once, ought also to suffice vs: for our sakes were they put in wytyng, that wee readyng them, myght receaue fruite by them, beyng assured that they were ministered, not onely to them which lyued at that tyme, but also vnto vs.

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So might it be answered to the Hebrewes, of whom we nowe entreate: what though ye haue not sene the miracles which wer done in the time of your Fathers: Haue not Moyses and Iosua faithfullye witten all those thinges whych God hath done for your nations sake: Yea, and your Fathers which were present and saw them, haue trulye declared them vnto you, when ye were yet little ones. The scripture therfore both not so speake at this present, to excuse that new generation. But to declare what pretence they made, when they departed from the woozshipping of the God of their Fathers, and what occasion they tooke, and also to set forth that they were of a corrupt and naughtye nature, which when their good Pastors and Magistrates were dead, became vnmindfull of all true godlynes. For it is very likely, that they as they were impudent so also openly they boasted abroade those or such lyke woozdes. We are in doubt neither do we easely beleue that the Lord did so many miracles as our Fathers haue both witten and also shewed vs. Who can tell whether they were so or no: we vndoubtedly know not whether the Lord or anye other God hath for our saluation sake caused such or so great thinges to be done. And so they leauing faith and forsaking the true God dyd euill in the syght of the Lorde. By this hebrewe phrase it is declared that God was maruellously offended wth thys their transgression. As contrarywise they are called good thinges in the syght of the Lord which doo exceedingly please him. This is the common and receaued exposition.

How thinges
in the scripture
are called good
or euill in the
syght of the lord

Howbeit if we moze narrowly marke this kinde of speeche, we shall easly perceaue that it declareth some other thing vnto vs. Namely that those thinges which the Iewes dyd, were allowed by mans iudgement, and peradventure had a goodly shew, but yet in Gods iudgement, they were most detestable. And withoute doubt that people synned a great deale moze haynously in thys last transgression, than they did in the first. For there they onely omitted the overthrowing of ymages and aultares, but here they woozship strange Gods. Neither durst they do this onely, but they forsooke also the woozshipping of the true God. Wherein vndoubtedly they were to be counted muche moze corrupt than were the Samaritanes. For they although they woozshipped their Idoles, yet therewithall they ioynd the woozshipping of the true God as it is declared in the second booke of Kinges. And in how euill part God taketh it thus to be relected, he hath expessed by Ieremy the Prophet in the 2. chapter: Where hee commaunded the Hebrewes to go and looke vpon other Nations, and see whether they haue so vnconstantly chaunged the Gods of their Fathers. Whiche Nations if they were knowen constantly to haue retayned their old woozshippings although they were vngodly, Israel might thereby learne not to abiect their old rites and customes of their Fathers. This wycked acte mozeouer was for thys cause much moze detestable, because they had newly receaued the benefit of their deliuey out of Egypt, and had also made a couenaunt with god, first by Moyses, and after ward by Iosua, when he was euen at the point of death. Furthermoze because they began to woozship the gods of those nations, which they had nowe eyther dzyuen out of the lande of Chanaan, or els made tributaries vnto them selues. What a diuellsish madnes was this to count those gods for true goddes, which could not vndoubtedly against the Lord, helpe euen those whych woozshipped them.

In amplifying
of the idolatrye
of the Hebrewes

In outwarde
signe of wooz-
shipping.

And in this hebrewe woozd Veischtechou is properly noted, that they thyselues them selues to the ground, & prostrated them selues befoze those idoles: by which outward signe is declared the adozation. For as the bodye prostrateth it selfe, so also the soule is declared to be subiect vnto the Idole. And this woozd Bealim is expessed in the plurall number. But the Hebrewes sometymes take it for the syngular number. And although by the strengthe of the woozd it shoulde be translated Lordes, yet wee muste in many places tourne it Lord. For thys

wooze

woorde Baal signifieth a Lorde, a Husbande, a Patrone, and suche like. Whys
woorde Astharoth is lyke wise spoken in the plurall number. And the Idole is so
called, because it stode to be woorthipped in fourme of a Sheepe, so; a Sheepe in
hebrew is called Ashtor. And as it appeareth by the first booke of Kynges, it
was an Idole of the Zidonians, wherunto Salomon by the instigation of his wy-
ues buyded sometimes a Chappell. But what God the Ethnykes woorthipp-
ped in the fourme of a Sheepe, I do not very well knowe. How be it this I am
sure of, that Iupiter Ammon was figured like a Ramme. And Augustine who
being of Affricke, had the Affricke speche perfectly, which (as we haue taught in
an other place) differeth not much from the hebrew tounge, so; they of Affricke
are Phenitians, so; they came from Tyre and Sydon. Wherfore Virgil called
Dido a Sidonian. Augustine (I say) writeth that the Affricians called Iupiter by
the name of Baal, as the Lord of all. And by this name Astharoth are signified
Iunos, because that Ashtor in that tounge signifieth Iuno. But why that woorde
was spoken in the plurall number, he thinketh it was therfore done, because
there were very many ymages of that Goddesse. And I will adde, because those
gods had obtayned sundry properties and reasons, as well by their offices ap-
pointed vnto them, as by the places where they woorthipped. For Iupiter was
called Ammon, Stator, Pheretrius, and Hospitalis, Iuno also was called Lucina,
Argiua, Samia, &c.

What Baal is
Baalim signifi-
Astharoth.

Iupiter Ammon
was expel-
led by the figure of
a Ramme.
Augustine.

Virgil.
What Baal is
Astharoth was
with the Affrici-
ans.

I thinke we may gather by this hystory, that the nature of man is so fragile
and weake, that it can not long abyde in the sincere and pure woorthipping of
God. Wherby it commeth, that religion hath continually nede of repairing and
purging. For the Israelites, as soone as their good Prince and godlye Magi-
strate was dead, fell straight way from true godlynes. Whereafter, the same of-
tentimes happened vnder their kinges: yea and in our Church it happeneth af-
ter the same sort. For we haue seene, and we haue with great grieve had exper-
ience, that the Apostles being taken away, yea, and when they were yet lyving,
ther sprang forth many and sundry errors. Which vndoubtedly is no mar-
uaille, when as Christ hath so tolde vs, that after the good seede was sowen,
straight way the enuious man came, which soweth tares therewithall.

Religio nedeth
continually to
be purged.

Of Idolatry.

But because we haue now heard of the transgression of the Hebrewes how
they polluted them selues with Idolatry, I thinke it good to speake a few
wordes of this detestable synne.

The woord is a greeke woord, and is compounded of *latreia* and *eidolon*
and it is nothing els but the woorthipping of Idoles. And *eidolon* is deriued of
this woord *eidōs*, which signifieth a fourme, or as you woulde saye a shape. But
an Idole is (as wee now speake of it) euerye fourme or shape whiche menne
haue inuented vnto them selues to signifye or expresse God. And as there are
found many and sundry matters of these fourmes, so also are ther diuers kindes
of Idoles. Wherfore whether they be stones, wood, or mettals, by which God
is outwardly expresse there to be woorthipped, these are grosse and most many
fest Idoles. There may be also a spiritual matter: which then happeneth, when
those fourmes and images are nothing els but the conceauinges of the hart and
minde, which men make for them selues to represent God, not as the Scripture
declareth him, but rashly, and according to their own fantasy. Wherfore ac-
cording to the conditions of the matter an Idole is deuised into two kindes, the one
is outward & visible, which runneth into the senses of man, and the other is in-
ward, that is, wrought in the inward partes of the mynde. There are also two
partes of religious woorthipping. The one is inwarde, wherein wee beleue in
God hymselfe, wee put our confidence in him, wee geue him thanks, wee sub-
myt our selues and ours vnto hym, and religiouslye by prayers call vpon hym.
Of these actions vndoubtedly the inwarde adozation consisteth.

The Ethny-
kes of Idola-
try.
What an Idole
is

A diuision of
Idoles by mat-
ters.

An Idole visi-
ble & inuisible.

Two partes of
religious woorth-
shipping.

Of what thinges
inwarde
woorthipping
consisteth.

Will.

But

Of what thinges outward worshipping consisteth.

Outward signes of adozation are also geuen vnto Princes

The Papistes commit Idolatrye toward their Pope.

Note a certain sure rule.

Inuocations of the dead pertaine to idolatry.

Augustine. A creature can not be in many places at one tyme.

Basilus. Didimus.

But the other part hath outward notes, whereby we expresse our hart, in prostrating the body, in bowing the knee, in uncovering the head, in speaking and in exercising rites and ceremonies instituted by God. And this is an outward worshipping or adozation. But wee must note that suche outward signes of bowing the body or knees, and suche other lyke are also geuen vnto creatures, to Princes I saye and Kinges which doo in earth represent vnto men the authority of God, and are his Vicars in the administration of thinges. And without doubt they are then to bee esteemed nothing els, but certaine sure testimonies, by which as many as are subiectes, doo trulye and from the hart confesse, that they in the name of God wyll be subiect and obey such powers, as much as shalbe by godlynes and the word of God lawfull.

But we must there take heede, least in our inward iudgement we attribute moze vnto them than is meete, or looke for greater thinges at theyr handes than their power and might is able to performe. Otherwise we should not auoyde idolatrye. Wherefore if a man in bowing him selfe to his Prince, would testifie that his Prince coulde not erre, and that it were lawfull for him to doo any thing, and as he lott him selfe to commaunde whatsoeuer pleased him, that man vndoubtedly should be counted an Idolatrer, and should commit the same both inwardly and outwardly. And whether the hirelinges of the Pope vse this, we may hereby easely gather, because they do so thow them selues downe at his seete, that there testify that they wyll be subiect vnto him as to the onely Vicar of Christ in earth, as to the vniuersall Bishoppe of the Church, as to him which cannot erre in decreeing doctrine of fayth, and finally, to whom onely it is lawfull to discerne as hee lyst him selfe of religion and Christian discipline. Wherefore let this be enery where a sure and firme rule, that these outward submissions of the body doo then pertaine vnto Idolatry, when as they are testimonies of the mynde, attributing moze vnto a creature than is meete, or which are onely proper vnto God. For they are not referred vnto God him selfe, or to the obedience of his commaundementes, but to vayne fozmes & shewes, which we haue sayned vnto our selues, and conceaued in our mynde.

Hereby may we also gather, that the inuocations of Saintes which the Papistes vse, are Idolatrous. For they geue vnto sayntes that which longeth vnto God, namely that they being absent shoulde heare our prayers, or that they can be present at one time, either euery wher, or els in many places, thereby to succour those which call vpon their names in diuers partes of the world. Augustine in his Epistle to Dardanus durst not affirme that, no not euen of the soule of Christ, namely that at one time it might be in many places. Wherefore that which Christ said vnto the theefe: This daye shalt thou be with me in Paradise, he expoundeth the same to be vnderstand as touching his diuine nature, for that the bodye of Christ shoulde the same daye be layde in the sepulchre, and his soule shoulde be in hell. Neither coulde that soule be both in Paradise and in hell at one time Basilus also de spiritu sancto, & also Didimus would not graunt this vnto the Angels, that they can at one time be in diuers places, affirming that that soly is to be graunted vnto the onely nature of God. But they which do cal vpon saintes, they beleue that they doo heare them, and that they are present with them, which without doubt is to attribute moze vnto them than the strength and order of a nature created can suffer.

But here they trifle and say, that they doo not thinke so, but that God hym selfe which heareth their prayers doth open vnto the Sayntes, what is required of them. But thus I aunswer, that they deceaue both them selues, and also others. For they knowe not whether God wyll shewe vnto the Sayntes their bolwes or prayers. Wherefore the prayers which they poure out cannot leane vnto faith, which ought to be certaine and without doubt.

They bypnyng also a sayned lye of the glasse (as they say) of the deuine essence, wherein

wherein the Sainctes beholde all thynges . But this they sayning hath no foundation in the holy Scriptures. Furthermoze, seing they will needes haue it so , admitte it were as they sayne it to bee . Yet shoulde they bee compelled to graunte that that they glasse hath not a naturall representyng but a voluntarie, so that there the Sainctes can see that onely which G D will haue sene : Otherwise withoute any exception the Sainctes myghte there see all thynges : whiche is both false , and also moste manifestly resisteth the holy Scriptures . Bycause , of that daye (sayeth the Lorde) neyther doe the Angelles knowe , whiche yet doe see the face of the Father. Mozeouer the Papistes doe not after thys manner call vpon Sainctes : for if they did they shoulde saye thus, Cause O God that thys or that Saincte maye knowe those thynges whiche I desire of hym , and that he maye bee with me, and graunte me that whiche I desire . But they doe cleane contrariely , O Saincte Peter (saye they) Sainct Paule pray for me, byng thys or that to passe for me. Wherefoze they thinke that the sainctes do altogether heare & vnderstand their voyces , whiche thing if they thoughte not , then were their doinges vtterly folysh.

I sayned he of the papists of a glasse of the deuine essence.

They declare also by their titles & additions which they ascribe vnto y blessed virgine, to the crosse, and other creatures, how far moze woorthy they esteeme and iudge of them, than their nature can suffer. Neither are they asseard (as I haue before declared, when I entreated of the heresies of the Papistes) to lyghte by lyghtes, Ware tapers and Lampes vnto creatures , to cense them , and to doe other thyngs, which the Ethnikes, and also the Jewes in the olde law were wont to geue vnto God only . What moze ? Do they not builde alters vnto Images of Sainctes ? But vnto whom alters are builde, the same are confyrmmed by a sure testimonys to be powers of God, or ells Gods. Augustine in hys 1. Tome 4. vi. Sermon wytteth thus: An alter is, which testifieth y to be counted for God to whom it is erected . For they, namely the Ethnikes, what God they haue, and y they take that Image for a god the alter doth testifie . What should the alter do there if they counted not y for a god? Let no mā say vnto me: It is not y power of god, it is not god. But I haue already sayd: I would to god they knew this so wel as all we knowe it. But what they count it, or what they make of it, that alter testifieth.

The Papistes attribute moze vnto creatures than is conuenient.

An alter is not to be erected but only vnto God.

Augustine.

But say the aduersaries: we therfoze do these thyngs, bicause we haue by experience proued y they please god: for as much as he there woorketh miracles . I knowe in dede that god hath sometimes wrought miracles by sainctes, and such as were dead . For the bones of Elizeus by the touche of them reskozeh one being dead to lyfe . And the same Elizeus vled the cloke of Elias to deuide the waters of the riuers, that he myght make the moze expedition on his iourney. But god doeth therfoze woork these thynges sometymes, that the doctrine of the Prophetes and the Apostles whiche was the very woorde of god might bee confyrmmed. And yet the Scripture declareth not that there was any inuocation made eyther vnto Elias or Elizeus when those miracles were done . But for as muche as the Papistes by these their inuocations seeke not the confyrmation of the doctrine of the Gospel , but rather are diligente aboute this, to establishe superstitions, those miracles whiche they boaste of, are to be referred rather vnto the deuill than to God . For Sathan seeketh for nothyng so much, as to leade men awaye from the sincere woorthyping of G D . This vndoubtedly was assayed by the enchaunters of Pharao , and that suche thynges shoulde sometime happen vnto vs by Antichriste, Paule hath saythfully admonished the Thessalonians . But thou wilt saye that the deuill can not doe these thynges vnlesse God will and permitte . I graunte that . And why it is hys will so , there are two causes sette forth in the Scriptures.

Of miracles which are done at the alters of sainctes.

God hath sometimes wrought miracles by dead bodies & corpses of dead sainctes.

Miracles which are done at the inuocations of the dead are to be referred vnto Sathan.

Why God suffereth such miracles to be wrought by the deuill.

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Of the which the one is gathered out of Deutr. namely because he would tempt vs, whereby might evidently appeare how much we esteeme his word, and whether we will suffer our selues to be plucked from him by suche illusions: the seconde cause is to punishe the vnbeleuers. For so doth Paule teache vs to the Thessalonians bycause (sayeth he) they haue not receaued the loue of the truth therefore they are deliuered to be deluded with inchantementes and deuillish miracles.

But there are two places in the Scriptures whiche are diligently to bee weyghed and considered, that the doctrine now in hande may bee the moze confirmed. The fyrste is wrytten in the Actes of the Apostles the tenth Chapter.

Cornelius caste himself downe at the feete of Peter.

John fell downe at the feete of the Angell.

Neither Cornelius nor John should worship creatures.

Of Cornelius the Centurion, to whom when Peter came he caste himselfe at his feete. But Peter woulde not suffer that, yea he reprehended hym, and answered in thys manner. Doe not so, ryse vp, for I also am a man. We read also in the Apocalipse, that John fell downe befoze the Angell, but he admonished hym that he shoulde not so doe: I am (sayeth he) thy fellowe seruant. These two places maye thus bee vnderstande, that Peter and the Angell condemned these actes, as in a manner Idolatrous, as though the Centurion and Iohn shoulde attribute any deuine nature, the one to Peter, the other to the Angell, and shoulde haue geuen vnto them moze honoure than was conueniente for creatures. But it seemeth that thys can not be easelye thoughte of eyther of these. The Scripture testifieth that the Centurion feared and worshipped God. How shoulde we therefore beleue that he coulde be led, to beleue that Peter was God or at the leaste to attribute deuine honoures vnto a creature? And it is not very likely that Iohn whiche was either an Apostle or ells a notable deuine (as some call hym) coulde not discerne an Angell from God. If so bee that neyther of these woulde worship a creature in stead of the Creator, thys remaineth, that it is not lawfull to geue vnto creatures this kind of outward reuerence. Wherefoze we shall seme not to haue sayd well befoze, in saying that these thynges may be geuen vnto Princes and Kinges. To thys I answer, there muste be a difference obserued betwene a ciuile and a worldlye honoure and a deuine and religious woozshipping, as we haue befoze expounded.

The Centurion & John sinned in excelsse but they can not be accused of Idolatrye.

Furthermoze we muste knowe that these two men, Cornelius I say and Iohn intended not by thys their woozshipping to transerre the honour of God vnto creatures. Howbeit it may easelye bee, that they fell to an vnmeasurable signe of reuerence, and so in that excelsse they somewhat committed sinne.

But as touching Kinges and Princes, we are in much lesse daunger of falling, than toward Angels or ministers of Christ. For these bycause they exercise the spiritual office, the honoz which is geuen vnto the dyawelwiche to a religious adozation. Wherefoze in those places eyther the bowing of the knee or of the boode are not by themselves condemned. But in as muche as they are geuen for Religion sake. Moderate honoures therefore maye bee geuen especially when they are geuen for Religion sake. And thus muche at this presente as concerning thys thyng. But let vs remember that whiche I haue also befoze admonished, that thys also belongeth to Idolatrye; when we woozship the true God by other wayes and rytes, than he hath willed vs, and prescribed vnto vs. If we shall doe otherwys, we shall woozship an Idole atcozdyng to that seconde forme befoze described, in sayning to oure selues in oure mynde or harte any God, whiche delighteth in a woozshipping inuented by men: and there is none suche. Wherefoze we shall not honoure and woozship the true God, but an Idole whiche we haue conceaued in our mynde.

They which worship God otherwise than he hath instituted, are Idolaters.

And vndoubtedly so oughte we to vnderstande Paule, when he sayeth to the Corinthyans in the fyrste Epistle: we knowe that an Idole is nothyng in the woylde. Paule teacheth not that an Idole is nothyng as touchyng the

shape

shape and outwarde forme . For no man doubteth but that those Idoles haue place either in the outwarde matter or els in oure hartes . By an Idole there fore he vnderstoode not the signe it selfe, but the thing whereunto it is referred . And he meant that the thing it selfe whiche is signified by Idoles, is nothing, for as much as there is no where a God which may be represented, or els deliteth in such Images.

14 And the wrath of the Lord waxed hotte agaynst Israel, and he deliuered them into the handes of raueners, that spoyled them and solde them into the handes of theyr enemyes round about them: Neither had they any power any longer to stande before their enemyes.

15 Whether so euer they went, the hand of the Lord was agaynst them with euil lucke, euen as the Lord promised them, and euen as the Lord swore vnto them. And he punished them sore.

The punishment imposed by God for Idolatry is now set forth to be diligently considered by vs. There are two thinges, which are declared.

First is described that the anger of God was kindled agaynst the Israelites. Secondly how he punished the guiltie. God therefore by cause of so grieuous a wicked crime of the Hebrewes waxed hotte agaynst them: which is not so to be vnderstande, as though God had any affections, for that pertaineth only vnto men. But according to the common and receaued exposition of these places, we fele that god is like vnto men that are angry, after which selfe same reason it is written that he sometime repenteth. Wherefore, God eyther to repent or to be angry, is nothing els, but that he doth those thinges, which men repenting and men angrye vse to do. For the one do eyther alter or els ouerthrowe that which before they had done: and the other take vengeance of iniuries done vnto the. Ambrose in his booke of Noe and the Arke, the fourth Chapter, speaketh otherwise of the anger of God. For neither doth God (sayth he) thinke as men do, as though some contrary sentence should come vnto him, neither is he angrye, as though he were mutable, but therefore these thinges are beleued, to expresse the bitterness of our sinnes, which hath deserued the wrath of God, and to declare that the faulte hath so much and so farre encreased, that euen God also (whiche naturally is not moued eyther by anger, or hatred, or any passion) seemeth to be prouoked vnto wrath, &c. And aptely is there mencion made of the anger, before the punishment is rehearsed. For me vse first to be angry, before they reuenge: What anger is. Neyther is anger any other thyng els (if we may beleue Aristotell in his Rhetorikes) but a desire of reuengement because of contempte. For they which perceauie themselves to be despised and contemned, do straightway thinke, how they may be reuenged, and they diligently meditate howe by some punishment they may requite the iniurye or despise done vnto them.

Two kindes of punishments are mencioned in this place, the taking away of goodes and seruitude: of the which the one is grieuouler than the other. For it is far more grieuous to be brought into bondage, than to be spoyled of goodes. But God vseth so to do to punish by certayne degrees, those which haue deserved euill. For he doth not by and by punish most greuously. And as touching the wordes we must note that Schis and Schisch signifie one thing, for Shin and Samech haue great affinitie the one with the other, which D. Kimhi hath also noted in this place. Moreover where it is sayd, whether soeuer they wente oute, the same interpreter addeth, to fyghte: And in deede it is very lykely, although I am not ignoraunte that that sentence may be more largely taken,

D. lili.

namely

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namely to vnderstande that whatsoeuer they tooke in hande to do, or to what thinges so euer they applyed themselves vnto, all those thynges happened vnluckely vnto them.

Augustine.

The wicked
sell themselves
to sinnes with-
out any price.

Sent: 28. 47. 48.

The hand of
the Lord is al-
wayes present
in all our acti-
ons.

The cause of
the vnlucke
battels against
the Turkes.

By this place is gathered, that no mans goodes are taken awaye, neyther are any brought into bondage, excepte God himselfe both will and also byng to passe the same. For it is sayd here that he gaue them into the handes of rauen- ners, and sold them into the handes of their enemyes round aboute them. Dauid in hys. xliiii. Psalmé grievously complayneth of this plague, and saith that God had solde hys withoute any price: which place Augustine considering, he say- eth that at the first sighte it seemeth absurde, that any shoulde be solde, when no price is geuen. But thus he aunswereth, as touching the enemyes, which solde the Israelites, there was a price geuen by the buyers. But as touching God, which was the principall cause of the selling, he tooke no price. For what could those Idolatrous, violent, and rauenous men, vnto whom the Jewes were deliuered to be sold, geue vnto him? Undoubtedly they neither bought nor de- serued those commoditties with any rewarde. Whels we may thinke, that the price of the Hebrew bondmen, was so small and vile, that it was counted for nothing, and so by this figure of speech they were sayd to be sold without any price. Wherefore Esaye in hys. lii. Chapter, writeth: We are sold for nought.

And this phrase serueth very well for those, which do binde themselves to sinnes and wickednesse, when as therby, they shall get no commoditie at all. And how hard this bondage was which the Hebrewes serued when they were so solde by their enemyes, it is manifestly expessed in Deuteronomye, for there it is sayd: Thou shalt serue thine enemye, whom the Lord shall send vpon thee, in Dan- ger, in thirst, and in nakednesse, and also in al penurye, and he shall put an yron yoke vpon thy necke, till he shall destroye thee. Moreover by these examples we are also taught, what Christians euery where deserue for their dayly transgressions and innumerable superstitions and also Idolatrous woo- shippynges. Neyther is it to bee doubted but that a heape of euilles are at hande excepte Christ by sayth deliuer vs from those curses of the lawe.

V Whether soeuer they went, the hand of the Lord was agaynst the with euell lucke. In all our actions the hande of the Lord is continually presente, for withoute hys myghte and power, we can not so muche as moue oure selues. Wherefore both good successes and euell are to bee ascribed vnto hym.

Neyther had they any power any longer to stande before their en- emyes. And no meruayle, for by reason their goods were spoyled, and their number diminished, because of those which wer brought into bondage they wer so impayed and weakened, that they could by no meanes match with their ad- uersaries. Undoubtedly, if we diligently consider the histories from that time, wherein superstition began to reygne in the church, we shall fynde that our princes haue had either no good successe at al, or els very small in their expediti- ons agaynst the enemyes of the faith. We haue fought and oftentimes agaynst the Turkes and Sarazens, but for the moste part vnluckely: Neither do the gouernours both of the publicque wealth and also of the Church feele that the hand of the Lord is agaynst them with euill lucke, and that that is the cause why they can not stand befoze their enemyes.

Agayne let vs note, that the Scripture both here most manifestly testifies, that God himselfe deliuered the Israelites into the handes of rauenous, & solde them into bondage, for that that thinges were done by hys motion. And this doth Ezechiel the Prophete euidentlye shewe, where he describeth, how Nabu- chad-nezar standyng in the ende of two wayes, and in a maner determining to directe his host one way, was of God chaunged, and after a sorte forced to turne by

his armye agaynst Ierusalem. And yet must we not vnderstand these thinges so, as though we should thinke that God doth instille a new malice into þe heartes of the wicked. For they nede it not. For of what sorte soeuer they be, they are framed of malice and synnes, but God, seying he is a strength and workyng of most efficacy, directeth them as he doth all other thyngs to be moued & to worke. Wherefore they whiche are altogether corrupte, and voyde, and destitute of the grace and fauour of God, can do nothyng but onely worke euill. But God, by whose motion they are stirred vp to worke, directeth their euill doynges, cruelties, spoylinges, lustes and tyrannies, to what end so euer it shall seme good to his iustice and most highe prouidence. Whereouer let vs here consider, how miserable and wretched a thing it is for a man to haue God angry. Wherefore let vs most diligently take hede, that in all our assayes that we take in hande, we first of all reconcile him vnto vs, by an vpright faith in Christ: for he beyng angry & agaynst vs, nothyng can prosperously go forward.

How god may be sayde to worke euill workes in the wicked.

God bleth the synnes of the wicked.

It is most vnhappy to haue God angry.

These thynges did the Lorde as he had spoken and sworne. Threatninges are set forth here and there in the lawe of God and especially in Deut. But we neuer read (that I can tell of) that an othe was in that place ioynd with the threatnyngs. Howbeit we must beleue, that God when he made lawes did sometymes also adde to an othe. For the Scripture in this place testifieth vnto vs that he swaie, whiche is sufficient, though it be not found in any other place. Whereouer let vs call to memozy, that the latter causes, whiche commonly are called the second causes are much to be considered in the success of thynges, as well prosperous as vnforsunate: but yet we must much more haue a regarde vnto the first and chiefe cause, namely vnto God hym selfe. So that then when thynges prosper not with vs, we must be angry with our selues, because we are alienated from God. And that this is true, this place manifestly proueth. For the Israelites were the same men which they were before, and their enemies also the same men whiche they were before. Wherefore if the Iewes had had God now as fauourable vnto them as they had before, vndoubtedly they should haue obteyned the selfe same victories. Wherefore they ought to ascribe all that vnluckynesse vnto their selues. For vnielke god had bene angry with them, for the idolatry whiche they had committed, they should with as good lucke haue ouercomed their enemies now as they did before. Wherefore the Prophetes whē they lamented for the miseries of their people, testified that iustice, honour, and also goodnesse are to be ascribed vnto God, but confusion and ignominye vnto them selues.

Whether an othe be ioynd to the threatnynges put in the scriptures.

The second causes are not to be so much considered as the first cause.

16 Neuerthelesse the Lord raysed vp iudges, whiche deliuered the out of the handes of their oppresseors.

17 And yet for all that they would not harken vnto their iudges but went a whooryng after straunge Gods, and bowed them selues vnto them. They turned quickly out of the waye, whiche their fathers walked in, obeying the commaundementes of the Lord, But they did not so.

Now is briefly declared vnto þe readers, what conditiōs & alteratiōs þe Israelites had in al þe tyme, which was betwene þe paines & punishmētes now described, wherewith they were for their idolatry punished, & þe first king, whom they chose vnto the selues, relecting Samuel. When they were grievously oppressed, they sighed & groined, & repenting the selues, turned vnto god, & desired ayde of him. And God as he is gentle & merciful, despised not their mournings & inuocations but sent them some one iudge, by whose leadyng and condaite they were deliuered from their oppresseors. But they when they were deliuered, and set at libertie, they lyued at pleasure & fell agayne into their olde wickednesse. Where-

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foze God accozdyng to his iustice punished them agayne, and they agayne when they were grievously oppzessed, groned, & continually prayed vnto god, whiche yet agayne by an other iudge deliuered them from misery and calamitte.

The whole
tyme of the iud-
ges is deuised
into three diffe-
rences.

The people ly-
ued better vnder
the iudges
than they dyd
whē they were
dead.

The fruite of
punishmentes
whiche God
imposed.

God hath also
sometymes co-
passion of euill
men whē they
are oppzessed.

The iudges
were before of
the comon sorte
and vulgare
estate.

Wherfoze the whole tyme of the iudges may be aptely distributed into thze differences. First he Hebzeues were iustly punished for their synnes and wickednesse. Secondly they beyng oppzessed, wept, prayed, and implozed helpe at gods hande. Lastly god by some iudge deliuered them. Wherouer this is to be marked, that the Jewes, although they did not wholly obey the iudges, yet for all that they lyued somewhat better as long as those iudges remayned on lyue.

Wherfoze as touchyng outward thinges that publicque wealth had somewhat better successe vnder iudges, and the people myght as long as they lyued, be at rest from oppzessions, and liue at liberty. But they were no soner deade, but they returned to their old fashions. Whiche thyng evidently declareth, how they did in vayne besoze pretend, that they had not sene the woakes, which god had done in deliuerpng their elders out of Egypt. As though they should haue sayd, if so be that we were sure of those so noble woakes, we would not now haue forsake the ceremonies of our fathers and chosen new rites. These alterations & chaungynges (I say) manifestly testifie that that pretence was vayne. For every age sawe the wonderfull woakes of god, when as oftentymes he did by iudges set at liberty the people beyng oppzessed. And yet though they had sene these thinges they could not kepe them selues, but that whē their iudge was deade they fell agayne into the same wicked crimes.

This is also to be noted, that it is here written that god vsed to be moued at the sighyng and teares of the Israelites. For this was the fruite of the paynes & punishmentes, namely that they might repente, & beyng admonished by miseries might vnderstand whether they should lye vnto. And god in hearing of the when they cried, had onely a respecte vnto hys promises, goodnesse and name. Furthermoze let those whiche delyghte in oppzessyng and doyng iniury to the pooze, note here that the tyme will come at the length, that god will take in hand the causes of the afflicted. For although they be euill, and haue woorthily fallen into calamities and miseries: yet because he hath promised that he will reuenge the violence and cruelty done agaynst the pooze, therfoze he will one day deliuer and reuenge them, enen for this cause, namely, because he neyther can nor will sayle his office and promise. And in deliuerpng those whiche were euill from present miseries, he graanteth vnto them occasion and tyme of repenting that except they truly and vnfainedly repent, they may be altogether inexcusable. Wherouer this goodnesse of God, whiche he vseth also towarde the euill, beareth most manifest witnesse of the most perfect sayth and truth of god. For although men do filthily fall from that coneuant whiche they haue made with god, yet he forgetteth not his goodnesse and promises.

18 And when the Lord rayled vp vnto the Iudges, the Lord was with the Iudge, and deliuered them out of the handes of their enemyes, all the dayes of the Iudge. For the Lord repented at theyr sorrowinges whiche they had, by reason of them, that oppzessed and vexed them.

Still is declared after what sorte God behaued himself toward the Israelites in the tyme of the Iudges. Neither doth this speche, when he saith, And God rayled vp Iudges, want an emphasis. For it is expessed that they wer before of the common sorte and vulgare state but god so chaunged them by his spirite, that he inspired them with couragious hartes, strength, and moste wysse Counsels. This vndoubtedly was that stirring vp, whiche is now declared. For God vseth, when he appoynteth any man to any office, to geue him strength & abilitie

abilitie to perfoyme the same. Whiche thing we read did come to passe in Saul & also in Dauid, and befoze them in Moses, who beyng befoze shepheardes & ho2se-keepers, when they came to beare rule, did by the power of the spirite of G D D wo2ke maruelous thinges, and p2oued noble men. Fo2 G D D (as the scripture now speaketh) rayled them bp. And not cōtent with this, but he fully perswaded them, and with inwarde feelyng made them assured, that they were now elected by God, to deliuer the Israelites and to set them at libertie. And without doubt vnlesse they had ben fully perswaded of this, it had not ben lawfull fo2 them to haue fought agaynst their Lo2des, o2 to rebelle: fo2 so much as it is not the office of p2uate men to fight with his enemies. Wherfoze Cato, whose ciuile iustice is meruelously commended, gaue his sonne charge, & when he was dismissed from warre, and no moze bounde by an othe of warre, he should not fight against the enemies of the publicque wealth. Knowyng this right well, that it is lawfull fo2 no man, to b2awe weapon against any, excepte it be by publicque authoritie, I haue now expounded what this meaneth that God rayled bp Iudges: Now let vs see fo2 what cause God did the same.

An example of Cato.

Bicause (sayeth the hysto2pe) he repented. What is the receaued exposition of these kindes of speache we haue befoze declared. But now we must marke what this meaneth whiche follo2weth: At their sorowinges. We may not thincke that God was reconciled o2 made fauozable vnto them by the strength and dignitie of the wo2ke. Fo2 that do men obteyne onely by fayth in our mediatour Iesus Christ, to whiche fayth in these and such lyke kynde of speeches we must continually haue a respect vnto, therby to loke vpon the roote from whence & frutes of true repentaunce, and also sighinges and teares are deriued. Neither do we fo2 all that denye, but that good wo2kes springyng from faith are so acceptable vnto G D D, that he rewardeyth them with excellent giftes, as well outward, as also spirituall, whiche commeth of his goodnesse. So sayd Daniel vnto the kyng of Babilon: By almes redeme thy synnes. That is, d2yue alwaye the paynes and punishmentes, wherewith otherwys thou shalt be punished. God is not reconciled vnto vs by the outward wo2kes whiche we do.

God rewardeyth good wo2kes.

But if thou shalt demaunde what is to be thought, of those ciuill and morall good wo2kes, whiche are done without fayth. I aunswere, that fo2 so much as they p2ocede from a viciate and corrupt nature, they are therfoze synnes. And fo2 that cause they deserue dampnation and hell fyre. Howbe it God, to the end that the o2d2e and iust disposition of thinges in the wo2lde might be kept, and to defend assemblies of humane kinde, fellowshippes and publicque wealthes, causeth that such actions haue many rewardes, not fo2 the wo2thynges and dignitie of those actiōs, but by reason of a certain connerison, wherewith god would these thinges to be knitte together. Wherfoze it commeth to passe, that when as hypocrites do wo2ke outward wo2kes, sometymes goodly to the shew, therby they obtayne notable p2ayse. And they whiche are rulers as long as they honestly behaue them selues, in doyng iustice, either in warlike affaires, o2 elles in honest conuersation (as the Romanes in the olde tyme did) may obteyne a mosse large Emppye. Fo2 so would god haue discipline kept, the wo2ld and publicque wealthes p2eserued. God did therfoze repēt at the sorowynge of the Israelites, bycause tho2ough the faith, from whence sorowinges and groninges p2oceded, he was made mercifull and fauozable vnto them.

Of morall wo2kes done without faith.

But peradventure some man will doubt, whether god, when he repented, were in any poynt chaunged: All the godly confesse in a maner with one mouth, that god can by no meanes be chaunged, fo2 as much as that is a certaine signe both of imperfection and also of inconstancy. But this variety whiche here happeneth is not to be ascribed vnto god, but vnto vs. Of this thing I haue spokē som what befoze, but this semeth to be added at this presente. If a man will say, that god without contronery ceased to fauour the Chananites agaynst & Israelites, whom he had befoze so strengthened, that he would haue them to oppresse the Iewes: and agayne afterward to helpe the Heb2ues, whom befoze he semed that

God doth not so repente that he is chaunged

his

Varietie is the
effectes, & not
in God.

God, when he
threateneth
things whiche
come not passe,
yet not.

hys will was to haue them oppressed by the Chananites. No man can deny, but that these things haue variety. How can we therfore defend the will of god frō chaunging? I answer, that by the 28. chap: of Jeremy, it manifestly appeareth, & there is a diuersitie in the effectes, when as for all & god in very dede, continually retayneth the selfe same will. For it is thus written there in his name: **When as I shall speake agaynst a kyngdome or nation, to destrope, roote out, and ouerthrowe it, if they shall repente, I will also repente. And contrarywise when as I shall speake good of a kyngdome or nation, to bulde and to plant, and that nation or kyngdome shall do euill in my sight, I will then also repente me of the good, that I had decreed to bestowe on them.** These wordes declare, that god in these kindes of threatninges and promises is therfore not chaunged, bycause he speaketh not absolutely & simply, but vpon condition. But the accomplishing or makinge boide of the conditions, is to be considered toward vs. And therfore the chaunge is not to be attributed vnto him, but vnto vs. But if thou shalt aske me, whether god doth before know and decree, what shall come to passe as touching these conditions? I will graunt that he doth. For he euen from without begynnynge doth not only know of thyngs that shall come to passe, but also hath decreed what shall be. But bycause the hid prouidence of his will as touching these thynges, is not opened vnto vs in the holy Scriptures, therfore ought we to follow that rule, whiche (as we haue declared) is pronounced by Jeremy. This rule did the Niniuites and also Ezechias the kyng consider and beholde beyng, not yet set forth. For although destruction was threatned them in the name of god, yet for all that by repentaunce and prayers they escaped it. Neither is there any cause why we should suspect that god doth lye in any thyng, when he so threatneth or promisseth any thynges, whiche afterwarde come not to passe. For as touching Ezechias, he could no way escape death, if we should looke vpon the natural causes, whiche are commonly called the second causes. Wherefore the sentence beyng pronounced accordyng to those causes, he coulde not be accused of a lye. And the Niniuites, if god had done vnto them, as their synnes deserved, they should vtterly haue perished. And god commaunded Ionas to preache accordyng to their merites. Furthermoze a lye can not be so take, in an oration which hath a supposition or condition toynd with it, as it may be in absolute and simple sentences, when as the successe depēdeth of the keepyng or violatyng of the condition. Moreouer in these wordes of the history is expessed the cause why the Israelites sorrowed and sighed, namely bycause they were oppressed and afflicted, and that with those kindes of calamities whiche are before mencioned, namely bycause they were spoyled, sold, and losyng their liberty and goods, they were no longer able to stande before their enemyes.

19 Yet for all that as soone as the Judge was dead, they turned and did worse than their fathers, in following straunge gods, and in seruing them and bowing them selues vnto them, and ceased not from the Actes of them, and from their hard waye.

When the Hebrewes in the tyme of the Judge that was rayled by had a resting tyme, and came to a tollerable estate, that iudge beyng dead, they fell agayne worse than they did before, and committed much moze grievous things than did their elders. Whereby is founde true, that whiche we before haue sayde, namely that the infirmitie of our nature is so great, that we can not longe abyde in pure religion and sincere worshippyng of God. And in that it is sayde that they whiche came after were a great deale worse than their fathers, is declared that God not without reason and iuste cause was the moze prouoked vnto anger so that wheras he had longe tyme spared their elders, now he at the last he would not forgeue those that came after. And this is it whiche is
often

often sayde: that he doth visite the iniquities of the fathers upon the children euen to the third and fourth generation, whiche is not so to be vnderstand, as though he should punish the posteritie more than they haue deserued. But by cause God, as he hath spared the fathers, would so also haue forgiven the children, inlesse they had so much followed the iniquities of their fathers, that also they went farther in those mischieuous Actes, then did their fathers. God is patient, and befoze he poureth out his wrath and punishments, he visiteth to tarry for the third or fourth generation. But holme these of whom we intreate were more corrupt than their fathers, the history manifestly declareth: for they committed more wicked Actes than did their fathers, And of all those, whiche their fathers perpetrated, they forooke none, or lest none undone.

Howe the iniquities of the fathers are visited in the children & children.

But of this kinde of speache, wherein it is sayde: Neither ceased they from their endeouours, we may not conclude that it is in our strength & power to auoyde synnes, or to wype our selues out of them. Wherfore they greatly erre, whiche of the preceptes of the law of God do gather the strength and power of our free will. For by the commaundementes the Scripture teacheth, what theyges they be whiche are requited of men. But the same Scripture manifestlye in an other place admonisheth, that it lieth not in our power to fulfill them. As Paul also writeth in his latter Epistle to Timothe: that there are in a great house not onely vessels of golde and silver, but also vessels of wood and vessels of claye, And he whiche shall purge hym selfe from them, shall be a vessel sanctified to honour, profitable to the Lords and prepared to all good workes. Neither for all that can we thereby conclude, that it is in our owne strength, to purge our selues from synnes, although the same be required at our handes, for as much as that is to be looked for onely of God. Wherfore the same Apostle in the same Epistle, when he had admonished the Minister of the Church to be gentle, ready to teache, patient to suffer euilles, but so for all that to confute them whiche resist, addeth. If peradventure God shall geue them repentance to the knowledge of his truth. By these wordes we are taught, that repentance from synnes, whiche is commaunded cometh not of our selues, but is longly and gently geuen of God.

It is not in mans power to auoyde synne.

The power of free will is not to be gathered of the commaundementes.

It is God whiche geueth repentance & amendment.

The waye of synners is righte and worthily called harde, and it is a meane, elegantly taken of rough and stony places, for stones and rocks for that they haue thicke and vnsquall partes, they hurte, pricke and rente the tender fleshe of theyr feete whiche trauaile vpon them. So are the manners of the wicked, they wounde theyr consciences, and at the laste byng them into extreme miseries, which happeneth not without the great goodnesse of God for good at the length by that meane calleth vnto him very many sinners. And the same hath Hoseas the Prophet very well described in his li. chap. when he sayeth: And he sayde, I will go after my louers whiche haue geuen me golde, silver, wooll, flaxe, &c. But I will hedge in thy wayes with thornes, and will take awaye my gold, my silver, my wooll and my flaxe. And he shall say: I will returne vnto my first husband, for then was it better with me, than it is now.

The waye of sinners is hard.

20 Wherfore the wrath of the Lord was kyndled agaynst Israel, and he sayd: Because this people hath transgressed myne appoyntment, whiche I commaunded their fathers, and haue not hearkened vnto my voyce.

21 I also will hence forth not cast out before them one man of the nations whiche Iosua left when he dyed.

22 That though they them I maye proue Israell, whether they will kepe the waye of the Lord, and walke therein, as their fathers dyd, or not.

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23. And so the Lord left those nations, and droue them not out immediately, neither deliuered them into the handes of Iosua.

The cause being before declared, namely the contempte, whereby the Israelites contempned God, now is set forth the effect thereof which is the kindling of the wrath of God. For this worde Chari in the Hebrew tongue, is to ware hotte, or to be kindled with anger. Whereby the property and nature of angry is properly and elegantly expressed. For if angry should be despyed accordyng to the matter thereof, it is a certayne inflammation of blood about the heart. Neither do I speake it as though it can be applied vnto God, who utterly is without heate and blood. But all these thynges (as I haue already oftentimes sayde) are by a certayne translation applied vnto hym.

What is the matter of anger

Of a League.

But because God complayneth for that the league was broken, whiche he had made with them, I thinke it good somewhat to speake briefly of a league whiche is in Latine called Fœdus. And that worde is deriued of the verbe Ferio, whiche is to kille because that the ambassadours of eche partie kyled a hogger from whiche Etimologge peradventure the Hebrew worde Berith, differeth not much, with whiche outward signe also they wished by prayer the destruction to that parte whiche should violate the league, as we may gather out of Lyui the

The kyndes of leagues.

1. the conquerours set lawes to those whom they haue conquered, in punishing them and commaunding them, what they will haue them afterwarde to do.
2. The second kinde is when thinges being yet sound and neither part overcome, they comen together, that thynges taken from eche partie may be restored and covenantes of peace may be established.
3. The thirde kinde is when there is no warre betwene the parties and certayne princes or cities are ioyned together by some covenantes either to lyue the more peaceably, or elles, to take in hande some common affaires. And now that we haue thus declared these thinges let vs shewe what a league is.

What a league is.

Leagues are expressed both by wordes and signes.

A league is that bonde betwene men, whereby enterchaungeably they testifie both by wordes & signes, that they are bounde to perfoyme certayn thinges, so that they handle together with good sayth. And if that it be a bonde, and pertaineth to relation, it is grounded vpon humane actions, & is referred to those thinges whiche the parties confederated ought to perfoyme the one to the other. It is expressed by wordes, and for the most parte signes are added. God when after the flood he made a league with mankynd, he did not onely declare the forme of the obligation by wordes, but also he put the raynebowe in the cloudes as a witness. And in the league whiche he made with Abraham he put the signe of circumcission. Furthermoze in that whiche was made by Moses at the mount Synay, there were twelue pillars erected, & the people was sprinkled with bloud. Iosua also when he should dye, erected by a very great stone, thereby to seale the league renewed betwene the people and God.

What thinges are promised in the league of god made with men.

Christe is the mediator in making the league.

Howe a league is deuised into a new league & an olde.

And what the promises were whiche should be kept of eche parties the Scripture oftentimes teacheth. For God promised, that he would be the god of hye people, namely whiche would be with them to helpe them, to deliuer them, and by all meanes as touching all kind of good thinges to adorne them. The people agayne promised that they would counte the Lord Iehouah for their God in beleeuing, worshipping, and obeyng hym. And Christ was in the league as the mediator betwene eche partie. This is the exposition and nature of the league made betwene god and men.

A league is deuised into the new league and the olde, whiche deuision is not of a generall thing into speciall thinges, but of the subiecte into accidences, for

so much as in either league the thing it selfe and substance was utterly one and the selfe same & onely certain qualities did vary. For the olde league was made with one onely nation of the Jewes, and had certayn additions, the possession (I say) of the lande of Chanaan, the kingdome of the Jewes, and the priesthode of Aaron, & also the promise of the Messias, according to the nature of the fleshe, and the ministry of his owne person. Wherefore it had very many signes of ceremonies and sacrifices very meete for that age. There were also in it misteries of saluation, and promises of eternall life althoughe farre more obscure, than they were afterwarde geuen vnto vs. And contrarywise in the new league, there are prophecies in a manner contrary. For it pertaineth not to any one certayn nation, but to all nations, how farre soeuer the worlde extendeth. Neither is there any peculiar ciuile administration adioyned vnto it. Furthermore there are but very fewe ceremonies & outward signes (and they very plaine and simple) added vnto it. And lastely all thinges are containe more openly, playnely & manifestly in the new testamēt, than they are in the old. By these qualities doth the new league and the old differ one from another, howbeit the thing it selfe and the substance abyde one and the same. For as the Lord would then be the God of the Hebrewes, so now hath he decreed to be the god of the Christians. And that also whiche they at that tyme promised, namely that they would beleue in the true god, & obey and worship him as he hath prescribed, we also ought to performe: Christ cometh betwene both parties as a mediator, and forgiuenesse of sinnes, and also eternall lyfe is by hym promised. And the lawes of manners remaine the same now whiche then were.

The thing and substance of the olde league and newe is all one.

Paul in the xi. chap: to the Romanes hath very wel declared that the league of the elders & ours is all one, when he compareth the Church with the tree, which hath Christ as the roote. When he addeth that from such a tree certayne branches were cut of, namely the Hebrewes whiche beleued not. And we whiche were gentils were planted in their place: that is put in the same league wherein they were comprehended. The same tree he affirmeth to remaine, into whiche some are by faith grafted in, and from the whiche other some because of incredulitie are cut of. Wherefore eche league containeth both the law and the gospel. And there are in either of the Testaments the selfe same sacramentes as it is declared in the first Epistle to the Cor. the x. chap: For the fathers were all vnder the cloude, and were baptized in the sea, and did eate the same spiritual meate, and drinke of the spirituall rocke following them, and the rocke was Christ. Farther we graunt, that as touching outward signes, there is some variety in their sacramentes and ours, whiche yet as concerning the things signified by the sacramentes is found to be nothing at all. Otherwise the argument of Paul should not haue persuaded the Corin. that they should be subject vnto the same punishments that the Hebrewes were. For they might haue sayd, that they had farre better sacramentes than had the Hebrewes, & therefore they neede not so much to be affraid lest they should suffer the like: for as much as the excellency of the sacraments may auoyde those misfortunes, from whiche the Hebrewes could not be deliuered by the sacramentes of the law. Wherefore the Apostle tooke away from them this shift, and maketh our sacramentes and theirs equall and a like as touching the thinges. He writeth also to the Rom. the first chap: of the gospel, that it was in the old tyme promised by the Prophetes in the holy scriptures. And in the third chap: he speaketh after this sorte: but now is the righteousness of god made manifest, being testified by the lawe and the Prophetes.

In either of the testaments are the selfe same sacramentes.

Neither canst thou say vnto me, that these in dede were promysed in the holy Scriptures of the olde Testament, but not that they were performed vnto the men whiche lyued at that tyme. Because the Apostle doth moste warily aunswere to this objection, when he sayeth that euery lawe doth speake to those men whiche do lyue vnder it. And it is not to be doubted, but that the

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fathers

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The fathers
were iustified
onely by fayth,
as we are.

fathers were iustified after the same sorte that we are now at this present. For they were no lesse iustified onely by fayth in Christ, than we. Wherefore it is written in the booke of Genesis of Abraham, that he beleued, and it was counted vnto hym for righteousnesse. John also testifieth that Christ sayde of Abraham that he had sene his day, and therfore reioysed. The Epistle to the Hebrues the xiii. chap: affirmeth that Christ was yesterdage, and to dape, and remayneth for ever. Wherefore euen as we are sayd now to be saued, not by woorkes, but by the true mercy of God by fayth in Christ, so was it with the fathers at that tyme: For they were iustified by no merites, but onely by fayth in Christ. Further, moze what obedience soeuer the fathers had towarde the commaundementes of God, and also fayth in the promises, they were not derlied from their owne strengthe and power, but (euen as it also happeneth vnto vs) they came vnto them by the grace of God and Christ.

A place of Je-
remie of the
pistle to the He-
brues is expou-
ded.

It is true in dede that Jeremy in the 31. chap: writeth, as it is also alleged to the Hebrues the viii. chap. that there muste be another league made in the name of God, not as it was made in the olde tyme with the fathers. And among other thynges he sayeth, that God would geue hys lawes in the heartes and bowelles of men, so that none should nede any moze to teache hys neygh- boure, bycause all, from the least to the greatest should haue the knowledge of God. And farther it is sayde in the persone of God, I will be mercifull vnto their synnes, and will no moze remember their iniquities, &c. As touching these wordes both of Jeremy, and also of the Epistle to the Hebrues, we must vnder- stande, that those wordes proue not that there is any difference betwene the tes- tamentes as touching the thyng and substance it selfe, but as concernyng the properties and qualities, as we haue before sayde. Neither muste we thinke that the olde fathers whiche in obeyeng the commaundementes of God, and in right fayth woorked hym purely, coulde perfoyme these thynges of theyr owne strengthe or naturall powre. For vnlesse they had had the lawes and pro- mises of God written in their heartes and myndes by the holy Ghost, and also a will by the grace of God ready to obey hys commaundement they had neuer ben able to haue perfoymed such thynges. They wanted not therfore the lyght of God which shined before them to cause the to beleue. Yea and their synnes wer forgiven them by Christ. Wherefore they also had the fruition of those thynges, whiche God promised to geue in the newe league. The difference was onely in this thyng as touching largenesse and perspicuitie for at that tyme those gyftes were distributed to very few, but now they are euery where communi- cated to the gentiles. They were somewhat darke at that age, but to vs they are made euident and cleare, so that we haue no moze nede of the old discipline. Here- by it manifestly appeareth, howe they erre from the truth, whiche will haue the old league to haue had promises onely for possesing of the lande of Chanaan and for worldly felicity. And that the people of the Hebrues were bounde onely to an outward obseruation of certayne rites and woorkes, and not to the weorth good and ryght motions of the minde toward God. The Prophetes declare not the thyng after that sorte, yea rather they denye that God any thyng esteemeth outward woorkes without inward godlynesse. And they euery where cry out, that ceremonyes without fayth, and voyde of the feare of God are a mosse grievous burthen and so troublesome that God can not suffre them. Yea and the lawe it selfe maketh mention expessedly of the circumcision of the heart: and God euery where requireth, that we should heare hys voyce, whiche vndoubtedly is nothyng elles, than by fayth to haue to do with hym. Wherefore fayth of the promises and commaundementes of God, ought al- wayes to be counted as the roote and foundation, whiche alwayes abydeth, when as outward sacrifices and visibill rites should at the length be chaun- ged.

The error of
them which in
the olde league
acknowledge
onely temporal
typpages.

God would not
fully those
thynges that
are chaunged.

ged. Wherefore it is very manifest, that god would not haue them for their own sakes. Howbeit they endured so long as men were endelwed with a childish spirite (as Paule speaketh to the Galathians) whilest they liued yet vnder tutors, & differed yet very litle fro seruants. But when they receaued a moze ful growne spirite, then were the sacramentes and childyshe rites (as Augustine sayeth) taken away. It is manifest therefore that the difference betwene the two leagues is not to bee taken of the thing or substance, but of the qualittes and proprieties.

Let them therefore cease so much to erre, which thinke that god in the old lawe promised only earthly thinges, as though at that time he prouided onely for the bodyes and not for the soules, as doe Shepheardes, Plowmen, and Stounerherdes, whiche haue a care onely for the bodyes and carcases of theyr Sheepe, Swine and Oxen, neyther laboure they for any other thyng, but to make those beastes strong and fat. We must not so imagine of God, who so made a league with the Elders, that he promised them the chiefe felicitie, which chieslye pertayneth vnto the soule. Wherefore it is written in the 144 Psalme. Blessed are the people which haue the Lorde for their God. In Deutromye also God toke vpon him to bring to passe, that they should walke in his commaundements. But what moze? Our sauiour, out of y words of the old league hath most aptely taught the resurrection of the dead. For when the Lorde sayd that he was the God of Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, and they were then dead, Christ inferred that they were not dead but that they still liued, and that their bodyes should be re-created, namely in the blessed resurrection. Hitherto pertayneth that that God affirmed to Abraham, that he himselfe would be his rewarde, whiche thyng plainly teacheth vs, that in that couenaunte were not promised onely carnall and earthly good thyngs. Undoubtedly it were a great shame euen for Kyngs and Princes, whiche being compared with God are but fleshe and bloud, if they should bee counted to gouerne the publique wealthes, onely as touching the bodyes of the subiectes: for as muche as they professe that therefore they prouide for their Citizens outward commodities, quietnesse and peace namely that they might liue happily and vertuously. Wherefore if Princes seeke for goodes of the winde for their Citizens, is it not merke that God hymselfe prouided farre moze noble thinges for the publique wealth of the Israelites whiche he saythfully gouerned. Furthermoze I do not speake, howe soe lythe it is to beleue that the old fathers by the league bound themselves only to outward rites and visibler ceremonies, whereby to worship God: when as euen the Ethnikes were not ignorant, yea they haue most manifestly testified, that the worshipping of God consisteth not in those thinges. For Plautus in Rudente writeth thus: They thinke that they please God with gistes and sacrifices: but they lose both their laboure and cosse. I will not declare those thinges whiche Plato in his Alchibiade hath written as concerning this thing. Yea (as I haue now befoze taught) the lawe it self and the Prophets declare that the thing was farre otherwise.

God promised the old fathers the chiefe felicitie.

The end of political gouernment.

The worshipping of god consisteth not only in outward rites.

Plautus.

Plato.

But now at the length to returne to the woordes of the hystorie, God commaundeth that the Hebrewes had broken their couenant which he had made with their fathers. For they wer departed from the true fayth and inward godlynesse. Neither ceased they only dulge and rightly to sacrifice vnto the true God, but they most filthily turned aside to straunge Gods & worshipping of Idoles. And for these thinges was God angry with them, and especially for this, because they harkened not vnto his voyce. This undoubtedly was the roote and the springe, beginning of falling, namely not to beleue in god.

The roote of falling from god.

Let vs here also note that the Fathers made a league with God not onely for themselves, but also for their posteritie. As God agayne for his parte promised them, that he would be the God not onely of them, but

The elders made a league with god for their posteritie.

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The elders
made a league
with God for
their posterity
It was lawfull
to circumcise
children in the
old time, & it is
lawfull at this
day to baptise
them.

also of their seed and posterity. Wherefore it was lawfull for them to circumcise their children, being yet infants. And in like manner it is lawfull for us to baptise our little ones being yet infants, for as much as they also are comprehended in the league. For they which haue now the thing it selfe, there is nothing can let, but that they may receive the signe. It is manifestly written in the xxix. Chapter of Deuteronomy that the league was made not only with them which were present, but also with them which were absent, and not yet borne.

Whether they
which come af-
ter may be
bound by their
elders.

But some doubt, whether the posterity may be bounde by their Elders. We answer, we muste looke whether the thinges which were promised by our Elders were iuste and honeste. Then muste we consider whether those promises pertain to ciuill thinges, or to Godlynesse. When they are made for ciuill matters, the bonde is sure, because it is not lawfull for the posterity to infringe the contractes of their Elders, as are byinges, sellinges, bargaynes and such like, provided that they containe nothing, that is filthy, dishonest and vnjuste. But if the covenantes and obligations belong to godlinesse or to true sayth, the obligation is then strong, for that we are all bounde to true godlinesse and a perfect sayth, although there were no league therunto. But if the Elders haue bound themselves and their posterity to filthy and vngodly thinges, it is no bonde. But for God to abase himselfe to make a league with men, it cometh of his mere beneuolence and mercy, whereby we might be more and more stirred up to performe those thinges which we ought otherwise to do of duty.

Why all the
Chananites
were not expel-
led in the time
of Iosua.

I also will not caste them oute. When he sayeth, that he will not henceforth caste oute any one of those Nations, which remayned in the Lande of Chanaan after the time of the death of Iosua, he declareth the punishment, wherewith he woulde no longer punyche the Hebrewes. And this must we vnderstand condicionally, that is, excepte they repented: or because God was so offended by reason of their Idolatry, that he woulde not so soone caste forth those Nations, as he would otherwise haue done, if they had saythfully continued in their office. And the very wordes of the history doe straghtwaies expresse this latter interpretation. But because a man myghte doubt whether he expelled not the Chananites, while Iosua was yet alive (who by right behaued himselfe toward God) in this place he answereth vnto it and sayeth that he had therefore suffered those Nations to remaine, that by them he myght proue the Israelites, whether they woulde worship him purely and sincerely as their Fathers had done vnder Iosua or not. For as much as I haue at large before spoken of this kinde of temptation, I will now speake thereof no more. This onely I shall admonyche you, that where as there is mention made in this place of the Fathers, the same is to be vnderstande onely of those which were good and godly: otherwise enen in the tyme of Moyses there wanted no vngodly ones and rebelles, which fell from the true God. Furthermore we must consider that these thinges were spoken, when the Hebrewes after the death of the Judges fell to vngodlynesse. For the thinges which are here mencioned of the fallinges and conuersions of the Hebrewes which folloved one after an other, are spoken generally and summarilie. Other wise God (as we shall heare) expelled some of the enemies oute of the lande of Chanaan vnder euery Judge. Wherefore in that now he being angry sayeth that he will not caste forth the reste of the Nations, we muste vnderstande it, that he will not so quickly doe it, and vnlesse they tourne agayne vnto the ryghte waye. After which manner Ieremye hath taught vs that the threatnynges of God are to be vnderstand.

The

The thyrde Chapter.

These are the Nations, which the Lorde left, that he myghte proue Israell by them euen as many of Israell as had not knownen all the warres of Chanaan.

2 Only for the learning of the generation of the children of Israell that he also might teach them warre, in as much as they which were before them knewe nothing thereof.

This is a very common and receaued exposition of this place, that God in leauing diuerse Nations in the land which was promised to the Israelites, did it not only to trie the Israelites, but also because he woulde haue them exercised in warlike artes, leaste they should become slouthfull. For if the enemyes should straightway at the beginning haue bene expelled, that people woulde easely haue bene loste with idlenesse and slouth. Which interpretation if we allow, thereby will plainly followe, that iuste warres are altogether lawfull. For if God woulde teache the Israelites the arte of warrefare, then iudged he not that arte vnlawfull. And to this purpose serueth that which Dauid sayd: Blessed be god which teacheth my handes to warre, and my syngers to battayle. But this question, whyther it be lawfull to make iuste warres, is not nowe to be entreated of: for as muche as it is most euident, and that by the holy Scriptures, that it is lawfull. And we shall haue occasion in an other place, to speake at large of that matter. Wherefore I will declare what the Hebrewes expositours iudge of this place. R. Salamon, R. David Kimhi, and also R. Lewi ben Gerson write, that God, when he had tempted the Hebrewes and detected theyr vngodlinesse and Idolatrye, withdrew from them their strength and ayde. Whereby when they attempted to make warres by their owne power and to fight by their owne strength they learned what it was to make warre. Whereas before when God himselfe fought for them, they were ignoraunt of it. For he endued them with strength, he drewe a feare into their enemyes, dissolued their strength, and gaue the Hebrewes a prosperous successe in theyr enterpryses. One dyd then pursue a thousand, and two ten thousand. It is therfore aptly sayd that the Israelites, when he had not yet broken the league, and god fought for them, were ignoraunte of warlike feates. Euen as the fyrst parentes of mankinde when they had eaten of the forbidden tree, beganne to know both good and euill. For before when they were nourished with the grace of God, they were touched with the feeling of no euill. And we commonly say of children, when their parentes are taken from them, that they shall nowe fele what it is to gette theyr own liuyng, which before they had not learned, when they had their parentes liuyng. Christe also vsed the same kinde of speche, when he sayd vnto the Apostles: When I sent you without bagge or scrip, vndoubtedly you wanted nothing. But nowe because I shall be taken from you, let him which hath no sword, bye him one: for hereafter the times shall be harde and paynesfull vnto you, so that ye shall proue and haue experience of those thinges which hitherto ye haue not felte. And this is the meaning at this present, that the Hebrewes were brought of necessity nowe at the length to knowe and feele, what it was to make warre with enemyes stronger than themselves. They had not experience of that, before God taught them it in taking awaye their strength and ayde. Neither is it founde in the whole lawe that he ordained any thyng for the learning of the arte of warrefare. In Deuteronomye the xx. Chapter: he

War is a thing lawfull.

When God fought for the Israelites, they knew not what it was to make warre.

How our fyrste parentes after sinne knew both good and euill.

God commanded nothing in the lawe for the learning of the art of warrefare.

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made certayne lawes for making of warre, but they pertayne nothing to the attayning of knowledge in the arte of warrefare. And 3, in my iudgemente, doe allowe the interpretation of the Hebrewes, rather than that which was fyrst assigned.

3 Of those whom he left, there were fyue Lordes of the Philistians and all the Chananites, and Sidonites, and the Heuites that dwelled in Mount Libanon, euen from Mount Baal Hermon vnto the entrance of Hamath.

4 Those (I say) remayned to proue Israell by, and to wete whether they would obey the preceptes of the Lord, which he commaunded their fathers by the hand of Moyses.

5 The children of Israell therfore dwelt among the Chananites, Hethites, Amozites, Pherezites, Heuites, and Jebusites.

Satrapes.

Terence.

David Kimhi.

The names of
the Lordships
of Palestine.

That which is in the Hebrew Sirni, Jerome sometimes translateth rulers, and sometimes Lordes. And we may call them Princes, or Presidents, or eile Gouvernours. Those wordes the Grecians call σατράπης, σατραπικον, σατραπια. But yet they are deriued of the Persians, yea & the Latines sometimes vsee the. Terence in his comedie Heautontim: writeth. If Satrapes (y is a Lord) be a louer, he shal not be able to abide the charge. David Kimhi thinketh these wordes in the text, Fyue lords of the Philistians, to be a figuratiue kinde of speche, y by the fyue Lordes, we might vnderstand those fyue places, which they were lordes ouer, that is fyue Lordships of the Philistians. And those places be named in the booke of Iosua the 13 chap. Gaza, Asdod, Ascalon, Aekron & Geth. Of eury one of these cities they toke vnto the name of the lordship. And vndoubtedly there is manifest mencion made of them in the fyrst booke of Samuell, for of ech of the there were gifts gathered wherwith the arke of the couenaunt was adozned to be sent agayne to the Israelites.

Howbeit this may seme to be strange how these cities should now be sayd not to be conquered by the Israelites. When as in this booke the first chap. Gaza, Ascalon, & Aekron are declared to be wonne in that battaile, which was made by the tribes of Iuda and Simeon. Whereunto we aunswere, y in dede those cities were taken at y time, when as for all that they were not fully conquered by the leading and conduct of Iosua, as it is written in his boke. Howbeit at this time, as the history now testifieth, they were not in the power of the Jewes. For by reason of the sinnes of the Hebrewes, the strength of the Philistians was conformed, & other nations of y land of Chanaan wared enery day stronger & stronger, but the Israelites on the contrary side were feabled. Wherefore it was an easie matter for these places to fall agayne into the power of the Philistians. For they were very skillful in feates of warre, and they had yron and hooked Chariottes. Neither did God fight for the Israelites. Wherefore they might without any great traualle (by reason of the sinnes of the Jewes) recouer agayne the places which they had losse.

In that it is written And al the Chananites we must not vnderstand it absolutely and simple, but only of those which inhabited y places here mencionned. Farther we must note, that in the boke of Iosua there were also Chananites and Zidonites rehearsed which were not at that time destroyed. And as touching the Mount Libanon, some write, y it was so called of frankencense which the Grecians call λιβανον. yea and the Hebrewes call frankencense Libona. And Mount Hermon (as the boke of Deut. teacheth) was called of the Amorrites, Naschir, & of the Sirians Scherion. Wherof peradventure the prouince of Siria had his name.

The Mount
Libanon.

And

6 And they tooke the Daughters of them to be their wyues, and gaue their own daughters to their sonnes: and serued their Gods.

7 Wherefore the children of Israel did wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and forgot the Lord their God, & serued Baalim, & groues.

The Israelites sinned three times against God. First, because (as it is already shewed) they dwelled peaceably and quietly among the Chananites, and contrary to the commaundement of God made those nations tributaries vnto them. Secondly because they contracted matrimonies with that people. And that had God prohibited to be done, as the law in many places witnesseth. *1. The synnes of the Hebrewes.* And in the booke of Esdras the last chap. we reade of a grievous complaynt because the Iewes in their captiuitie in Babilon had taken straungers to wyues. And Esdras there decreed that such wyues should be put away, & that those matrimonies should be counted void, which wer contracted betwene persons prohibited by God. And why God would not haue matrimonies so contracted, this reason is chiefly alledged, because by such vnlike matrimonies the worshipping of God is wonderfully empaired. For godly husbandes or wyues are by the vngodly parties oftentimes alienated from the true god. Neither doth the Scripture onely teache vs this, but also experience both in the olde time, and also in our time testifieth it. For as much as Salomon (as it is written in the first booke of the kinges the. xi. chap.) was both corrupted, and also builded Temples for Idoles, by the entisement of strange women, whom he most inordinately loued, and moze than was couenient. Wherefore he miserably incurred the wrath of god. The Iewes also (as our hystorie now declareth) had experience of the same. And we in our time see great hinderance to come vnto the beleuers, because very many of them contract matrimony with Papistes. *2. God forbyddeth vnlike marriages.* The third synne of the Hebrewes was, because they worshipped Idoles: and that was most of all against the league which they had long before made with god, for they sayd: we will serue the Lord our god.

Further it is added: And they worshipped trees or groues. This word Aschera with the Hebrewes is a tree, and being in the plural number Ascheroth as it is in this place, it signifieth trees, and of some it is translated groues. For it is a most common maner among the Idolaters, to worship their goddes in groues. In Den groues they sacrificed vnto Iupiter, and the Oke of Dodome, was in the old time most famous, by reason of the answers which it gaue. In woods of bay trees was Apollo worshipped. Daphne also is notable wher the Temple of Apollo was built. Minerua also was wont to haue a temple among Oliue trees. And lastly we may marke both in the Poetes, and also in hystories, that shadowy woods, most large riuers, & mountaines of exceeding great height wer counted of the men in the old time places most apt for sacrifices to be done vnto Idoles. Because such places dye into men no smal admiration. Wherefore they thought that such notable places had the power of god present. And Abraham also, Isaac and Iacob, and the old Fathers, offered sacrifices vnto the true god vpon the high mountaines, which custome was tyll such time vntill as god by a law ordained that they should not do sacrifice euery where, but in that place onely which he himselfe had chosen. *3. Gods wer worshipped in groves.* From whence the maner of sacrificing in hye mountaines came

8 Therefore the Lord was angry with Israel, and sold them into the handes of Chusan Rishathaim King of Aram: Naharaim: & the children of Israel serued Chusan Rishathaim eyght yeares.

Now is particularly mentioned the punishment wherwith god being angry punished the Hebrewes. For when they so fel from him, that they forgot hym, he deliuered them to Chusan King of Mesopotamia. And this is the first bondage

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Mesopotamia. *ποταμια*, the Hebrewes name Aram-naharaim. Nahar signifieth with them a River. It is therfore put in the dual number, bicause that part Siria, or Aram is enclosed with two riners Euphrates (I say) and Tigris. **Of his surname of Chusan.** Therfore as touching the signification of the word the Grecians haue followed the Hebrewes. But why Chusan was called Riscathaim, it is darke. Although D. Kimhi thinketh that his surname was given him of some certain place, as we se to chaunce to Princes of our time, which receive their surname of his places, fro whence their Elders had their beginning. But other some thinke that this king was therfore so called, bicause he was very wicked and vngodly. For with the Hebrewes Rischaha signifieth wickednes and vngodlines. Therfore they wil haue it to be as much as if one should say, Chusan of vngodlines, or vngodly Chusan. It is the dual number, to declare that he was corrupted not with any simple wickednes or vngodlines, but with a doubt, that is with a principal and absolute wyckednes or vngodlines. And ther wer some of the Hebrewes which went about to expresse the double vngodlines of the kings of Mesopotamia. For they say that Balaam was hired from thence to curse the Israelites. Farther, and this (say they) was the other wickednes, wherwith this Chusan oppressed the Jewes, which by no right pertained to his dominion or Lordship. But these ought rather to be called diuinations and conjectures, than iust interpretations.

Why the Chaldeans and Syrians went about to gouern the Jewes. They serued hym eyght yeares. Undoubtedly a very long time, which I suppose was so much the painfuller vnto them, bicause from their commyng out of Egypt hitherto, they had serued none. But vnder what pretence this kynge subdued vnto him the Hebrewes it is not declared. Peradventure he thought that the Jewes wer a part of his people sent abroade to inhabite. For Abraham was called out of Chaldea, and came first into Mesopotamia. From whence by the commaundement of God he went into the land of Chanaan. Furthermoze in that place Jacobs children were borne, which wer the Princes of the twelue Tribes. This peradventure wer the titles, wherby the Chaldeans and Sirians endenoured them selues often times to be Lords ouer the Hebrewes, which thing yet they did vnto this. For ther wer no people sent from the Chaldeans or from the Sirians by the common will and consent of the Princes and Magistrates, whiche should go and inhabite in some place of the land of Chanaan, Therfore they did wrongfullye oppresse the Jewes and were spured by thereunto by couetousnes and ambition to enlarge their dominions. This is also vncertayn whether this Chusan did together with the Jewes oppresse the Chananites. And it maye be, that he was not troublesome to the Chananites as to his friendes, but onely afflicted the Hebrewes. Neither wer it absurde to thinke, that this king was called by the Chananites to oppresse the Hebrewes their common enemies.

9 And the children of Israel cryed vnto the Lord: and the Lord spured by a Saviour to the children of Israel, and saued them, one Othoniel the sonne of Chenez, Calebs yonger sonne.

10 And the spirit of the Lord was vpon him, and he iudged Israel, and he went out to warre, and the Lord deliuered Chusan Riscathaim kyng of Aram into his hande: and bys hande preyntled agaynst Chusan Riscathaim.

11 And the lande had rest. 40. yeares: And Othoniel the Sonne of Chenez dyed.

Israel cryed vnto the Lord, bicause they wer euil bered, and most grievously oppressed of the Sirians. They acknowledged now after their great hurt that straunge Gods profited them nothing, yea rather they brought vpon them the miseries

miserics wherwith they were vjged. When they vnderstoode that mans helpe was on euery side cut of, they conuerting them selues vnto the true God, called vpon him. This is the fruite of miseries as touching the elect, or rather the fruit of the goodnes of God, which by troubles calleth againe vnto him, those which are hye. Of Othoniel we haue spoken inough before. Now he is called a Saviour, because he brought health vnto the Israelites as y other Iudges dyd, which was also called Saviours, he was a shadow of Christ. But the Chaldee paraphrast calleth him Porken, that is a Redemer. Which surname also rightly agreeth with Othoniel: because before it is sayd that God sold the Israelites: and when bondmen are sold, they haue neede of one to redeme them.

Othoniel was called a saviour and a redemer.

For as much as before it was said y God raised vp Iudges, now is declared the maner & forme how he raysed them vp. For it is wrytten: And the spirit of the Lord was vpon hym. For by the holy ghost ther not onely geuen vnto hym strength, political wisdom and warlike artes, but also he was made the more certain of his calling. The Chaldee paraphrast vnderstandeth by the spirit of God the power of prophery. But Dauid Kimhi interpreteth it the gift of force & strength. But I thinke that either interpretation is to be allowed. For besides the strength and power which was geuen the Iudges, they had also the iudgement and feeling of the will of God, which pertained vnto prophery.

After what maner God raised vp Iudges.

Dauid Kimhi.

He iudged Israel. What is, he set them at liberty and was their Gouvernour as touching ciuil thinges, and restozed the pure worshipping of God. In that it is aboue wrytten that God sold Israel to the king of Mesopotamia. And now againe it is declared y he deliuered the same king vnto Othoniel, we may gather y victories arguent at y pleasure of God, which also we haue often noted before.

R. Leui ben gerson thinketh that in that supputation of. 40. yeares whereth the Jewes lyued peaceably vnder Othoniel were comprehended also the eyght yeares of seruitude which went before. But of this thing we will speake abundantly in the history of Iphthah. This place teacheth that men must call vpon God, though they haue sinned: which I therfore thought good to note, because sinnes vse much to seare away men from the inuocation of the name of God for this is the nature of synnes to alienate vs fro God, vnto whom we yet by prayers come againe. Therfore seing these thinges are contrary, namely to be alienated from God, and to come vnto him, it is wonder how they can be applyed to one, and the selfe same man. And this maketh with it also which is wrytten in the gospel: God heareth not sinners. Although Augustine wryte of that sentence, that it is found in dede in the holy scriptures, but it was spoken by hym whyth was borne blynde, when his hart was not yet illustrate. Therfore he iudgeth that that sentence is not to be taken as a firme and certaine rule. But I would rather make a distinction betwene synners, for there are some, which when they cry vnto the Lord, do repent, and from their hartes are soze, soz the euils which they haue committed. But ther are other which continue still in their mynd and purpose to synne, and haue a very great delite therein. Farther I am not asfearde to affirme, that god heareth those synners which being repentant cry vnto him with faith: wher as those are repulsd which being hardened in their sinnes and wating faith do call vpon god. Therfore it appeareth that those sinners which come to god, and those that depart from god are not sinners of one sozt, because they which after they haue sinned cal vpon god by faith, & repent them of theyz synnes, are deuised from those which stubbozly without repentaunce perseuer in their synnes. For they although by wordes they cry vnto god, yet in hart and mynde they are farre from him, so farre are they soz to be loyned vnto him, or to come vnto him by sayth and prayers.

R. Leui ben gerson.

God is also to be called vpon of synners.

Augustine.

A distinction of synners.

Whether God be the cause of synne.

But in these thinges which are sayd, there ariseth a question which is not to be left vnspoken of. For it is wrytten that god sold the Israelites to the king of

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of Mesopotamia. Wherefore it seemeth that he holpe a wicked man, & aided hym to satisfy his tyranny and ambition. For he had neither a iust cause, nor yet an honest title, to clayme vnto him the dominion of the Hebrewes. What shall wee say therefore? Shall we affirme that God is the cause of this sinne? Ther hapeneth in this booke and in other places of the holye scriptures suche kynde of speeche, and that often times very plaine, and therfore it seemeth good to be expounded once for all.

Whether by word permissio this question may be dissolued.

It is proued by good reasons that besides permission god worketh some what wher sinne is committed.

1. Some, yea and that with no euyl minde labour to excuse God, and say that he doth not these euyl thinges, but onely permitteth them, And they thinke that in doubtful places, that interpretation is to be applied, which altogether wanteth fault and danger of vngodlines. Undoubtedly this their saying wer to be praised, if that we could see their exposition to be allowed in the scriptures. But there it is farre otherwise sayd, namely that God doth stirre vp wicked men to their wicked actes, that he seduceth, delucreth, commaundeth, hardeneth, and deceaueth them, and bringeth to passe those sinnes which are griseous. Suche kindes of speeche do manifestly teach vs, that God after a sorte woorketh euyl thinges, not onely in permitting, but also in doing in vs. Without doubt al we are said both to haue our being, and also our mouing in him: For he is in suche sorte the first cause of all thinges, that without him we can do nothing: For how should we moue our selues, vnlesse by his power we wer both moued and also diuened? Farther, how farre his gouernment extendeth, we may reade in the xi. chap. of Mathew: for two Sparrowes (saith the Lord) are sold for a farthing, and yet one of them falleth not to the ground without the wyll of the father. And
2. that was as much to say as without the counsell of God nothing be it neuer so smal is done in the world. Whereouer that permission wherby certayne go about to make plaine this question, at the length is called agayne to the wyll. For who soeuer can let and prohibite any thing that is euyl, and doth it not, it is manifest that after a sorte he is willing therunto. Besides that, he permitteth it not against his wyll, but willinglye. Wherefore a wyll without doubt is contayned in that permission.

God doth not idlely beholde those thinges which are done of men, but worketh together with them

Esay. 10.

Isaiah 10.

Gen. 45.

1. kinges. 21.

Prouerbes. 21.

Exodus 9. 10. 11
Rom. 9.

Pharao was hardened both of god & of hym self.

But now must we shew, that God, when sinnes are committed, doth not ydlye looke on, yea he woorketh somewhat there. For Esay in the v. chap. sayth, that God would geue a token, and with his blessing call a nation from the vtmost partes of the earth, which should ouerthrow the kingdome of the Hebrewes, as their synnes had deserued. By which it manifestly appeareth, that God stirreth vp Tyrannes and outward nations to these vniuersall warres. Also in the x. chap. the same Prophet pronounceth that king to be wicked, which in that expedite on was in the hand of God as a saw, a staffe, and an axe. There is no man ignorant but that al these thinges do so woorkhe and moue, that they be first moued, yea and that proud king is therfore reprehended, because he so exalted himselfe as though he wer God, who had by him brought such and so great thinges to passe. Ioseph also in the booke of Genesis said vnto his brethren which had by a wicked conspiracy sold him: It was not you but god that sent me into Egypt. In the first booke of the kinges also, and the xxi. chap. Sathan, who was readye to deceaue Achab, was commaunded by God to do it, & to preuaile. Which words declare that God himselfe commaundeth and also stirreth vp to deceaue. Further it is written in the Prouerbes the xxi. chap. The hart of the king is in the hand of God, he shall incline it whether soeuer he wyll. The scripture saith also of Pharao, kinges seme free from humayne lawes, but God bolweth them whether he wyll, (which place Paul alledgeth) that his hart was hardened by God. Neither maketh this anye thing against it, if thou shalt say that it is written in the viii. chap. of Exodus, that Pharao hardened himselfe, for as muche as bothe saynges are true: For God doth no violence to the wyll of man, seeing that nothing is moze contrarie vnto it than to make it to doo any thing vniwillingly,

or by compulsion. Wherfore it is changed and bowed of God so softly and pleasantly, that it willingly & without violence inclineth to whatsoever pleaseth God. And it often times happeneth (as Augustine in diuers places hath taught) ^{Augustine.} that God punisheth former sinnes by latter synnes. And the holpe scriptures be, soze Augustines time testified the same, & especiallze Paule, in his Epistle to the Roma. the first chap. Wherfore God hath in his hand the affections of our hart, which he loseth or restraineth as shal seeme good to his most wise prouidence, & turneth them whither soeuer it shal please him. And so great is his power, & we must beleue that he worketh much more, than may be expressed by the word of permission. For Paul feared not thus to write vnto the Thessalonians: because they haue not receaued the love of the truth, therfore shal God send on them an error, so that they shal beleue lyes, & al they shal be iudged which haue not beleued the truth, but allowed brighteousnes. These wordes manifestly testifie, & God did cast error vpon them, to punish their former sinne, namelze vpon those which despised the truth offered them. Dauid also semeth to tend to this, when in the 2. booke of Samuel the. 16. chap. he said of Simeck: Suffer him, for God hath commaunded him to curse me. Also in the same booke the. 12. chap. God by Nathan the Prophet saith of Dauid which had grieuously fallen: behold I will stirre vp euill against thee, & wil take thy wines, & geue them vnto thy neighbour, who shal sleepe with them: this diddest thou secretly, but I will do this thing openly, in the eyes of the Sunne and of all Israel.

If the matter be so (thou wilt say) they which sinne shal easily be excused: for they may some say, & they wer by God moued, & stirred vp to sin. Not so. For men are not so deliuered by God vnto sins, as though they wer them selues pure & innocent. For they which are so stirred vp to naughtines, haue worthily deserued the same. And the same men are not diuen against their wil, but they wonderfully delite themselves in those transgressions and sinnes. Wherfore their excuse is foolish, or rather none.

But this semeth to be agaynst the things befoze said, because in the Psalmes it is wyrtten that God is such a one, as willet no iniquity, and hateth synnes. And vndoubtedly he is so in dede: For vnles he hated sinnes, why should he punish them? For thinges that are allowed, are not wont to be punished. Farther, he hath most severely prohibited them by his lawes. But as touching this, thus must we decree of the wil of god, that it is in nature and very dede one, wherby yet may be deuied for diuers and sundry respectes. For as it is set forth in the scriptures & the law, he condemneth sinnes, he prohibiteth them, and threatneth most grieuous punishments vnto them. Wherfore because he directeth the same sinnes whither soeuer he wil, & bleseth them to his counsels and decrees, neyther when he may, letteth them, it is therfore sayd that after a sozt he wyllteth them. Neither is it meete to deny that such sundry respectes are in the wyl of god. For god would befoze al beginninges, haue his sonne sacrificed vnto him for a most swete sacrifice: who yet himself said in the law: Thou shalt not kil, & thou shalt not shed innocent blood. God also sozbad, that any shoulde be deceaued, who for all that would haue Achab to be deceaued of Sathan, as we haue a lytle befoze mencioned. And least any man shoulde doubt that Christ was put to death by the wyl of God, we may se in the actes of the Apostles that it is most manifestly said that the Iewes did those things which God by his counsel had befoze ordained.

What then? shal we say that god is the cause of synne? Not so, for if we wil speake properly: and that it may the more manifestly appeare, we must marke, that one selfe acte as it is deriued from vs, is very synne: but in respect that it cometh from God, it is both good, iust, and holy. For punishment is by God imposed to wycked men. And to punish synnes, no man is ignorant but that it partayneth to iustice. Wherfore God in withholding his grace from the vngodly, and ministring some occasions, which might moue to good things, if they

God worketh more as touching sinnes than is expressed by the worde permission.

1. Thess. 2.

2. Sam. 16.

2. Sam. 12.

The sinnes of men are not excused by the working of god

Whether God do together both hate & wil sinnes.

A distinction of the wyl of God.

Christ was killed by the will of God.

God if we speake properly is not the cause of sinne.

In Answer.

Augustine.

Whither God

tempteth no

man.

Whither God

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happened to right & full minde, and which he knoweth to be tolled wylt turne to euill, may after a sort, although not properly, be said to be the cause of sinne. And undoubtedly that act, in that it passeth through vs, is sinne, but not as it cometh from God. For in that it cometh from God, it is most perfect iustice. It happeneth somtimes, that the self same wine being poured into a corrupt vessel, is lost, and made pale: which wine as it was brought by the husbandman to the vessel is both sweete and good. Neither is it hard to understand how one & the self same act may as touching one, be vicious: & in respect of another, iust. For when a murderer & a hangman do kill a man, the act as touching the murderer is without doubt is of one, namely the death of a man. And yet the murderer doth it most vitally, & the hangman by law and iustice. Job also did wel understand that when he said: The Lord gaue, & the Lord hath taken away as it hath pleased him, so is it done. He did not by those wordes praise the Chaldeans, Sabines, & the Devil, which were vessels of iniquity, & most vicious: but he with great goodlines allowed those euils, as they were governed & ruled by the prouidence of God, namely for this cause, because they pleased God. It is also written in the 1. booke of Samuel the 14. chap. of David, who bradly wold haue the people numbed, & how God was angry with Israel, & therefore he spured by David to do that. And in the booke of Paral. it is written that Sathan was the doer of it. For God doth those thinges which he will haue done by Angels, as wel good as euill. Wherefore that numbing of the people as it proceeded of David or the Devil, was in deede vicious, but in that it came from God, who intended to punish the Israelites, it pertained exceedingly to the seeming glory of his iustice. Wherfore James sayth, that God tempteth none to euill, but every one of vs is allured by our owne concupiscence. Augustine in spring of this thyng in his booke de consensu Evangelistarum, sayth that there are two kindes of temptation, the one of trial, the other of deceite. And in deede as touching trial he dempeth not but that God tempteth, so that the scriptures do confesse it. But with that kinde of temptation which deceaeth, wherof James wrote, he sayeth that God tempteth no man. But the scriptures teach not so, as we haue declared a litle before of David, and before him of Achab. yea, and in Ezechiel the 14. chap. god saith that he had deceaied the prophet. And the same Augustine to iterly not after the same manner in other places, as it manifestly appeareth in his booke de Prædest. Sanctorum, de Cerept. & Gratia ad Valent. and in his 5. booke and 3. chap. contra Iulianum. Wherefore the true interpretation of this place is, that every man is therfore tempted of his owne concupiscence, because all men haue their natural disease, which is corruption, and vicious lusts, which are together bozne with them, & do also grow and increase in them. Wherefore God inpyllet no malice of his, so that we haue inough at home. Wherefore he cannot bee accused, so that as much as the beginning of vngoodlines & wickednes cometh not from hym, but lieth hid in vs. We ought not therefore to bee counted to geue the cause and fault, who yet when it semeth good vnto him, will so that iust causes haue our lusts & wickednes brought to light, and rule & governe our wicked acts, therby moze and moze to illustrate his iustice and gloze, & to aduance the saluation of the godly. Wherefore his singular goodnes and prouidence is very much to be praised; which can so iustly and wisely vs so wicked meanes.

God when he
woyl nymgeth to
lyght our trow
warconesse of
mynde.

Whence the va
riety of pones
ness to synne
cometh.

But if a man will aske, how it happeneth, that some are moze prone to sinnes than others, if (as it is sayd) malice & wickednes are rooted into vs al from our byrth, neither is it neede that any new or latter malice should be instilled in vs from God. And sayng that we are al brought forth of one & the selfe same lump, and that lump likewise is altogether viciated, it should seeme that all also ought to be of a like disposition and inclination to wickednes. But this is diligently to be weighed, that besides this disposition ther happen naturall malices,

res, maners, customes, wicked qualittes, fellowshippes, temperatures of bodies, sundry parentes, diuers countries, and manifold causes, wherby some are made moze or lesse prone vnto sins, which pronenesse of ours God according to his iustice, goodnes, and wisdom bleseth and stirreth it vp, gouerneth and ruleth it. And this is not to be forgotten, that none of vs haue so in our selues the beginnings of good aces, which truly please God, as wee euen from the verie birth haue wi thin vs the beginnings of sins. For they are inspired in vs by the holy ghost, and we continually receaue them of God, neither burst they forth out of the corrupt beginnings of our nature.

Now resteth to see from whence after the synne of Adam, that forwardnes and corruption came, and whither it wer deriued from God to punish the wicked act which was committed. I answer, that we maye not so thinke: for man was for the fault which he had committed alienated from god, wherfore he instantly withdrew from him his giftes, fauour and grace. And our nature being left vn to it self, falleth and declineth to woozse and woozse, yea it cometh to nothing, from whence it was brought forth at the beginning. Wherfore by that withdrawing of giftes and grace, and departure from God, which is the fountain of al good thinges, nature is by it self thowen headlong into vice and corruption. But now let vs returne to the hystory.

Whether the first corruption after the synne of Adam were deriued frō god or no.

Wherfore we must seeke for no other efficient cause of that corruption.

12 Againe the children of Israel dyd euill in the syght of the Lord. And the Lord strengthened Eglon king of Moab, against Israel: because that they had done euyl in the sight of the Lord.

13 And this Eglon gathered vnto him the Chyldren of Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel: and they possessed the city of Palme trees.

14 And the chylde of Israel serued Eglon king of Moab. 18. yeres

The hystory declareth first the sinne which the Israelites committed: then it sheweth the punishment wherewith for the same they wer punished. As soone as their good Prince was dead, the people fel againe to their olde wyckednes, neyther did they onely commit those sinnes which befoze they had committed, but to them they added some sinnes moze greivous. For the last fallinges were for the most part greivouiser than they which wer past: for at the least they added this, in that they moze & moze became ingrate for the benefites past, when they againe fel from God, with whom they were befoze reconciled into fauour. Their punishment was bondage, wherin they wer bound & serued the Moabites. Without doubt a greivous kinde of punishment: because it is marueylously agaynst the state and nature of man. For al men by nature are bozne free. And bondage, as euen the Lawyers also do confesse, was brought in by a common law among men agreeing to natural reason. But it may moze truly be said, that it was brought in because of sinne. Enemies when they wer overcome in warre, wer sometimes saved, & compelled to serue them which overcame them: and ther can be no iust warres taken in hand, vnles it be to reuenge some facinorouse acte. Wherfore we said wel, that seruitude was deriued of sinne: & is therfore a greivous punishment, because it is agaynst the nature of man. I graunt in deede that this is natural, for the chylde to be obedient vnto the parentes, the subiect vnto the Magistrates, the vnlearned & vnskillful vnto the wisser, & the weake ones must apply themselves to the mightier. But this kinde of obedience and seruice, namely toward them which are fauourable vnto vs, and seeke for our prospe, is voluntary. Wherfore it very much differeth from the seruitude, wherof we now intreate. For that voluntarie kinde of obedience myght haue bene vsed when men were in perfecte state: but this whiche was brought in for synne coulde not bee there. And bondmen are compelled to serue not suche as are their friendes, but straungers and enemyes, and that in thynges vnprofitable vnto

The last fallinges wer for the most parte moze greivous than the first. Seruitude is agaynst the nature of man.

Seruitude was brought in by cause of sinne.

Certaine subiections are natural.

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Which is the more greivous them, yea and often tymes thynges hurtfull and vnbonest.

The Moabites
wer enemies
to the Jewes
from the begi-
ning.

Seruitude also is then far more greivous, when people are subiect vnto those enemies which once wer overcome by them, and whom befoze they ruled. These euils happened vnto the Israelites. For the Moabites were enemies vnto the Hebzees, euen from the beginning, and they hired Balaam to curse them, and in the wildernes they abandoned their women vnto them, so that which the people was afterward greivously plagued. Farther, the Jewes overcame the Moabites by warre, and punished them soze, as we reade in the booke of Numbers. Besides that, the Moabites wer a filthy and an infamed people: for their father was Moab, the sonne of Loth, who begat him by incest. Yetther would God suffer, that they should be admitted into his church. For these causes therfoze, was this bondage most hard, and especially vnto the Hebzees, which were already befoze by god set at liberty both from the Egyptians and also from the Sirians, and by wonderfull woorkes from them redeemed.

God strengthened Aeglon, namely in geuing him courage and strength, making him prompt, and stirring him vp also by some certaine occasions. And adioyned vnto hym Ammon and Amalek. This may be vnderstande in two wayes, either that Eglon adioyned vnto him selfe such confederates, or that god caused this league to be made betwene these nations. And vndoubtedly both significations are true: for that which they dyd, they coude not haue executed without the wyll and ayde of god.

The vngodly
do easily con-
spire agaynst
the people of
god.

Let vs note in this place, that the vngodly, which otherwise agree not berpsewel among them selues, do easily conspire agaynst the people of god. Wherefoze these three nations being ioyned together, did easily overcome the Israelites, which wer forsaken of god. And they possessed the city of Palme trees, which is Iericho, as it appeareth in Deut. and as it is befoze declared. But in that it is said that they tooke possession of it, it signifieth that they did not spoyle it, and leaue it voyde: for they claimed it vnto them selues, making the landes and possessions therof proper vnto them selues. Yetther is it vnkelye, but that they put in it a garison of soldiors, so to oppresse the Hebzees more greivously. And yet I do not thinke, that they restozed again the city vnto them, so that came to passe afterward in the time of Achab, as it is declared in the booke of Kinges.

Why god pun-
isheth his peo-
ple by vngodly
ones.

But this peradventure may seeme marvellous vnto some, that god vsed to punish his people by other nations farre worse than they wer: for as muche as the Ammonites, Amalekites, and Moabites wer Idolaters, & nations that were overwhelmed in all kinde of wickednes. To this I wil answer, that it was the prouidence of god, which (as I haue befoze declared) doth in y sozte punish syns with synnes, and in such maner chasten the vngodly, by others that are vngodly. Farther, by it he declareth, that these thyngs though they be euill, yet they can not escape, but that some way they shal serue his will. But whi he differreth to punish nations, which otherwise are wicked, and his own he straightwaye punisheth, this is the cause: because they pertaining to god, do synne agaynst his law which they know. Wherefoze ther is no cause why the Turkes and Papists though they somtimes preuayle agaynst vs, to punish our synnes, should flatter

Whi god sooner
punisheth his
owne than he
doth strangers.

God wyll not
easily suffer his
woorde beynge
knowen & recei-
ued to be despi-
sed.

them selues therby, as though they were much better than we are, or as though their superstitions were better than our religion. For if the Moabites, Chananites, and Assirians were not counted better than the Jewes, whom they overcame: no more shall the Turkes or Papistes obtayne the same, though some tymes by the wyll of God they afflict the Gospellers. Wherefoze god doth quickly punish his, so his woord sake, which is among them published: hee wyll not easily suffer, that his woord being receaued and knowen should be despised and escape unpunished. There were vndoubtedly very many lyers and false men at Ierusalem, and yet god suffered them, where as he stragglyt waye destroyed Ananias and Saphira. For he would adorne & set forth y gospel & holy ministry.

And

And now that the Ethnikes do see, how severely God punisheth vs, they maye easelye conjecture what hangeth ouer their heades, according to the saying of Christ: If this be done in the grene tree, what shall be done in the drye tree. And if by reason of their blindnesse they vnderstand not this, we ought diligently to remember it to our great consolation. We rede in Ieremye the. xlii. Chapter that the people of God dranke of the cup of the Lord, which seemed not so muche to deserue it: Wherefore the Edomites ought much moze to loke, to be one day punished with punishmentes appointed for them. In Ezechiel also the. ix. Chap. god exhorteth nations against the Heb2ues, to kil and spare none, but first they should begyn at his sanctuary. Peter also in his. i. Epistle the. 4. chap. The time is (saith he) that iudgement must begin at the house of God. But why he sayth that now is the tyme, I thinke this is the cause, because he sawe that all those thinges which the Prophetes had forespoken of the chastising of the people of Israell before other nations, should chieslye of al take place among the Christians. For those thinges which happened vnto the Jewes in a figure or shadowe, do chiesly belong vnto vs. Wherefore Christ being made manifeste, & his sayth being spred abroade throughtout the worlde, Peter thought that it shoulde be very soone accomplished, that iudgement should beginne at the Christians which are the house of God.

Furthermoze there are in the fellowship of the people of god alwayes some holy men still sounde, which when sharpe affliction cometh are proued, & as golde in fyre are made moze bright, which the heauenly father will chieslye and speedely to be done. The electe also, which haue fallen, being admonished by chastisementes and aduersities, do vnto retorne againe into the right way. And that the same may come to passe, God, who loueth them exceedingly, doth of his louing care prouide. But such as are incurable, his wil is that they should quickly be broken, least they might longer than is mete, hurt and with their contagiousnesse destroy other. These vndoubtedly are the causes, why God doth sooner correcte his own than straungers. It is not to be attributed to hatred but to most feruent loue. For the deuine oracles declare vnder the person of God. Whom I loue I correct and chastise. Also a good housholder not regarding straungers, beginneth seuer discipline at his own, when they sinne.

The Israelites serued the Kyng of Moab. xviii. yeares. Thys without doubt was a long tyme of bondage. And not without desert, because the Heb2ues had augmented their sinne, either in y they committed thinges moze greuous, or els because when they were reprehended and deliuered, they fel agayns to their old wickednesse. This latter seruitude was twice so long as was that wherein they serued the king of Mesopotamia.

15 And the children of Israell cryed vnto the Lorde: and the Lord stirred them vp a Sauoure Chud the sonne of Gera, the sonne of Temini, a man hauing an impedimente in hys ryght hande, and by hym the children of Israell sente a presente vnto Eglon the kyng of Moab.

The kindnesse and mercy of God is farre greater than the kindnesse and mercy of men. For if any throught their own default fall into any miseries, men for the moste parte haue no compassion on them. Which manifestly appeareth in the Romane lawes, in the Digestes de deposito vel contra. In the lawe, bona fides, it is ordained that a pledge shoulde not bee restozed, but shoulde bee geuen to the treasoze, when he whiche owed the pledge doth so offende, that he deserueth banishment, because that he suffered it throught hys owne default, and therefore is it meete that he shoulde bee punished with pouertye. A woman also, if she committe aduoutrye, byd not only loose her dowery, but also she can claime none of her husbands goods, because throught her own default

The kindnesse of God is farre greater than the mercy of men.

It is not law-
ful by violence
to deliuer those
which are already
fallen into the
power of the
Magistrate.

Why the Latin
& Greeke trans-
lation haue cor-
rupted proppr
names.

Why some are
left handed.

She falleth into that misery: which is also written in Decretalibus, title de consuetudine, chap. Ex parte. But god is so merciful and long suffering that he saith in Jeremy: I will do that, which none of you will do. No husband would receaue againe a wife which he hath repudiated, especially for adultery sake. But I, so that thou wilt returne, will take thee againe, although thou hast most filthily played the harlot with thy louers. This goodnesse of god ought we also to follow not only to haue compassion on those, which wout their own fault are thrust into miseries but of those also which for their faults are chastised. Wherefore we ought to be gentle towarde them, but yet so farre as good lawes wil suffer: which I therfore adde, lest hereupon any should thinke that such as are condemned to death or are captiues for wicked actes whiche they haue committed might be deliuered against the will of the Magistrates. Christ commaunded, that we should forgette the repentant sinner, not once nor seven tymes, but seventy times seven times: this doth he himself toward his people: they fall in dede oftentimes, and most filthily sinne, and yet when they retourne the heauenly Father both receaueth and also deliuereth them.

He raysed them vp a Iudge, Ehud the sonne of Gera. The comon translation hath Aioth. But that is meruaile, for both in the Greeke and also the Latin translation, very many proppr names are corrupted. As Isaac, Ezechiel, Ezechias, Nabuchodonosor, &c, for both those Nations abhorring from hard kinde of speaking haue leuified and mitigated the Hebrew wordes after the forme of their own speche. And this man of whom we entreate, came (as the holy history declareth) of the tribe of Benjamin. For the familie of Iemini, whereof he was borne, belonged vnto the tribe of Benjamin.

Hauiing an impediment in hys ryght hand, The common Latine edition hath turned it Ambidextrum, that is, one which vseth both handes a like, which interpretation the Hebrew phrase suffereth not, whiche is thus: Ater iad lamino, that is, shut or taken in his right hande. And in the Latin also we saye claudum, quasi clausum, that is, lame. And there are two causes alledged, why some are left handed. For eyther it cometh of custome from their childehode, or els by some impediment in the right part. But I would thinke that the custome of vsing the left hand from a childe cometh of some impediment, bycause peradventure some partes of the body are shut or stopped, by which the spirites whiche are instrumentes of mouing, can not easly haue their course to the sinowes and to the brawnnes of the righthand. Other wise children should of their own accord be prone to vse the right hand, for as much as in creatures, by order of nature, the right part is much stronger than the left. Neither do I at this present speake of those which do of purpose practise to vse the left hand, that thereby they neede requirer they may haue both handes ready. For that serueth little to our matter, for the history by expresse wordes declareth that this Ehud had an impediment in hys right hand. Yet let vs remember, that god for the executing of noble dedes & enterprises for the most part chooseth the weake & vnapt ones, as the first epistle to the Corin. testifieth: Brethren, see to your calling: how that not many noble men, not many wise men, not many mighty men, are chosen, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to put to shame the wise, & he hath chosen the weake things, to ouerthrow things that are mighty, & also vile things, and thinges of no reputation hath God chose to confound thinges of reputation, that no flesh should be glorified in his sight, &c. For as much as the gloire of God shoulde easly be darkened by the power & wisdom of men. Wherefore that gloire might excel, he hath elected the foolishnesse of preaching, he hath also chosen vnto himselfe rude Apostles, and weake and feeble men, by whom he myght shewe forth his wonderfull workes. Howbeit bycause that which was now done by Ehud seemeth to be done by craft, subtiltye and guile, it is declared what occasion God gaue of this noble dede.

And

And by him the children of Israel sent a present vnto Eglon. God would therfore haue this messenger chose, that he might the easier come to the presence of the King. And I suppose that the present which they sent vnto Eglon was not the ordinary tribute which they payd, but some honorable gift, therby to make the King more fauourable towards the, or els to obtayne somewhat at his hands. For tribute is called by an other word of the Hebrewes than by this word Minchah. For that word is deriued of this verbe Nachah, which is to bring, or to offer. ^{Minchah,} Therfore Minchah signified not only an oblation, which was appointed for sacrifices, but also a present, and gift presented vnto noble men. And for that cause in the booke of Genesis, those things which Jacob as a gifte sent vnto his brother Esau, before he came vnto him, are called by the same name. And when Ehud saw, that he was called to a weighty and perillous enterpryse, although he nothing doubted of the successe thereof, yet he diligently weyghed with himselfe the daungers to the end he myght the more prudently auoyde them. The calling of God causeth vs to haue a sure confidence, but yet it nothing letteth, but that we maye meditate howe we maye warily, and wysely execute it. Ehud therfore reuoluing with himselfe the thynges that were to be done, caused that thyng to be made for him, which the holy hystorie by these wordes declareth.

16 And Ehud made him a sword with two edges, of a cubite length, and he girded it vnder his raymente, vpon his right thigh.

17 He presented the present vnto Eglon King of Moab. And Eglon was a very fatte man.

18 And when he had presented the presente, he sent away the people that bare the present.

19 But he himself returned agayne from the quarry of stones that was in Gilgal, and sayd: I haue a secret errand vnto thee O King: whoe answered: Kepe silence. And all they that stood neere went forth.

Ehud made him a two edged sword, which hauing a most sharpe edge on both sides, mighte both easely pearse and cutte, and also quickly strike through the bodye. He caused it also to be made but a Cubite in length that he might the easier hide it. ^{What is the stature of Pigmeians.} Neyther is this word Gamar any other thing with the Hebrewes than Amah. Therfore the Pigmeians in Ezechiell the. xxiij. Chapit er are called Gamarim, and therfore so called, because they are but a Cubite in stature. And such a short sword the Latines call Sica that is, a scayne. He hidde it vnder his garments: for if he had worne his sword openly, eyther he shoulde haue bene compelled to laye away his sword, or elles he shoulde haue had no access vnto the King. For Tyrannes will not easely admitte armed men priuately to talke with them. Furthermoze if it had bene marked that at his departure when he had killed the King, he caried not his sword with hym as he broughte it, his enterpryse woulde easely haue bene suspected. He gyrded the shorte sword vpon his ryghte thye, that he myght hand- somly take it with his left hand, which only he was able to vse.

Eglon was a very grosse man. It is no straunge thing that Princes are troubled with ouermuch fatnesse. For they liue delicately, they eate and drinke abundantly, and very litle exercise they minde and bodye. Agag the King of Amalek, is in the fyrste booke of Samuell described to haue bene suche an other.

And he sent the people awaye, namely those which broughte the gifte

D. llll.

And

Cap. 3. A Commentarie vpon the

Conspiracies
communicated to
many haue sel-
dome good suc-
cesse,

And returned from the place of grauen Images which were by Gilgall. Those men which Ehud sent away, were eyther fellows of the message or they which bare the gift that should be offered vnto the king. By good aduise he sent those away fro him, because he would talke with the king alone & without any arbiters. And he saw that whē he had finished his purpose he should by flying away a great deale better saue himself being alone, thā he shuld do if he had many ioyned with him, because then he should not haue bene carefull onely holwe to saue himself, but also how to saue others. Farther conspiracies whē they are communicated to many, haue very seldome good successe. Peradventure also he woulde endaunger but himselfe only, and not bring others into daunger with him. Wherefoze he sent them away that if any daunger shoulde peradventure happen, they might be in safetie. And the place fro whence he returned is called Peshlim of this verbe Passall, which is to cut or graue, because peradventure there were in that place eyther a quarrey of stones, or elles some Idoles of late set vp by Eglon. For Gilgal was among the Jewes counted a religious place. For the arke of the couenaut remayned there a while, and we read that the Israelites after they were passed ouer Iordane rested first in that place, and celebrated a general circumcision there. Wherefoze it might easlye come to passe & Eglon in contempte of the Hebrewes, had there placed images and idoles.

Ehud when he had there sent away his fellows, returned againe alone vnto the king, to whom he sayd, I haue a secret businesse to tell thee O Kyng. As touching the proppre signification of his talke, he tolde the truth as it was. For Dabar signifieth with the Hebrewes not only a word, but also a thing and businesse. But because Eglon was thereby deceaued, and he spake these thinges to deceaue, he made a lye also. The king when he heard thys answered, Holde thy peace. Beckening vnto him to tell it him secretly & not to speake it before all them which stood then by.

20 And Ehud came vnto him, and he sat in a sommer parler alone, and Ehud said: I haue a message vnto thee from God. And he arose out of his seate.

21 Then Ehud put forth his left hand, and toke the sword fro hys right side, and thrust it into his belly.

22 And the hilt went after the blade, and the fat closed the hilt, so & he could not draw the sword out of hys belly, & the dirte came out.

As soone as they vnderstoode the will of the king they went all forth, and Ehud was lefte alone with the king. And he satte in a colde parler, that is, as they translate it, in a sommer parler. The Hebrew interpreters do say that that place was therfoze the colder, because it had very many windowes, so that the ayre did the easlier come into it. When Ehud sayd: I haue a message vnto thee from God, he sayde not a message from Ichouah but from Elohim whiche is a general name and is also attributed vnto idoles, he lieth againe although he depart not from the signification of the wordes. He deceaued the king, and that he might the better beguile him he spake after this sorte. Eglon when mentio was made of the word of God, he rose vp & honoured it. And as it is to be thoughte, the manner was so at that time in those regions. And in oure daies we see oftentimes, that very many Princes whiche otherwyse are farre from religion, yet to sayne themselves most religious, will vncouer their hed at the name of God and of Christ, and come to holy seruices shewing greate reuerence vnto suche rites rather of hipocrisie, thereby to deceaue the common people and where as they are vngodlye they woulde bee counted verie Godlye. Thys dyd Eglon as farre as I suppose: although I knowe that the Hebrew Rabines haue far otherwise sayned. For they say that because of this hono^r which

he

he came vnto the name of God, it came afterwarde to passe, that the daughter of Eglon Ruth I say, was conuerted to the Jewische religion, and was the great grandmother of David. That is altogether a sayned thing, by cause it hath no testimony out of the holy Scriptures. And yet I speake not this, as though I knewe not that God geueth vnto men abundant benefites for obseruynge of outward discipline. Farther I marke þe Ehud got thre commodities by þe things whiche he thus did. First, as a prophet he spake vnto the king standyng, whereas otherwise he ought to haue spoken with him either prostrate or elles knelyng. Secondly the kyng myght easely be stricken to death standyng than sytting. Lastly whylest he was rysing he could not so well marke Ehud plucking out his shorte sworde. And the stroke was so vehement that not onely the sworde, but also the haft perced into the body of the kyng. Yea & the whole shapn was so closed in with fat or greace that he was not able to plucke it out. And the king was killed with the selfe same stroke. It is added also that vyte came fro him, which thinges is wont to happen to those whiche dye violently.

*Iste of the Ma
bines.*

*God bestoweth
benefites vpon
man for keepyng
outward disci-
pline.*

23 And Ehud got him out thozough the porche, and shut the dozes of the parler about him, and locked them.

24 When he was gone out, his seruantes came, and looked and beholde the dozes of the parler were locked. Then they sayd: Surely he couereth his feete in his sommer chamber.

25 And they sarped till they were ashamed, and beholde he opened not the doozes of the parler. Wherefore they toke a key and opened the. And behold their Lord was fallen down dead on the earth.

Ehud when he went forth plucked the dozes after hym and locked them: for there is a certayn kynd of lockes made in such sort, þat wout a key, or a mā plucke the dozes after him, they will straightway locke. And Augustine writyng of this place, sayth that they are in Affrike eury where called Verudata. The seruantes of Eglon when Ehud was come forth, suspected no euill, bycause as it is most lykely, he neuer changed his countenance when he went forth but went bys way sayre and softly as though he had committed no wicked aite. And they thought that the king had shut The dozes, bycause peradventure he would ease hym selfe. And that is ment by the Hebrew phrase wherin they say. He peradventure couereth his feete. For in that wyse men vsed to couer their feete with garments like a tabernacle or tente. And whylest the seruantes of Eglon sarped and waped, Ehud had good leasure to fye. But at the length when they were ashamed, they toke a key and opened the doozes. They vse in courtes to haue many keyes of the kinges chamber, whiche the chamberlaynes diligently kepe: and that is it whiche is here sayde that they toke a keye. But when they sawe their king so vily and miserably slayne, we most beleue that they were amased, so that they could not well tell what was to be doone. The thing was so straige whiche had happened. Peradventure also they a while mourned and lamented or elles prouided to save them selues by fygght, bycause they had not well kepte the kyng.

Augustine.

26 And Ehud escaped whylest they sarped, and was passed ouer the quarrey of stones (or place of grauen images) and escaped into Seirath.

27 And when he was come to hys, he blew a trompet in mount Ephraim. And the children of Israell went downe with him from the hill and he went befoze them.

28 And he sayd vnto them: Follow me, for the Lord hath deliuered you.

Cap. 3. A Commentarie vpon the

your enemies the Moabites into your handes: and they descended after him and tooke the passages of Iordan towards Moab, and suffered not a man to passe ouer.

This place Scirath, whiche is here mentioned, is not the mount Seir in Idumea, but is a place not farre from mount Ephraim, as the wordes which follow do manifestly declare. And Ehud being of a noble courage when he had slayne the tyranne, left not his matters halfe done and halfe vndone, as did Brutus and Calsius long sines when they had slayne Cesar, with a trumpet he called together the Ephraimites, whiche were men very expert in warres, and those by his authoritie he exhorted to battayle, making them assured that God had graunted him the victorie. They therfore stopped the passages of Iordane, that the Moabites, whiche were in the kingdome of the Israelites, & had gotten part of it as it is already declared, should not flye away. And lest others of the countrey of Moab should passe ouer the riuer, to succor their owne men, whiche were among the Hebzees.

29 And they slew of the Moabites the same tyme, aboute a ten thousande men whiche were all fat, and all strong men, and there escaped not a man.

30 So Moab was subdued that day vnder the hande of Israel: and the land had rest lxxx. yeares.

When they had stopped the passages of the riuer of Iordane, they slew x. thousand Moabites, whiche at that tyme dwelt in the dominions of the Hebzees. And they whiche were slayne were no common men, but in our history, are called Fatmen, not that they were fat in body but in riches. For they were riche and very strong. For by their myght and warlike power the Israelites were brought into bondage. Therfore it is very aptly a litle afterwarde sayd, that the Hebzees when they had gotten this victorie, were in quiet a very long tyme after: for the Moabites were so consumed and wone away, by reason their notable and excellent captaynes were lost, that they were not able to renew warre agayne. And therfore it is sayde, That Moab was subdued vnder the hand of Israel. Augustine diligently considering, that the land was at rest lxxx. yeares, hath learnedly noted, that the Romanes had neuer peace aboue the space of xl. yeares, whiche they had in that tyme of Numa Pompilius. For the king setting aside the study of making warre, applied himself wholly to institute ceremonies. Therfore thereby he concludeth that the affaires of the Israelites were longer in quiet, than were the affaires of the Romanes. Whomebeit the Hebzees thinke, that in that summe of lxxx. yerres are comprehended those xviii. yeares, wherein the Hebzees serued the king of Moab, that the supputation of the tyme might agree more iustly.

Augustine.
What peace of
the Romanes
was longer than
other.

There are two thinges whiche are to be marked in this place. First the Ehud was of a valiant, strong, & noble courage, whereunto was adioyned a singular prudence. And of those giftes, faith was the principall foundation, for vnlesse he had effectually beleued god when he called him & also his promise he wold neuer haue put his life & goods into so great iopardies. The second thing is, that all thinges had therfore happy successe, because god neuer faileth those, whiche obey him, following their vocation, whereby they feeble that by him they are called to accomplish any thing.

But now that we haue briefly touched the history, there are three places or questions offered vnto vs whiche may not by any meanes be left vnspoke of. For so much as Ehud (as we haue heard) vsed guile, & the euill guile, made also a lye, & dyed by his sword agaynst his prince, we thinke it is worthy to be declared, whether it be lawfull for Christia & godly men to vse guile. Secondly whether it be lawfull to lye, lastly, whether the subiectes may innade their prince for any cause.

Of Guile.

Polwe

Now let vs speake of the first. That whiche the Latines call Dolus (that is guile) the Grecians call *Seioy*, so that their word and the Latins, is almost all one. But the Hebrewes call it *Mirmah* or *Rimiah*. When we must know this, that guile is there used, where any thing is secret whiche is hiden, for the guile should appeare or easily be sente. Wherefore Plautus sayd, Whiles vntill they be covered by craft, they are no guiled. Thus much as touching the name: now let vs come to the definition.

Plautus.

The definition of guile.

Seruius.

Labeo.

Labeo.

Labeo.

Another definition of guile, Vlpianus.

Labeo.

Labeo.

Augustine preached vnto the people in Latine.

Augustine preached vnto the people in Latine.

Augustine preached vnto the people in Latine.

Inter.

In the digestes de dolo malo lege. i. Seruius an interpretor of the lawe hath thus defined euill guile, namely to be a subtil invention or deuise so to deceaue another by, when as one thing is done and an other thing dissembled. Wherefore forertherfore is guile, there is deceate by some dissimulation. It is true in debe of Labeo an interpretor of the lawe reposed the definitio which Seruius brought and that by two argumentes. Whereof the one is, that some may be beguiled without dissimulation or euill guile. Wherefore the definition is moze strait and narrowe than that whiche is defined, whiche all men counte to be an error. The other argument is, because some sometimes by dissimulation do saue and defend their owne, or elles other mens thinges, and yet thereby they beguile no man, neither do they hurte any man. Wherefore the definition is applyed vnto other thinges besides that whiche is defined: whiche thing also is reposed as a faulte. Wherefore he thus defineth it: Thoughty guile, is all craft, disceate and subtilty inuented to beguile, delude, and deceaue an other. Vlpianus in the same place alloweth the opinion of Labeo. Saying the authozite of suche a man would say that Labeo did not well in removing dissimulation from the definitio of deceate. And as touching the first argument whiche he hath, I deny, namely that men may be beguiled without dissimulation, because vntill they should be together without sence, they would not easily, be brought to receaue & to take that which they manifestly see will be hurtfull vnto them. Wherefore it is necessary, that there be some shew and colour added, whiche can by no meanes be done without dissimulation. When, where as he saith that there are very many, whiche by dissimulation may defend either their owne thinges or elles thinges of other mens: I graunt that, but yet I affirme that the same is guile, although it be good guile, as afterward we shal moze manifestly shew. Wherefore as touching the definition of guile, it cometh that sayning or dissimulation is alwayes to be added. And so that cause the definitio of Seruius pleaseth me better, which definition so all that I my selfe would rather apply vnto guile in generall, than vnto euill guile as he did. Being by this meanes peraduenture moued, because he understode by deceate that deceate whiche should be hurtfull.

Cicero in his first booke of offices affirmeth that dissimulation or sayning, pertaineth chiefly vnto the nature of guile. For he writeth that Aquilius his familiar frende being demaunded what guile was, he answered, where one thing is doone and an other thing dissembled. To this sentence Augustine assenteth, who (in his 7. treatise vpon John expounding these wordes whiche Christ pronounced of Nathaniel, Beholde a true Israelite in whos is no guile) sayth: For it is guile, whos one thing is done and an other thing sayned, &c. And so speake this by the waye, by this place is easily gathered, that Augustine preached his Sermons vnto the people in Latine, because the Affricans used the Romane tongue, although it were not pure, but in some wordes corrupt. For there Augustine admonished the people, that Dolus which is guile, signified not Dolor that is pain as many corruptly spake, saying Dolus illu torquet, that is as they meant. He is troubled with payne, when as in that place they should haue said Dolor and not Dolus: to take away therfore the ambiguity of the word, he sayeth, that Dolus whiche is guile, signifieth sayning and dissimulation. And in the same place, to expresse what sayning beguiling signifieth, he addeth, that it cometh of double blenese of the hearte. He allegeth the 12. psalme, where when mention is made of guilefull men, David sayth that they speake in part and in parts, that is, as he

Interpreters, in one parte of their heart they do se the truth, & percerue how the thing is: & in the other part they go about dissimulation & disceate. But in those (saith he) is no guile, which whē they se themselves to be sinners, do also count the felure for such, nether do they dissemble or boast of righteousness, as did the Pharisee, whē he prayed by the publican, & as other hypocrites also do. Nathaniel had no guile in him, but not vniuersally, because every mā is a lyer: & as Paul writeth, there dwelleth no good thing in our flesh, for as much as it is altogether guilefull and disceatfull. It could be onely said of Christ in vniuersall, that he wanted guile. But yet they are blessed (as David sayth) to whom the Lord hath not imputed sinne, and in whose spirit there is no guile. For in as much as they are regenerate especially as touching the spirit, that whiche they do they do it by rightly and simply: and such a one Christ affirmeth Nathaniell to haue ben.

Augustine.

The same Augustine in the 10 Tome and his booke of 50. Homilies the first Homely, expoundeth this, whiche is writte in the 33. Psalm of David what mā is he, which would lyue, & loneth to se good dayes. He prayne thy tongue frō euil, and thy lippes that they speake no guile, then (saith he) it is guile, when nothing is close and secret in the heart, and an other thing is expressed, either in word or dede, as flatterers vse to do, which cometh some contrary to what they think, thereby either to eat their meat & drinke their drinke, or els to get some other benefite at their hands. And what whiche he speaketh of flatterers, may also be vnderstand of enemies & backbiters. But what it is conuenient men should do what they do by right & simply, & very Cethikes saw. Wherefore Achilles in Homere saith, that he doth no lesse than death, hate those men, which speake other wise than they thinke. Wherefore we thinke what it is not ill to affirme, a subtile inuention to deceaue a mā, when as one thing is done and an other thyng dissembled is set for the generall worde in the definition of guile.

Good guile & euill guile.

But after this definition we must adde a distinction. For some guile is good & other some is euill, we call what good, which is not hurtfull: & when as it hurteth none, but sometimes profiteth. But euill guile is hurtful, & ever hurteth some body. These meynes may easely be made playne by exāples. Purces do continually vse good guile toward their litle ones, thereby to please & fill the: for with them they dissemble & saye very many thinges. Whilist also do after the same sorte deceaue them who are sicke, because they would heale them. Peter and Chrysostome in his first booke de Sacerdotio, writeth, what a certayne Whilistia so beguiled one who was sicke of an age, in drinking water, he thought he dronke wine. And the same

Chrysostome.

Chrysostome in the same place affirmeth, what he himselfe vied a good guile, to beguile Basilus to take vpon him a bishopricke, whē what he in no case was minded that way, David by this kind of guile, escaped the bandes of the king of the Philistias. For he sayned himself to be a foole, so what the king iudged him vnworthy to be punished. But of euill guile there are very many exāples in the holy scriptures amongst which this act of Ehud which we now interpret, is one. And what is an other also which the Hebrewes did, whē they went forth of Egypt, who desired to bozow both of their neighbours & also of their frendes precious garmētes, gold & silver vessels, & yet they minded utterly to robbe the of the. To this kind also belongeth, that whiche Chusai the Arachite did in deceauing Absolon. This acte also may be counted among them, which Simeon and Leui perpetrated against Emor & the Sichemites. I could bring a great many more exāples, if I would needesse stande longe about a thing that is manifest.

Euill guile is not prohibited to be vied against enemies

Of the first kind of guile, which is called good & vnhurtful, no mā wil cōfesse, but what it is lawfull to vse it. But of the other kind there is a doubt. Whereof if I shuld be demāded, I wold thinke this answer shuld be made. That we may not vse euill guile wyth our frendes, but agaynst our enemies it is not prohibited, because it is as it were armoz. Wherefore if it be lawfull to make warres against the iustly, with armoz, guiles also are to be admitted according to the saying of the Poete: Whether it be guile or power, who can require in an enemy?

How.

Howbeit this is to be obserued, that we speake only of those enemyes which either God him selfe, or the publique wealth, or a iust Magistrate declareth to be enemyes, and not those which every private man hateth. Farther I doubt not, but that saying it is lawfull to repell violence by violence, when there is no other waye to escape, it is also lawfull to vse guiles agaynst guiles. For he which repelleth violence by violence, as the lawes do permitte, the same man is not to be counted a private man, for as muche as he is armed by the Magistrate. Wherefore it is manifest that he doth not agaynst the lawe, but with the lawe. So he that is suddenly oppressed, may lawfully escape by euill guile if he can. Moreover the Scriptures teach that this kinde of guile is iust. For Ierome sayth, and it is written in the decrees. 22. question 2. chap: Vilem. That Iehu did very well dissemble with the Priestes of Baal, because he could not haue kyled them all, if he had begon to put some of them to death. Wherefore to gather them all together, he sayned hymselfe to be much more studious to worship Baal than was Achab, and by that meane he slewe every one of them.

Who bee the true enemyes.

But this is to be taken heede of, that they which are so destroyed by guile, be very worthy of punishment, & as they are commonly called, notorious offenders, such as can not be punished by any ordinary waye. For which cause the kyng of Demarke of some is comended, which by guile destroyed most pernicious thienes, which he could not take. For he sayned a warre, and made a proclamation that as many as would come should receaue wages of hym, and promised vnto the thienes pardon for their wicked actes which they had hitherto committed. But (as I shall afterwarde declare) do not so fully allowe such examples.

An acte of the kyng of Denmark.

Augustine (as it is found in the 14. question the 5. chap: Dixit, & it is a place in his questions vpon Exodus) sheweth that the Israelites deceaued the Egyptians, when they borrowed of the golden & silver vessels, & yet it was not to be counted a fault in the, when as for al y no man doubted, but y they did it by euill guile. The same 23. question. 2. Dominus which is take out of his questions vpon y booke of Iosua, rebearseth y place, wherein it is sayd y God commaunded the Hebrewes, to fight agaynst the cite of Hay by wiles, which without doubt belong to guile. Ierome vpon the 17. chap: of Ezechiel, bringeth this sentence as a wooldy sentece: namely, VWhether it be guile or power, who can require in an enemy?

Augustine.

Ierome.

Howbeit he assenteth vnto it, although he denieth y it can take place where an othe is made. But I will frayt waye expounde that. Ambrose in the 14. question the 4. per mitteth guile, or gainfull fraud agaynst enemies, & after this manner he interpreteth a place of Deut: where God gaue the Jewes liberty to put their money to vsury to straungers, namely, y where the warre is iust, there also may vsury take place. For the goods of the enemies are ours, & they may lawfully be taken away from them. And it skill not, which er it be done either by violence or by guile. There are which alledge that which is written in the latter Epistle to y Corinthians the 11. chap: When I was crafty, I tooke you by guile. But y maketh nothing to the purpose, when as it is most manifest y he spake it in mockage. For he sayned, as though he had receaued money of the Corinthians by other me, which by himself he refused to receaue, which thing he strait way putteth away. But those examples which we brought first, do manifestly proue that it is lawfull to vse guile, yea & euill guile agaynst enemyes, namely in keeping close our Counsels & doinges, & vsyng coniozable woordes & woordes. Neither do y ciuill lawes other wise teach. In y Code de comerciis et mercatoribus Lege. Non solu. The empero decreed not only y no gold should be caried vnto y barbarous nations y were enemies of y pub. wealth, but also y by subtille guile or pollicy y gold which they had, should be taken fro the. Also in y digestes de capitulis postliminio reuerfis. Lege. Nihil interest, it is decreed, y captiues howe soeuer they returned into their countrey againe, should recouer agayne their owne goods, & old state, whether they were sent home againe, or whether they escaped by violence, or by guile. Although afterwarde in Lege postliminio Paragrapho cap.

Ambrose.

The ciuill lawes permitte guile agaynst enemyes.

Cap.3.

A Commentarie vpon the

Attilius Regu-
lus.

A diuifio of an
other.

Kimhi.

Jerome.

Ambrose.

Augustine.

In othe for an
vniuersal thing is
to be broken.

The Pope dif-
solued both law
full & vnlawful

3 maner of
the courts of
Rome.

Jerome.

tuais, & be restrained, if & they retorne to a mind to tary at home. For if they shuld
either promise or sweare vnto their enemies to retorne, they should not enioy
right of returnig. Wherefore Attilius Regulus enioyed not & benefit, because he was
set to Rome to perswade & senate for & chaging of captiues. Wherefore for as much
as he promised & was minded to retorne, he might not by & laues vse euill guile.
By this also appeareth & to be true, whiche a litle before was said, namely &
we may not vse euill guile against our enemy, if ther be an othe made. And & this
may the playnlyer be vnderstand, we must deuise an othe as & lawyers do, so &
one kinde of othe is called an approuing or an affirming of a thing, & an other a
promising of a thing, or as thei speake, & one assertiue, & & other promissory. For
whē we sweare, either we do affirme or els deny some thing to be or to haue ben,
whiche we ought neuer to do with euill guile, if we adde therunto an othe. Or els
we promise to performe something, & for as much as faith is to be kept eue with
our enemy, & same faith also is not to be broken with euill guile. Wherefore if
those things which we haue sworn vnto our enemy to kepe & obserue, are tem-
poral goods, as are money, honours, & life of the body, for these things the name
of God is not to be prophaned. Wherefore David in his .15. Psal. sayth: He & swea-
reth to do euill, & changeth not. In Hebrew it is thus written Nischoah Leharah
Velo Iamid, which place I know Kimhi expoundeth of those, which be vnto
God certaine hard & sharpe things, which serue to & subduing of the fleshe, ney-
ther do they change & which they haue promised. But & sentence me thinketh se-
meth more simple, if it haue a larger sense, namely of an othe hurtful vnto vs,
whiche a good & godly man will not abrogate or change. Jerome also vpon Eze-
chiel the 17. chap. is of this opinion. For there & Lord sayth & he was very angry
against Zedechias, because he had broken & othe which he had made vnto Nebu-
chad-nezar king of Babilon. For although the Jewes counted him as an enemy,
yet as Jerome teacheth, he was now as a frende, when he had by an othe promi-
sed his faith vnto Zedechias. For & belongeth vnto friends one to be faithful vnto
the other. Wherefore euill guile ought there to take no place. And Augustine in &
33. questio .1. chap. Noli existimare, writting vnto Bonifacius admonisheth him to
kepe faith w his enemy also. Ambrose also in & 22. questio & 4. chap. Innocens, ad-
monisheth the same, & hath & same sentence in his booke de officiis, where he bring-
geth the example of Iosua toward the Gabaonites, who although he might haue
made the othe hayde & of no force, yet by & consent of God he caused it to be kept
& ratified. Neither suffered he the Gabaonites to be slayne, who for all & he puni-
shed because of & guile which they vsed. But if & othe be geue for an vniuersal or vn-
godly thing, it is vnto be made frustrate, because an othe ought not to be a
bond of iniquitie. Neither is it of necessitie, & a man to be absolved of these kindes
othes should come before some iudge. Which I therefore speake, because & Pope
claimeth this right vnto himself, namely to release a bond in such kind of othes,
& as they commonly say, to dispense with them, as it appeareth in the 15. question
the 6. wher Nicholas absolueth one Treuerensis. And his pride & arrogancy hath
so farre now at the length extended his right or power, that he absolueth not
onely vnlawful othes, but he abrogateth also full and lawful othes when it se-
meth good vnto himselfe. So Zacharias losed the frenche men of an othe, where-
in they were bound vnto their kyng, and he put the kyng from his kyngdome,
and substituted Peppine in his place. But that is not to be meruayled at, when
as it is a common saying in the courts of Rome at this daye: Non est regum &
magnarū, sed mercatorum stare iuramentis, that is: It is not mete for kynges
and noble men, but for merchantes to keepe their othes.
Wherefore if there be an othe made, guile is not to be vsed vnles per-
aduenture the one partye to whom the othe is made, shall go from the condi-
cions and covenantes, for then the common saying must take place, he that
breaketh faith, let faith also be broken vnto him. Wherefore Jerome ad Nepotianū

comment.

commendeth this saying of Domitius & Orato vnto Phillip, when thou countest not me for a senator, I also wil not count thee for a Consul. But hereof we haue testimonies also in the holy scriptures: for Paul in his first to the Corinth: the. 7. chap: writeth, as touching faith geue in matrimony, If he vnfaithfull depart let him depart. A brother or a sister is not in subiection vnto such, but God hath called vs in peace. And those thinges which are alledged of an othe, I vnderstand also to be of the same efficacy in promises & covenants. In which promises & covenants I affirme, & godly & iust men ought both to vse playne & simple wordes, & also faithfully to fulfil them. Wherefore the Thracians are iustly & worthily condemned who after their truce was made for 30. dayes, robbed & spoiled by night, excusing their act, for their truce was made for a day & not for a night. Neither did the legat of the Romaines rightly, yea he sophistically dealt with Antiochus, who when he had decreed that the one halfe of the ships should be geuen vnto the Romaines & the other halfe to the kyng, commaunded them al to be deuised & cut in sonder in very dede. But he did it that the kyng should be utterly destitute of a warrelike pay. Wherefore what soeuer a godly man shall promise, he ought before deeply to weygh with hym selfe, whether he be able to stande by his wordes and promises. Wherefore Ierome hath written vnto Celantia: thinges whiche thou shalt say, thinke thou swearest them.

Sophistical reasons of the Thracians.

The guile of the Legate of the Romaines against Antiochus.

Ierome.

As touching the ende of the question, & the thing may be the more manifest, ther remaine certain doubts to be examined. First if a man promise vnto any man armour and helpe & that for the space of thre or foure yeares: & in the meane tyme the same man becomeeth a traitor to his contrey, & maketh warre against it, whether in this case he ought to performe his sayth, or els by euill guile to breake it: I answer, & neither in this case, nor in the like, is faith to be kept: because, as it is manifest, a mischieuous acte hapeneth in the meane tyme whiche with a safe conscience we may not helpe. Neither in very dede is either euill guile or els perjury here committed. For he which hath swoyne is not changed, but he to whom the othe was made. For othes can plucke away or diminish nothing of those bondes whiche went before. Wherefore for as much as euery man is bound vnto the word of god & to the health of his countrey, before he sweareth any thing, & which is after ward swoyne must be vnderstand, so the first bondes be kept vnbroken. The same also must take place in vowes whiche are vowed. For although a man vow sole life, for so much as he before was bound vnto the word of God, wherein it is sayd, & it is better to mary than to burne, & they which can not kepe the selues shall let the mary: he doth not by reason of the vow which followed take away the first bond. Wherefore if he can not kepe hym selfe chaste, or if he burne, he ought by the commaundement of God to mary: neither can any othe or vow that is made, take away the power & strength of the commaundement of God.

When an othe is made of a lawfull othe an vnlawfull othe is not to be kept.

An othe dissolved not for a new bond.

No othe or vow taketh away the bond vnto the commaundements of God.

There ariseth also an other doubt, of those princes, which haue geue their publique faith or safeconduit vnto heretikes for to come vnto Counsels or to communications, whether they ought to stande by their promise, or violating they othe to kepe still the heretikes and to punish them. I answer, that they ought to kepe whole and pure the promise made vnto them.

Whether faith is to be kept with heretikes

But say they, we will easily graunt & it is then sinne, when we geue promise of a naughty thing. But if after we haue promised, we kepe & stand to our promises, we fall into an other grieuous sinne. For we execute not the office committed vnto vs, neither do we obey God. For it is our part according as God hath commaunded, to punish and to correct heretikes, that they waite not the Church, and go forthwarde to defende they pestiferous doctrine amonge the godly. Neither doth any man doubt but that Magistrates ought to defende the Churches. Wherefore it seemeth that heretikes are not to be let go, when we haue them once in our handes. I answer, that this in dede is the office of kynges, to punish and to correct heretikes, but yet then when they haue them in their power.

Al.

But

Cap. 3. A Commentary vpon the

They which
by a sauecon-
duct come vnto
kings & prin-
ces, are not in
their power.
Of Iehu.

But if they geue them a saueconduct to come vnto them, then can they not say that they haue them in their power. For they came vnder a promise & an othe to go & come harmeles, other wise they would not haue come. Wherefore if there be a promise made, it is not lawfull to breake it. And this is the cause, why I before said, y^e I caⁿ not easily allow y^e acte of the king of Denmarke. Neither also would I iudge Iehu to be without sinne, when he promised y^e he would worship Baal, thereby to get all Baalites together: except peradventure he manifestly knew, that he was by God stirred vp to do it. But of this thing we will intreat in an other place. Let them therefore, which defend the Counsaile of Constantia, cease to lay for their pretence, that Iohn Husse with a safe conscience could not be let go, because it is a heinous sinne in all princes, if they suffer heretikes to wandre at liberty: for by cause that which they say is so far forth true, as they shalbe in their power. But when they come by a saueconducte geuen them, then are they at liberty, neither are they sayd to be in the power of the princes, which call them.

Whether faith
is to be kepte
with thieues.

Other are in doubt, whether it be lawfull to vse euill guile against thieues, so that if a man fall into their bandes, & by an othe be made vnto them, is suffered to go home vpon this condicion, there to gather money to redeme himselfe, whether (I say) he ought to returne vnto the with the money, or wout it, if he caⁿ not get it, as he hoped to haue done, especially if in a manner he were assured, either to liue in perpetual seruitude, or els to be put to a most cruel death. I aunswere, that in my iudgemēt he ought to returne vnto them, for as much as in this case there is no daunger, but as touching goods of this world, of money (I say) liberty, & life of the body, which are not so muche to be esteemed, that for their sakes an othe, or the name of God should be violated. And the verse of Dauid before brought serueth aptly for this purpose. And this sentence is so firme & true that euen an Ethnike, Marcus Attilius Regulus I say, knew it. For he returned to Carthago, where he knew certaynly, that either he should be in perpetual seruitude, or els lose his life, and that most cruelly. Neither canst thou aunswere me, that he did foolishly therein: by cause the Romayne lawes (as we haue before said) de captiuis, & postliminio reuersis, in lege postliminiū Paragrapho Captiuus, do ordeyne and holpy decree that he should not be counted to enioy the benefite of the law postliminius, which had promised to returne agayn. Farther the nature of man perswadeth the selfe same thing, for it is ciuile & delighteth in society.

Attilius Regu-
lus.

Wherefore next to God and godlines towarde him, there is nothing which ought more to esteeme, then sayth, which wonderfully helpeth humane fellowship. For without it, it is not possible for men to liue together. Farther who will not say, that the money, liberty, and life of one man is rather to be lost, then the money, liberties, and liues of innumerable men: For if couenantes and promises be not kept with those thieues, henceforth they will geue credet to no man that they shall take, they would sende home none to their owne house to fetch their raunsome, but as many as they take, either they will kill them, or els kepe them with them in miserable and perpetuall bondage.

How it is law-
full to sweare
certain thyngs
vniuersally.

Lastly, this I thinke good to admonishe you of, that in othes let signes of vniuersality trouble no man. As, if a man promise and sweare vnto his frende that he will be an helper vnto him in all thynges, or if a man promise and sweare vnto a scoole or vnto the Church, that he will do and obserue all thynges which it shall decree. For all suche kynde of speeches (as it appeareth by that which we haue sayde) are to be vnderstande, so that the obedience of the wordes of God be kepte. And vndoubtedly, althoughe that clause be by the nature of an other vnderstand alwayes to be added, yet for al y^e it is the duty of godly mē to expresse it, when they are receaued into any vniuersity, College, office, corporation, or fellowship, & according to the custome are compelled to sweare for to obserue statutes, lawes & decrees. It is the sure way (I say) by expresse wordes to testifie, y^e they will obserue all those thyngs, vnles they shal finde y^e any of y^e same ar against the

þ word of god. And as touching this matter I thinke I haue spokē sufficiēt now. Our Ehud vsed euill guile. I graunt: but yet agaynst hys enemy. Neither doth the scripture make mencion of any othe that was made betwene him & Eglon þ kyng. And though there had ben an othe, yet he had ben quitte of it, for as much as þ stirring by of god, wherby god opened vnto him his will, had abrogated it.

Of Truth and of a Lye.

Now resteth to intreate of the second question, namely. Whether it be lawfull for a good & godly mā to lye. But first befoze I entreat of a lye. I thinke it good somwhat to speake of truth, whiche vndoubtedly is an excellent vertue.

Of Truth.

Truth (as saith Tullius de Inuentione) is, wherby things which are, whiche haue ben, & which shalbe are spoken vnaltered. Wherin we first note, that it consisteth in wordes: for (saith he) they are spokē, not þ I am ignorant, þ both dumbe men, & also othe mē speake somtime by signes, but bycause (as saith Augustine in his first booke de doctrina Christiana) wordes among other signes are þ principall & most playne. Farther we are hereby taught, that truth is not only to be considered as touching one difference of time, but as concerning thye differēces, for he saith, both those things which are, and whiche haue ben, & which shalbe.

Tullius.

Augustine.

These things vndoubtedly are then spoken truly, when they are set forth vnaltered, that is, euen as they are, & by speaking made neither moze ample nor lesse than they are. This selfe same thing almost hath Augustine sayd in his booke de vera Religione chap: 36. where he writeth, that the truth is, wherby þ whiche is,

Augustine.

is signified. And it is a vertue bycause by it men are made prone & redy to speake that which is true. The generall word of it is equalitie, wherunto is ioyned in steade of difference, this voyce, namely, of wordes, to the things which are signified. And as it is well known of all men, all vertues leuel vnto the middell, & flye fro extremities. Wherfoze in kinde of speches thou shalt find two faultes, namely if thou shalt speake moze than the thing is, or els lesse than the thing is.

Truth is a vertue.

The generall of vertue is equalitie.

Two faultes in speches.

Neither is vertue content with the middell only: for we must adde also circumstances, which vse continually to folloze it. Wherfoze the truth is not alway to be spokē to euery man, neither at all times, nor yet of euery thing, & yet we must not lye: but it is wisdom sometimes to kepe close those things which we wil not for iust occasiō haue knowen. He which should baunt abroad euery where & vnto all mē the gifts of God geuen him, he should be counted foolish & vnwise: as contrary, he which should boast of a crime, wherinto by humane weaknesse he hath fallen, should rightly, and worthely be reponed. Truth therfoze requirith this, that those things which we haue within vs as touching our sense or wil, be signified of vs as it is, prudētly & rarely. Farther the vertue, wherof we speake, hath chiefly simplicitie ioyned vnto it, & it is very much contrary vnto doublenesse. Besides this it is a part of iustice. For it redzeth vnto things their wordes and to a neighbour the truth which of duty longeth vnto him, without whiche truth humane fellowship can not consist. For if a mā should continually suspect him selfe to be deceaued by any man, he would neuer beleue him in any thyng. Wherby amongst men al trades and societies perishe. Aristotle in his Ethikes affirmeth that truth declineth sometimes to defection: especially when any man speaketh of himselfe. For þ wisdom requirith, that a mā boast not of himselfe. Wherfoze Paul in his second Epistle to the Corinthians the 12: chap. writeth: If I will boast of my selfe, I shall not be vnwise: but I will not, any man shoulde thinke of me, moze than he seeth in me, or that he heareth of me. By these wordes, he reponeth those as foolish and vnwise whiche do boast & gloze euen of those good things which they haue. And he saith that he wil abstaine from it. Neither (sayth he) do I require, þ any mā should thinke moze of me, thā he either seeth in me or heareth of me. Neither is he which speaketh lesse of him selfe than it is, straightway to be accused as a lye. For þ whiche is moze cōprehēder and

What truth requirith.

Aristotle.

Whē an Irope is lawfull.

He which speareth lesse of himselfe than it is, speeth not.

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We may not
lye for humil-
ties sake.

containeth in it selfe y^e which is lesse. For whosoener hath fifty, he may say truly y^e he hath twenty, althoughe he speaketh not all that he hath. Whobest the same man, if he should affirme that he had but onely. xx. or els should deny that he had any thing, without doubt he should lye: which is not to be committed, either for modesty sake, or els (as they say) because of humilitie.

And as for testimonies of the holy scriptures which do stirre vs vp to speake y^e truth, I could vndoubtedly bring a great many: but a few shal suffice. It is writ ten in y^e 1. commaundements: Thou shalt not beare false witness, which comma- dement is not only to be obserued in iudgement, but in all things whiche in our talke we testifie to be either true or false. Farther, God is set before vs of vs to be followed, whom the scriptures certy where pronounce to be true. Wherfore we also ought to be most seruent louers of the truth. And for that cause in Exo- dus the 18. chap: Iethro counselled Moyses, y^e he should make rulers ouer y^e people, such men as feared god, strong men, louers of the truth, & which hated conetous- nesse. David saith also: Behold thou hast loued truth, & therfore thou hast made me to vnderstand wisdom in the inward & secret partes of my minde. These wordes sufficiently declare, y^e we are for y^e cause taught of god both by inward inspiration, & also by outward doctrine: because he is a lover of the truth, neither doth he easely suffice, y^e his chyliden should either erre, or be deceaued by lies. In Zacharie the viii. chap. it is writte: Speake ye the truth eury man to his neygh- bour, which selfe same sentence Paul bleseth to the Ephelians & he commaundeth the same vnto the Collos. But to y^e Corinth, the latter Epistle he saith, of himselfe & of the other Apostles, y^e they ca haue nothing against y^e truth. Yea & the Scribes & Phariseys beyng ioynd with the Herodians, after this sorte flattered Chyist, whom they went about to entrappe in his speache. Master, we know y^e thou ac- ceptest no persons, yea thou teachest y^e way of god in truth. Hereby they declared y^e it is a singular vertue for a noble & notable ma, to pferre the truth before all things. But let these testimonies of the holy scriptures be sufficient at this time.

Of a lye.
Augustine.

Now resteth to intreat of a lye. Augustine (who wrot of it to Coscius) affirmeth a lye to be a false significatio of a word. And vndoubtedly all those things which before are declared of truth, we may by the contrariety affirme of this vice. And chiefly it is contrary to y^e that Marcus Tullius affirmed of truth, namely that to be truth, wherby things which are, which haue ben, & which shalbe, are spokē vn- altered. And a lye is y^e, wherby is y^e signified which is not: for Augustine contrary wise spake of y^e truth. This vice is so hurtful, y^e it maketh a ma which is infected with it, to reioyce & to be glad in false things. The generall word of truth was equalitie, & of the vice y^e generall word shalbe inequality. And as y^e vertue was very nye ioynd w simplicity: so belögeth a lye to doublenes. Truth is a part of iustice. But a lye is a part of iniustice. By truth humane fellowship is kept, but by a lye it is hurte & ouerthrowen. But to returne to Augustine who writeth, y^e he is sayd to lye, which w a wil to deceaue speaketh y^e which is false, & that to lye is nothing els, than to speake against the minde: for liers speake otherwise than they haue in their heart. But the desire to deceaue, is vtterly against iustice, lone & amitie, which we mutually owe one vnto an other. There are thre things ther- fore in a lye: first to speake that which is false: secondly his will in speaking: and thirde a desire to deceaue. The first parte longeth to the matter of a lye: the o- ther two partes pertaine vnto the forme.

In equalityte
the generall
worde of a lye.

Augustine.

Three things
ioynd with a
lye.

A diuision of a
lye.

Aristotle.

A lye is deuised into a Seruiceable lye, a Sportfull lye, & a Pernicious lye. And this deuision commeth of no other thynge but of the effectes, or of the endes. For this is euermore true, that the endes them selues, may haue the nature both of the cause and of the effecte. For lies do either profite, or deleyte, or elles hurte. The ende of a pernicious lye, is to hurte. The ende of a Sportfull lye is to deleyte: and the ende of a Seruiceable lye is to profite. But Aristotle, because in vertue he chiefly considereth the meane, therfore if in speaking thou excede

excede that meane, he calleth that boasting: but if thou want of the meane, he nameth it Irony. And in that euyl this is chiefly hurtful, because an euyl & false opinion is ingendred in the minde of our neighbour. For the which cause the same Aristotle seemeth to haue sayd wel, that a lye is both euyl, and also it is to be auoyded. Which thing we may also proue by testimonies of the holy Scriptures. For to this belong al those thinges which we before brought to styre vs vp to speake the truth. And very many places are here and there set forth, which detest lyes. Dauid saith: Thou wilt destroy al those which speake lyes. Ther are reasons also which persuaue vs the same: whereof one is, in a lye is an abuse of signes. And so: as muche as it is not lawfull to abuse the giftes of God, a lye is vnderstand also to be prohibited. Farther (as it is before said) a lye is contrarie vnto humane fellowship, for in lying the conceauinges of the minde ar not communicated vnto our brethren, but lyes. Wherefore seeing man is by nature made vnto fellowship, and communication, when he speaketh false thinges, he fygheteth with his own nature. And as Augustine saith: Faith is therein hurt, for he which heareth, beleueth those thinges which are spoken. Wherefore that sayth, which he geueth vnto other mens wordes, is made frustrate. And so great a thing cannot be hurt without blame. And lastly every man by lying, leseth his own credite: for being taken in a lye, he shal ever after be suspected. Wherefore though he would, he shall not bee able by admonition or correction to helpe his neighbour. For the which cause the fault which is in a lye, pertaineth not onely to the hurt and losse of our neighbour, but it is in it by the general word, as by that which we haue already said manifestly appeareth. But among lies, that lye seemeth to be most grievous, which is committed in religion, doctrine, and godlynes, because in no other thing can guile be moze hurtful & pernicious. For there if we shal erre, we are thrust from the eternal felicity. Wherefore Augustine in his Encheridion the .18. chap. hath very wel wyrtten that they in dede doo synne grievously, which deceaue traueling men, shewing them a contrary way: but they are much moze detestable, which as touching godlynes by lying, doo bying men into errors.

If the thre kinde of lyes should be compared together, I meane a pernicious lye, a sportefull lye, and a seruicable lye: A pernicious lye, should rightfully be counted moze detestable, because in it are two euyls. One is the abuse of signes: the other is, the hurt of our neighbour. And that both of the minde which deceiveth (which thing is common vnto all lyes) and also of the thing which is lost. But as for other lyes, although they are not without fault, yet is that not a litle diminished by the good added vnto it, either of delectation, or of helpe. And in dede a sportefull lye, hath in it but a smal and slender nature of a lye: for as much as the falsehood is straightway sounde out, neither can it be long hydden from the hearers. Men Augustine wyrteth that such lyes are not to be counted for lyes. But as touching a seruicable lye, the iudgement of it is moze darke & hard. For some deny it to be synne: for they say it hath a consideration to thys, to helpe our neighbour, whom we ought in wordes and dedes to relieue as much as we can. Wherefore they thinke, that thereby commeth no abuse of signes, for as much as al our thinges ought to haue a respect to the commodity of our brethren. Neither do they thinke that in it is synne committed against humane society, when as by this kinde of lye men are made safe, and kept harmlesse. Farther, they say, that where as it is in the holy scriptures wyrtten, that God wyll destroy al those which speake lyes: the same is not to be vnderstand of every kind of lye, but onely of a pernicious lye. Which thing Augustine also in his Encheridion the .18. chap. seemeth to graunt. They bying also the opinion of Plato in his booke de Repub. who although he feared away the people from lyes, yet he gaue Magistrates libertie to lye, especiall in making of lawes. But in my iudgement, the thing is farre other wyse, neither wyl I easily graunt that a seruicable

A lye is both euyl and also to be auoyded.

In a lye is an abuse of signes.

Augustine.

What kinde of lye is most grievous.

Augustine.

Two euyls in a pernicious lye

A sportefull lye.

Augustine.

Whether a seruicable lye bee synne.

Plato.

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Aristotle.

seruiceable lye wanteth the abuse of signes . For Aristotle in his booke *ἡθικὰ* defining woordes, saith that they are notes of those affections which we haue in our minde. Wherby it followeth, that al they abuse woordes, which signify thinges to be otherwise, than they thinke in their minde. Farther, that reason which they bring of loue, is a very weake reason. For we ought to help our neighbours: but yet by iust and honest meanes, otherwise let vs permit thefts, to be bestowed in almes geuing . But the sentence of the Apostle must abyde firme and stable, which is, that euil thinges must not be done, that therby good thinges may come to passe. Neither do I thinke that true, that by those kinde of lyes humane fellowship is not hurt, soz as much as take awaye sayth, and there remaineth almost no trafficke among men.

I contented betwene Jerome & Augustine.

An error of Plato.

But as touching that sentence of the holy scriptures, wherein it is said: Thou shalt destroy al them that speake lyes . We graunt with Augustine, that that sentence is not vniuersally spoken, soz as long as the power and coniuention of faith abideth with Christ, so long those sinnes ar not imputed, which otherwise of their own nature should be our destruction. And this also will easily graunt of seruiceable and sportful lyes, bicause they are not so much against charity, as are pernicious lyes. But this can no man deny, that in making a lye, we doo against faith. And we must vterly graunt, that he which lyeth, looseth thereby his own credite, so that afterward he cannot profitably admonishe, reprove, or with fruite geue counsel, as he ought to do. For they which beare him, will easily beleue that he seruiceably lyeth, to cal them againe into the way, & not that the thing is so in very dede. This vndoubtedly was the cause that Augustine was against Ierome, who in a maner attributed a seruiceable lye vnto the holy scriptures. If this (saith he) should be so, the authozity of the holy scriptures wold soone decay. For the Readers of them wold easily say, that the thing is not so, but that it is so wytten, to keepe men in doing their duty. Neither ought the authozity of Plato much to mone vs, soz as much as in that place he very much erred, graunting that in thinges pertayning vnto God, they might sayne fables, which might serue to bring forth and keepe a good opinion of them. Without doubt we may not mocke in matters touching God. Farther, the law of God is equal, and the selfe same, as it wyl not haue the people to lye: so also it prohibi- teth the same vnto the Magistrates.

Who are to bee excused of a lie.

Holwebeit they cannot iustly be accused of a lye, which in their talke, ar farre from doublenes. For sometimes it cometh to passe that some speake that which is false, and yet they thought the same to be true. With which men they also ar excused, which haue geuen their promise to do a thing, which afterward they are not able to performe. Bicause at the beginning when they promised it, they wer fully mynded to doo that which they had promised: and therefore they haue not lyed. If so be that afterward they doo not accomplish those thinges which they haue said, the same happeneth by some other meanes. And sometimes it happeneth, that he which deliuereth his sword to some man to kepe, selleth afterward mad: wherfoze he ought not to restore the sword vnto him, which hath left it with him: bicause a new case (as the Lawyers say) requireth a new helpe. After which selfe same sozt Paule is excused, who sayd that he would go into Spaine, when as soz al that he went not thither. Paule also promised the Corinthians to come vnto them, which he performed not: but yet he lyed not: bicause when he spake those woordes, he was determined so to do, but God had otherwise appointed the thing, as Gelasius hath wel wytten, as it is found in the .22. question the 2. chap. Beatus. Vndoubtedly the disposition of God dissolueth and breaketh all bondes, as it is wytten in the .19. question, the 2. chap. duz sunt.

Hyperbole per- sayneth not al- wayes to a lye.

But what shal we say to Hyperbolical places which are in the holy Scrip- tures, which at the first sight seeme lyes: I answer, although there the sentences in signifieng, hold not the meane, as touching quantite, yet as touching the sub-

substance it keepeth it. For those Hyperbolis or excessive speeches amplifie a thing, for their nature is not onely to set forth the thing, but also to byng men into admiration of them, which thing by that maner of speche is most aptly attributed vnto. Neither haue lyes there any place, soasmuch as they bycede not in the myndes of the hearers and readers any toward or false sence. A meane therfore is there to be kept, not vndoubtedly of the thing, but of the substance. The Evangelistes also are not to be accused of a lye, when as they setting forth the actes of Christ, do not al vse the selfe same woordes. For vnto the truth it is sufficient that a thing be set forth as it was: but it is not required that it be expressed by the selfe same woordes. And it is often times done through the goodnes of the holye ghost, that the forme of the narration shoulde varie. For by that meanes those thinges which are not sufficiently expressed in the one, are more amply declared by an other.

But they vse to object the whoredomes of the Hebrynes, which although they lyed, yet God rewarded them: The same also happened to Rahab the Harlot, or a table keeper. Augustine answereth, that in the whoredomes the lye pleased not the Lord, but the faith and feare which they had towards God, and the mercy which they shewed vnto the Israelites. And the same doth the holy history by expresse woordes testify. And no otherwise must we thinke of Rahab. But Gregories opinion I neuer like, who saith, that for the lye which they made, their eternall reward was turned into a temporal reward, because for the celestial blessednes it is said that God builded them houses. But I iudge, that by reason of the true faith, which was strong in them, so that it brought forth loue and the feare of God, which are iust and lawfull fruites thereof, although of infirmity they lyed, yet were not they therefore bereued of eternal felicity.

Of the myshapenes of the whoredomes and of Rahab.
Augustine.

Gregory.

Abraham also is objected, who said that Sara was his sister. But therein (as Augustine teacheth) he lyed not: he told that which was true, but yet he spake not all the truth. And that is of no man required, to vtter all that is true, which he knoweth. He did not tel that she was his wife: yet because she was his kinswoman, he might according to the maner of the Hebrynes truly say that she was his sister. But he seemeth not to be vtterly excused: for although he lied not in calling her sister, yet it seemeth that therein he fel, because in not opening that she was his wife, he put her in daunger of losing her chastity. For he left her naked of that ayde, whereby onely she might haue bene defended from comming into strange lones. Neither is it necessary that I should labour vtterly to defende Abraham: for he was a man, and by ouer much feare he might easily fall. Howbeit Augustine mencioneth, that Abraham was then in daunger two maner of waies: one was least he should be kyled himselfe, the other was the adulterye of his wyfe. The first daunger he might auoyde by calling her sister: but the other, namely, least she should be defiled, he was not able to repell, for although he had sayde that he was her husband, that woulde not haue serued to haue deliuered her fro the filthy lustes of the Egyptians. Wherefore hee committed vnto God that, which he himselfe could not turne from hym. And in that which hee had in his own power he woulde not tempt God. This seemeth to be Augustines iudgement. But what I iudge, I haue before declared.

Augustine.
Whether Abraham made a lye of Sara.

Augustine.

But did not the same Abraham lye, when he said vnto his seruantes: Tarry here, and we wyl retorne vnto you: when as for al that he was mynded to sacrifice his sonne: which if he had done, he shoulde not then haue returned together with his sonne, but alone: Iacob also by expresse woordes lyed, when he said vnto his father: I am Esau thy sonne. Paule likewise (as it is written in the Actes) sayth that he knew not that he was the chiefe priest, which commaunded him to be stricken: when as yet (as Augustine testifieth in his Sermon de puero Centurionis, and as it is written in the 23. Question the 1. chap. Paratus) he knew him well ynough. Paule (sayth he) was brought vp among the Iewes, he had lear-

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augustine.
Two kindes
of men.

ned the law at the feete of Gamaliel, wherfoze he knew very wel the chief priest from other men. Iehu also manifestly lyed, when he said that he would worship Baal. Augustine writeth that there are two kindes of men mentioned in the holy scriptures. For hereby it is manifest that some wer by God made so perfect, that although they were not without synne, yet we may not rashly iudge euyl of them, but rather see how we may defend those thinges, which in their woorks haue a shew of synne. They oftentimes were so moued by the holy ghost, that God by their wordes and actes would make open certayne secretes. Wherefoze we must beleue that oftentimes they both spake and also dyd certayne thinges by prophesy. So Abraham, when he saide: we wyl retorne vnto you, prophesied vnto us, that which should be. For with Isaac in safetie he returned from the mountaine. And Jacob in saying: I am Esau thy sonne, would declare nothyng els, but that hee was the man, to whom the degree, blessing and dignitie was due, which thinges seemed to pertaine vnto Esau that was first borne. Paule also prophesied what should at the length become of the high Priest, namelye this, that he should be destroyed like a wall that is plucked downe and as a thyng altogether fained and hypocritical. Farther (saith Augustine) there wer other men not so perfect, but wicked, which in the olde Testament are mentioned either to haue lyed, or els to haue done somthing which semeth synne. Of those men hee thinketh, we may not so labour for to defend a good fame and opinion of them. Of this sorte of men was Iehu: for although that murder pleased God, which he executed vpon Achab and his familie, and also his weeding out of Baal, and the worshippers therof, yet for al that he was a wicked king, neyther departed he from the worshipping of golden Calues. Wherefoze it is lawfull for vs to graunt, that in lying he synned.

A distinctio to
be noted.

And (as I thinke, and before admonished) by this onely distinction, we maye easily dissolue this doubt. Namely, that those men were styred vp to lye, either by the spirite of man, or by the motion of God. When they dyd it as men, wee will not denye but that they synned: but when they spake so by the inspiration of God, we will maruaile at their sayinges and doinges, but let vs not take example by them, or follow them.

Of dissimulation.

Dissimulation
is of two kin-
des.

But what shal we affirme of dissimulation? I answer, that it is of two kindes. One is, which hath a respect onely to deceaue. And that forasmuch as it differeth not much from a lye, it is vndoubtedly synne. If one being wicked, doo sayne himselfe to be good and holy, the same man without doubt is an hypocrite: and in that he dissembleth, he haynously sinneth. Whosoever also hauing a malicious and enuious hart against anye man, doth flatter the same man, and dissembleth to be his friend, he is not without synne, yea he is infected with a detestable dissimulation. But ther is an other kinde of dissimulation, which tendeth not to deceaue any man, but serueth onely to kepe counsels secrete that they bee not hindred. And this dissimulation is not to be repudiated, or to be condemned as a syn, forasmuch (as we haue already declared) that it is not alwaies required, that we shoulde open what soeuer truth wee knowe. So Christe being most innocent, tooke vpon him the flesh of syn, & hid his innocency & diuine nature. And that not to deceiue mortal men, but that he might suffer for the saluatio of men: For if he had bene knownen to haue bene the Lord of glory, thei would neuer (as saith the Apostle) haue crucified him. The same Christe fained also before two of his Disciples that he would go farther. He did not that to deceiue them, but hee therfoze a while opened not himself vnto them, to reprove them of their incredulity, and to instruct them by testimonies of the scriptures. Therewithall also he signified how farre he was from their hartes. As Augustine interpreteyth it, he shadowed vnto them his departure into heauen. Wherefoze it manifestly

What Christ
met by his dissi-
mulation.

appea-

appeareth, that in those dissimulations there was no lye, seeing his wordes did well agree wth the thyng signified.

And Dauid when hee fell into a most great danger before Achin King of Geth, chaunged his countenance and fained himselfe a foole, and for that he seemed suche a one, he escaped. Here some say that he committed no dissimulation, but that God, to deliuer him, strake such a feare in him, that his senses might be taken from him, and so did these thynges whych are rehearsed of him in the first booke of Samuel. Wherefore in his psalme which beginneth: I wyl alway geue thanks vnto the Lord, he gaue thanks vnto God for so great a benefite. And therewithal in his act by the inspiratioⁿ of God, he shewed what Christ should suffer for our sakes, namely that he should be counted as a foole and a mad man. Either els we answer, that Dauid is not altogether to be excused of synne, if as a man being moze afeard than was mete, he sought for this kinde of helpe. But if he by the motion of God did it wittingly and with knowledge, we wil not excuse him of synne, although we may not follo^w his example. Neither is it lawfull, that any man should saye himselfe to haue committed any crime, whiche he hath not perpetrated, although Gregory saith that good myndes wyl there acknowledge a fault wher none is. Augustine wryteth moze truly and soundly of that thing in his. 29. Sermon de verbis Apostoli. For he wryteth: In so sayings, if before thou wast not a sinner, thou shalt be made a sinner, namely in saying that thou hast committed that y^el whiche thou hast not perpetrated. It is lawfull in dede for euery man to confesse himselfe to be a synner in vniuersall. But this is that crime in special no man ought to receaue in himself, whiche he hath not in very dede committed. Further, we must note, that this is true, that it is not required of vs, that we should open the truth euery where, and in all places to speake al that we know: but yet in iudgement the same is not to be permitted. For when two of vs are examined as witnesses, there we are bounde to testifye that whych we know serueth for the thing, wherof at that time we be demaunded.

Of the dissimulation of Dauid.

Psal. 34.

Gregory.
Augustine.

Whither it be lawfull to lye to preserve the lyfe

of our neighbours.

But there ariseth a moze hard doubt, namely, whether it be lawfull to lye for to preserve the life of our neighbour. Augustine of a lye to Consentius saith: If a man should be in v^ery great danger of death, & the same man also should know that his sonne also w^old be in the like extreme danger, whiche happeneth to dye, and thou knowest of his death: when the parent shal aske thee, leaue my sonne or no, and thou art sure that he also will dye, if thou shalt tel him that his sonne is deceased: what wouldest thou do in this case? whither thou sayest, he lieth: or whither thou saiest, I cannot tel, thou lyes. But if thou shalt answer, that he is dead, al men wyl cry out vpon thee, as though thou haddest committed manslaughter, and as though by thy heauy heuies thou haddest bene the occasioⁿ of the death of this father being sycke and lying at the poynt of death. Augustine graunteth that it is a hard case, neither denieth he but that as a man he shoulde be moued, & peraduenture it might so happen, that affections woulde not suffer him to speake that which is iust & right. But at the length he concludeth that he should not lye. And he addeth mozeouer, that if thou knowest that any vnclelle woman loneth thee inordinately, whiche also threateneth to kyl her selfe, yea and wil do it in very dede, vntles thou wylt graunt to her wicked lust, whether therfore thou oughtest to be entised to committe any filthye thing against chastite: I think not. So also saith he, thou oughtest not for saving of thy neighbours life to offend against the truth. And mozeouer what a window shuld be made open to lyes, if we shoulde otherwile iudge of this. For that which one shal thinke to be lawfull for life, an other wil iudge that he may do the same for money, an other for estimation, or for defending of landes & possessions. And so shal it come to

Augustine.

Augustine.

to passe that there will be no measure or end of lyes. We maye not suffer (sayth Augustine) that any man should kil his own soule, for the cozpozall lyfe of an other man. Yea and he affirmeth that we must not lye for the saluation of any mans soule. Every lye (sayth Iohn) is not of God: but wee ought not to speake those thinges which are not of God.

What if murtherers should persecute a man to kil him, & thou knowest & he lyeth ther biideth wher thou presently art, & they demaund of thee if thou knowest whither he be there or no: He answereth, that if thou be of a valliant courage, & as it becometh a Christia, & must say: wher he is I know, but I wil not bitter it, do ye what ye wil. But wher the matter cometh to this point, & for the safety of any mans life thou must make a lie, know thou that thou oughtest to comit the thing vnto God, & that thou hast nothing there moze to doo. Either thou must answer, that thou wilt not betray him, or els thou must hold thy peace. But by thy silence the murtherer wil suspect that he is in thy house, and then thou shalt seme to haue geuen occasion of his taking. But in verie deepe thou hast not so done. For thou canst not let him to thinke what he wil. Wherefore the matter is rather to be committed vnto God, than that thou shouldest make a lye. Howbeit thou must very wel weighe with thy self, namely, to speake so, that thou say not al, and yet speake not falsly. For in these cases I thynke it is not forbidden, yea I iudge it is most lawfull to speake doubtfully. And as touching this question, this is sufficient.

As I deny not but that our Ehud manifestly lied, so wil I also say that he was stirred by of God so to speake. Those wordes vndoubtedly, although they deceiued Eglon, yet without controuersy they declared that, which was in verie deepe true, namely the word of God, & that he had a secret thing to do with the kyng.

Whither it be lawfull for Subiectes to ryle

agaynst their Princes.

But leauing these thinges, let vs come vnto the third question, wherof for as much as I haue somwhat befoze spoken, I thinke not to speake of it abundantly in this place, least I should be moze full of wordes than is needefull.

Let vs deuide subiects, as we haue befoze deuided them, so that some of them are mere priuate men, & others are in such sort inferiours, that the superiour power in a maner dependeth of them, as among the Lacodemonians wer the Epopoi, and at Rome the Tribunes of the people. Those which onely are subiect, & counted altogether priuate, ought not to rise agaynst their Princes & Lordes, to dysplace them of their dignity or degree. The two Apostles Peter & Paul haue commaunded the same, namely that seruants should obey their Lordes, how rough & hard soeuer they be. Farther, the sword (as it is written to the Romanes) is geuen onely to the powers. And they which resist the power, are sayde to resist the ordinance of god. God would that the Iewes should obey Nabuchad-nezar, & he was angry with Zedechias the king, because he fell from hym. Yea, & Jeremy by the commaundement of God admonished and exhorted the people to pray for the health of the king of Babilon. Dauid also would not stretch forth his hand agaynst the anointed of the Lord: when he might haue done it without any difficulty, & to his great comodity. The godly soldours of Iulianus the Apostata, obeyed the same Iulianus in fighting and pitching their camps: netter did they at any time (being also armed) rebel agaynst that most cruel tyran. Phocas wher he had slaine Mauricius, possessed the Empire by great violence & vniustice, & wrote to Rome to Gregory, who obeyed him as his Prince, and gaue vnto him great reuerence.

But ther are in publike weales other, which in place & dignity are lower than Princes, & yet in verie dede they elect the superiour power, & by certaine lawes do govern the publike wealt, as at this day we see is done by the Electors of the Empire, and peraduenture the same also is done in other kingdomes. To these

undoubtedly (if the Prince performe not his covenants & promises) it is lawfull to constrain & to bring him into order, & by force to compel him to fulfil the conditions & covenants whiche he had promised, and that by warre when it can not otherwise be done. By this meanes the Romanes sometimes compelled the Consul, whom they themselves had created, to go out of their offices. The Danes in our time did put down their king, & held him long in prison. Polidorus Virgilius^{Polidorus Virgilius.} writeth, y^e the Englishmen sometimes compelled their kings to render account of the mony which they had noughtely consumed. Neither are we ignorant that Tarquinius the proud, was by the Romanes for his overmuch cruelty & arrogancy put out of his kingdome. I will not speake of Brutus & Cassius, which slew Cæsar^{Of Brutus and Cassius.} but whether they did it iustly or other wise, most graue men vary in the opinions. And I in examining their enterpryse by the rule of the scriptures, do not allow it. Because they gaue not vnto him the tyranny or Empire of Rome, but he vsurped it himself by violence and power. And God (as Daniel testifieth) transferreth Empires & kingdomes. And although it be lawfull to resist tiranes which inuade a kingdome, yet when they haue obtayned the Empire, and that they do gouerne, it seemeth not to belong to private men to put them downe. Wherefore soasmuch as the kingdome of the Iewes was suche a kingdome, that in it all men depended of the king (for they were not chosen by the noble men, but by succession the posterity of that family gouerned, which God had also commaunded) & therfore in the lawes in Deut. & in the 1. booke of Sam. wherein the ryght of a king is constituted, ther is no liberty graunted to any to resist them. Yea & sometimes it happeneth that some of them wer killed. But yet we neuer reade y^e god allowed the murder of them: yea he punished the murderers. When God at any time would trouble the kings of Iuda: he did it by the Babilonians, Assirians, & Egyptians, but not the Iewes. He onely armed Iehu against his Lozde: whyche thing as it was peculiar, so also must not we take example by it. He destroyed Saul also by the handes of the Philistians, and not by David.

Neither am I ignorant how manye thinges are decreed of this matter in the Code, & in the digests in y^e law Julia maiestatis. But I studieng to be briefe do of purpose overpasse these thinges. And although I know right wel y^e the Ethniks in the old time appointed rewardes for such as killed Tirannes, yet I haue answered that godlines & the holy scriptures do not allow the same. Undoubtedly if it be lawfull for the people to put down kings that raigne vniustly, no kinges or Princes should at any time be in safety. For although they raygne iustly and holily, yet they cannot satisfy the people. And so much of this question.

31 After him was Sangar the sonne of Anath: and he smote of the Philistians. 600. men wth the goade of an oxe: & he also saued Israel.

What this Sangar was, or of what tribe or family, the holy scripture doth not declare. But this coniecture is very likely, y^e when the Iebzues had a long tyme liued in peace vnder Ehud, as sone as he was dead, the Philistians began to bere them. Wherefore Sangar being stirred up by God, defended the people from coming again into subiection vnder the Philistians. And among other victories, of the which I thinke ther wer very many, this is chiefly mentioned as a miraculous & wonderful victory. The Iebzues thinke that this notable act of this Sangar happened in the time of the oppression vnder Iabin. But they bring no reasons why they should so thinke. Farther, by the holy scriptures it appeareth not how many yeres the Iebzues wer kept by this Iudge: yet by Iosephus we may know, y^e he fought for the Israelites but onely one yere. What which we translate wth the goade of an Oxe, the Grecians call ἀγροποροδῖ, that is, wth the foote or staffe of a plow. The comon translation in latin hath wth the plow share. Augustine^{Augustine.} (as it appeareth by his questions on this place) sedeth, beside calues of the kyne. Which clause semeth to haue no sence in it. And he iudgeth y^e this Sangar in this murder of y^e Philistians slew peradventure many oxen, which are called calues.

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And he addeth that the Egyptians used in his time to call all kind of oxen of what age soeuer they were, by the name of calves. As we (saith he) call Chickens, all vniuersally as many as are comprehended vnder the kind of hens, with out any difference of yeares and age. In the meane time he confesseth that it is not so in the Hebrew, & he hath saide truly: for in the Hebrew bibles we read Melamed. Which word is deriued of this verbe Lamad. And that verbe, in the coniugation Kal, is to learn, but in the coniugation Pihel, it is to teach. Wherefore Melamed might be turned a teacher of Oxen, namely to be the instrument wherby Oxen in plowing are guided. And least we should doubt what it is, Kimhi writeth that it is a rod or a staffe, in the end or top wherof ther is fastened a pick. And the Chaldee paraphrast testifieth the same, which in steede of the word hath put this word Peraschi: & that word signifieth to pick. Wherefore it is an instrument wherby oxen in plowing are picked. Wherefore the word Peraschim signifieth horsesmen, or spurres, wherby horses are by the riders vpon them, picked. And thus much by the way.


Kimhi,

The old writers thinke that in this place is used the figure Synecdoche, as though Sangar did not alone kill so great a number of Philistians, but that hee with other rusticall men fought agaynst them, whiche rusticall men were armed with no other kinde of weapons than with goades of Oxen. In deede I know that the holy scriptures many times do admit change of numbers, which whither in this place it be to be receaued, I do very much doubt. Yea (if I should speake the truth as it is) I thinke the contrary: so much as in this present by story me thinketh no bulgare acte is set forth, but rather a wonder or miracle. But howsoeuer it be, this I thinke is goddly and profitable to be noted: That any thing may serue vs for weapons, when the word of God is added. A sling and stones of a yuuer furnished David nobly. The iaw bone also of an Ass was a weapon to Samson, and a nasse to Iahel, wherewith she slew Sisera. And contrariwise, what kind of weapons of sence so euer we deuise, vnles it be strengthened by the word of God, it shalbe utterly vnprofitable and serue to no purpose. The walles of Iericho, which otherwise were wel fenced, fell downe of their own accord: and the great sword of Goliath the Giant was made to cut the throte of his own maister. Wherefore it is most truly said in the Psalmes: A king is not saued by much strength, and a horse is a bayne thing to saue a man. But what doo we speake of weapons, when as the same happeneth vnto all creatures: For so long euery one of them is and abideth, as the word of God carpeeth and vpholdeth them. For althings whatsoever they be, do by the onely both abide & consist. Yea and the Sacramentes themselves, taking away the word of God, are utterly nothing. For what do we thinke bread, wyne, or water to haue by themselves, which may be profitable for our saluation, or serue to stirre vp or to strengthen faith: Andoubtedly nothing. Wherefore Augustine hath right well sayde: The word cometh vnto the element, & it is made a sacrament. Wherefore in that. hundred Philistians were kyled with an Ox goade, wee must beleue that the same came to passe by the commaundement of God, & by the power of his word.

Psal. xxxiii.

Augustine.

The.iiii. Chapter.

1.  And the children of Israel began againe to do wickedly in the sight of the Lord, when Ehud was dead.
2. And the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin king of Chanaan, which raygned in Hazor, whose captain of warre was called Sisera, which dwelt in Hazor of the Gentyles.

The cause of the oppression of the Israelites is mentioned, namely, because when Ehud was dead, they began to do euil, that is, to sinne. They abused therefore the quietnes and tranquillity of the foure score yeares, in which they lyued peace.

peaceably, vnder their Iudge, neither declined they onely from the right waye, but also they increased in syn. This is the nature of carnal men, that by prosperitie they are not made the better, but farrs woozler.

V When Ehud was dead, It cannot be told how easily the people fall from the right way, when as holy Princes are also removed from the same. Wherefore that is not vnwoztbely to be counted a most grieuous plague when the pyllers both of the Church and also of the publike wealth are taken awaye. But what should be the cause, why there is no mention made of the death of Sangar, wee cannot easily tel. The Hebzue interpreters saye, that it therefore happened, by cause he continued but a litle time, and soz that cause is scarcely cousted among the Iudges: nether was the deliuery which by him happened, perfect, which is in the next chapter by expresse wordes declared. Farther, it is in dede sayd of hym, that he saued Israel: but it is not added as it is of Othoniel and Ehud, that the land was any yeares at rest vnder hym.

There is no mention made of the death of Sangar.

And God sold them. When al thinges seme vnto the vngodly to be in quiet and at rest, and that they thinke that on no syde anye hurt or euyl can happen vnto them, God euen then vseth by a certayne wonderfull manner to styre vp great miseries and calamities out of ashes and sparckels, which wer thought to haue bene long time quenched. Iabin the king of Chanaan was kylled by Iosua (as it is wztitten in his booke the. xi. chap.) and Hazor his kingly City destroyed and burnt with fire. Wherefore none would haue looked that war shoulde haue bene renewed againe on that part. But an other Iabin, the sonne of sonnes sonne of him that was killed, tooke courage againe, and inuaded and oppzessed the Israelites. But least al that shoulde be ascribed vnto his strength, it is added that God intermedled in the matter, when hee solde the Hebzues vnto him, that is, graunted vnto him to vse them as he thought good hymselfe, euen to all most vile seruices, and that as most abiect bondslauers. And this calamity is amplified by many names. First, by the longnesse of the tyme: soz it continued. xx. yeares, when as befoze Othoniel's time they were afflicted onely. viii. yeares. And befoze Ehud was stirred vp, they serued. xviii. yeares. It is declared that this seruitude was very cruell, bicause Iabin oppzessed the Hebzues by strength and violence. And Iosephus wztiteth that it was in such sozt, that they durst not so much as to lift vp their head. And the cause of his so great crueltye was, bicause he remembred that the Iewes in the time of Iosua had killed his Father or Grandfather. And had ouerthzowen the kingly City Hazor, in wasting and burning it wyth sword and fyre. Farther, the violence and power of his tyzanny is by this declared, in that he had so great a number of yzon or hooked chariots, and (if we may beleue Iosephus) he went a warfare wyth thzee hundred thousand footemen, ten thousand horsemen, and thzee thousand chariotes, among which. ix. hundred of them were of yzon. Neither soz al his great host had he ben able to haue bzought the Hebzues vnder subiection, vnles God (as we haue befoze said) had solde the. And vndoubtedly, it is to be thought that Iabin vseth these. ix. hundred chariots, which the hystory speaketh of by name, to afflict the region of the Iewes, which he had now conquered, and to the end they shoulde not fall from hym.

Why Iabin was so cruel to the Hebzues.

Iosephus.

And he dwelt in Hazoreth. Howe reigned this man in Hazor, whē as in the time of Iosua the City was ouerthzowen: To this we answer, first the ouerthzow which happened vnder Iosua, the rest of the Chananites fled into a very huge wood which is called Of the Gentiles, & ther bi litle & litle they so increased their power, thet they set ouer theselues a king, which was of the surname of the first king, namely his sonne, or els his sonnes sōne, which is therfore said to haue reigned in Hazor, bicause he still retained the title of the place, as very many kings do at this day, which keepyng the title of certain places do cal theselues kings of the same places, wherin in very dede they haue no possessiō at all. But the Hebzue interpreters thinke the Hazoreth was a large & huge wood, which contained in it many ci-

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ties & Castels. Unto which sense the Chaldee paraphrast leaneth, which turneth that woꝝde, munition of Castels. This day also in Germany, there is the wood of Hercinia, wherin are both Cities and very many Castels. And it is called, Of the Gentiles, either bicause a great number of diuers people resorted thither, or bicause those places were built and fenced by the labour of manye Gentiles. We might otherwise also answer, & that much moze likely to be true: namely, y the citt of Hazer was after Iosua, recovered & reedified by the Chananites, so that it was the kingly city agayne, wher Iabin either the sonne or els y sonnes sone of y first Iabin) raigned. And to this reedifying the times serued very aptly. For from the burning of Hazer there wer passed, 150. yeares moze or lesse, y is, eight yeares of bondage, which happened vnder the king of Mesopotamia. 40. yeares of Othoniel, 18. yeres of seruitude vnder Eglon king of Mesopotamia, 80. yeres, wherin Ehud peaceably iudged the Israelites, and, 20. yeres this Iabin afflicted the Hebꝛues. Wherfoze he might easily reigne in Hazer being agayne reedified, and this maketh with it, bicause it is not writte of this Iabin that he dwelled in the wood, but that Sisara his captayne dwelt there. For kinges vse not to kepe an house in their kingly citie, but rather to haue them in their borders or in the fieldes, wher they may be prompt and redy to accomplysh thinges to be done.

3 And the children of Israel cried vnto the Lord, for he had .900. chariottes of yron, and, 20. yeares he oppressed Israel very sore.

4 And Deborah, a Prophetesse, the wife of Lappidoth, iudged Israel the same tyme.

Both by the thinges before declared, & also by these which are now spoken of, we may vnderstand the scowardnes of mans nature: for vnles it be by troubles and aduersities bzused and bzoken, it regardeth not God, yea as long as there is any hope of other helpes, it neglecteth God and bleseth them. But whē thinges ar past all hope and do seperat, then god is required, as a certayne holy ankerhold. Wherfoze it is no maruayle, though the Hebꝛues deferred their repētaunce 20. yeares long. Surely I am perswaded, that they did oftentimes grone and cry. But bicause they lamented not that they had offended god, and wickedly committed sinnes, but only desired him to take a way the payne & long punishment, and peraduenture murmured against God, therfoze wer not their praers heard. But now at the last at the 20. yeares ende, when with sayth and godlynes they prayed vnto God, he heard their prayer, and graunted them their requestes. By this example let vs learne y we must neuer dispatre of the help of god, although it be deferred. We all in deede desire to be straghtwaye deliuered of our troubles: but god in his counsel thinketh not good so soone to take away his punishments. Wherfoze that which he hath decreed we also must patiently suffer.

When in desperate things call vpon God.

Though God deferre his help yet we must not dispatre.

God bleseth both stronge and weake alike.

Deborah a Prophetesse. God which before to deliuer Israel had chosen Ehud, which had an impediment in his right hande: and then Sangar, a husbandman armed onely with the goade of an Oxe: nowe choseth a woman, by whose conduct the Iewes might be deliuered from a most grieuous enemy. Wherfoze by these examples he abundantly sheweth that his power is not bounde vnto noble men and to strong men, but hee can easely vse the weake and feable ones. Yea and he sheweth forth his power rather in these, than in the other. Howbeit to declare, that it is all one vnto him, as touching both kynde of instrumentes, sometimes he bleseth the strong ones, and other sometimes the weake ones. And when hee taketh the weake ones, he straight waye endueth and adozneth them with his grace and gyftes. For as muche therfoze as he had vnto thys ministeꝛye chosen Deborah, beyng weake in kynde, hee straght waye endelwed and adozned her wyth the spirite of prophete. By whyche grace, and peraduenture manye other moe myꝛacles, she was by God constituted, and by myꝛacles confirmed, as she that was elected vnto so great an office.

Neither

Neither onely this woman was endewd with the spryte of pꝛophesy: for in the holy scriptures we reade of other women which were likewise inspired by the holy Ghost, Mary the sister of Moses, Hannat the mother of Samuel, Holda in the time of Iohas the king were pꝛophetesses. And in the new testament Marye the Virgin, Elizabeth the mother of Iohn, and Anna the wife of Phanuel, the daughters also of Phillip the Deacon (as it is wꝛitten in the Actes of the Apostles) were pꝛophetesses. Neither do I thinke that we maye denye, that some of those women endewd with the spryte of pꝛophesy, did openly teach the people, in declaringe those thynges vnto them whiche God had shewed vnto them. Forasmuch as the giftes of God are not therfore genen, that they shoulde lye hidden, but to aduance the common edifyinge of the church.

Women pꝛophetesses did openly instruct the people.

And yet hereby it followeth not, that that which God doth by some peculiar pꝛiualledge, we should by and by drawe it for an example, because according to the rule of the Apostle we are bound vnto an ordinary law, whereby both in the Epistle to Timothy, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he commaundeth that a woman should kepe silence in the church. And he assigneth causes of this silence so commaunded, namely because they ought to be subiect vnto theyꝛ husbandes. But the office of a teacher hath a certayne authoritie ouer those whiche are taught, which is not to be attributed vnto a woman ouer men. For she was made for the man, whome she ought alwayes to haue a regarde to obey, whiche thing is also appoynted her by the sentence of God, wherby after synne committed he sayd vnto the woman: Thy lust shal pertaine vnto thy husband. Farther the Apostle geueth another reason, drawne from the spryte saute, because, as he sayth, Eua was seduced, and not Adam, wherfore if women should ordinarily be admitted vnto the holy ministry of the Church, men might easely suspecte, that the deuill by his accustomed instrument would deceaue the people, and for that cause they would the lesse regard the Ecclesiasticall function, if women should be beleued. It ought therfore to be committed onely to men, & that by ordinary right and the Apostles rule. And though God do sometimes other wyse, yet can he not be iustly accused, forasmuch as all lawes are in his power. Wherfore if sometimes he send any pꝛophetesse, and adorne her with heauenly giftes, if the same woman speake in the church, vndoubtedly she is to be hearde: but in suche sort, that she forgette not her owne estate. Wherfore these two testimonies of Paule which seme to be contrary one to another, may easely be conciliated. In Timothe the first Epistle he wꝛiteth, that a woman ought in the church to kepe silence: which thinge toward the ende of the first Epistle to the Corinth. he most manifestly confirmeth. And in the same epistle he commaundeth, that a man pꝛophesieng or praying should haue his hed vncouered, but a woman when she pꝛophesieth should haue it couered: whereby vndoubtedly he teacheth that it is lawfull for a woman both to speake and also to pꝛophesy in the church. For he would not haue commaunded, that in this doing she should couer her head, if she should utterly kepe silence in the holy assembly. The thinge is in this manner to be taken, that we should vnderstande the pꝛecept of silence to be a generall pꝛecepte, but the other which is for the couering of the head when they pray or pꝛophesy, pertained onely to those which were pꝛophetesses. They vndoubtedly are not for bidden to pꝛophesy, for the common edification of the church, but to the ende by reason of theyꝛ office extraordinarily committed vnto them, they should not forget theyꝛ owne estate and were pꝛoude, they are commaunded to haue their head couered: whereby they myght vnderstande that yet they haue the power of man aboue them. Farther whereas to Titus the ii. chap. it is commaunded that the elder women should admonish the yonger women of temperance, and that they should loue theyꝛ husbandes and childzen, and diligently looke to theyꝛ famely, this is not to be vnderstand of publike doctrine or ecclesiasticall sermons, but of pꝛiuate exhortacions, which it is meete, that the elders haue to the yongers.

Why women are commaunded to kepe silence in the church.

Two places of Paule conciliated.

Why women pꝛophetesses were commaunded to haue theyꝛ heds couered.

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5 And the same Deborah dwelt vnder a Palme tree, betwene Ramath and Bethell, in mount Ephraim. And the children of Israell ascended vp to her for iudgement.

*How Deborah
iudged the peo-
ple.*

The word of iudging (as we haue admonished) in this booke oftentimes signifieth to reuenge, and to set at liberty. Which signification if we now follow, we shall see that Deborah was appoynted vnto the same, namelye to deliuer the Israelites. And as soone as they by the inspiraciō of God vnderstode that, they ascended to her, to heare of her what they should do, to attayne vnto liberty. But if any man wil haue the word of iudgement to signify to set lawes, or to geue sentence of controuersies, I wil not be much against it. For so great peradventure was the oppression of Iabin, that now the Israelites could not vse ordinary iudges. They therfore being taken away, whē they saw that Deborah was endewēd with the spirite of God, they had rather be iudged by her, than by the Chananiites. But Iosephus inclineth moze vnto the first interpretation, and he sayeth that they beinge oppressed by their enemies came vnto Deborah, whome they knew to be a most holy woman and endewēd with the spzite of god, and desired her to pray vnto God for them, which she both did and was heard.

Iosephus.

As touching the ministry of the church, how women may be preferred, & in what sort they are not apt, we haue before declared. And this we ad now, y^e whē churches, or newly planted, when ther want men to preach the Gospel, a woman may at the beginning be admitted to teach, but in such sorte, that when she hath taught a while, some one mā of y^e faithful to be ordeyned, which after ward may minister the sacramēts, teach & faithfully execute y^e office of a pastor. But because Deborah was not onely a Prophetesse, but also in setting at liberty, gouerned ciuill things, I might therfore demaund, whether a woman may be appoynted to gouern a pub: wealt. But I haue determined to entreat of this question in another place, namely whē I come to y^e hystory of Athalia in the booke of the kings.

The wife of Lappidoth. What this man was we can not by the holy scripture certainly know. The Hebrwes thinke that he was Barak: but this is onely the reason why they thinke so, because the signification of these names haue great affinity one with an other. For Barac signifieth lighteninge, and Lapidh is a lampe, whose plurall number is aswell Lapidim as Lapidoth. And lampes or torches and lightnings are very lyke. Other thinke that thys woman was so called of her handye craft, for that she made matches for the candles of the sanctuary. But that the Rabbines sayned as though God doth neuer bestowe freely bys grace or giftes. For they signify by their fable that she by desert became a prophetesse and a iudge, because her woorkes serued for the tabernacle & that very religiously. Others also write that she was so called, because in that howe, wherin she was endewēd with the spzite of prophecy, her face was made shininge, casting forth beames, as the holy hystory writeth of the countenance of Moses. But all these things are trifles, and leane onely vnto the interpretation of the words, neither ar they by any meanes proued by the holys scriptures. But there is a certayn coniecture that Barac was not the husband of Deborah, because she dwelled in mount Ephraim and he in Kades of Nephtalim. And it is not agreable that the wife and the husband did dwell one so far distant from the other. Unles y^e wilt say y^e Deborah went thē onely to mount Ephraim when the people should come vnto her. And if we graūt this, thē wil it be meruelous, why her husband went not thither together with the other Israelites. Therfore that way seemeth to be the plainer, namely to say y^e she was the wife of Lappidoth: but therfore she gave not thys gouernance vnto her husband. For that thing should be gouerned by mans reason, but she did follow the counsel of God as she ought.

*God despyseth
not those which
are married.*

Of the mariage of ministers.

This is also very woorthye to be noted, that married folkes are not contemned of God. For of them certain hath be chosen to be Prophetes and those notable

ble prophetes. For Esay is commaunded to go vnto a Prophetesse, which both con-
 ceined & also bare to him childre. Ezechiel also was married. Wherefore that Ro-
 mane Sircius & his like ar not to be herd, whē they forbid the vse of the ministra-
 tion of holy things to such which are married: & this godly reason forsooth bying
 they for it, namely because Paule writeth, that they which are in the flesh cannot
 please God, and in the old law it is in this manner commaunded, be ye holy, for
 I am holy: and agayn sayth Paule, ye are the temple of God, of the holy ghost.
 But these testimonies now alleged, if they should serue any thinge to theyr sen-
 tence, then vndoubtedly should they declare, that no men whiche are married can
 please god, neither that anye are to be counted holpe, excepte they be chaste. The
 temple also of God of the holy Ghoste shoulde be drawne onely to the clergye.
 But howe bayne these thinges are, all men so well vnderstande, that they neede
 none of my labour to expresse them. For who seeth not that the sentences now
 alleged are not spoken vnto this man or to that man alone, but preached vnto
 all the faithful: It was the manner of the Ethnykes, to haue theyr prophetesses
 eyther Virgines or such as were of sole life, as it is written of the Sibils. They
 also appoynted certayne priesthodes vnto womē, but yet only to virgines, name-
 ly the holy thinges of Vesta, and also of her that was called Bona dea.

Sircius is not
 to be heard.

The manner of
 the Ethnykes
 astouching vir-
 ginity or sole
 life.

Neither must we beleue, those married folkes, which were by God taken to
 the office of prophesying or to the holy ministry, did streightway forsake theyr
 wyues, for neyther God nor yet Christ were authours that any man shoulde de-
 noyce himselfe from his wife. We know in deede that Paule permitteth them
 which are married sometimes to be a sunder, whereby they mighte moze expedi-
 ently geue them selues to fastinges and prayers: but he permitteth not that vn-
 les they be both agreed therunto, and that for a short time, and he commaundeth
 them to returne to their old estate, lest by the temptation of Sathe they shoulde
 be ouerthrowne. Wherefore this sentence which they bying, is not sufficient to
 proue the necessitye of sole life for ministers, soasmuche as the aduersaries ga-
 ther moze out of it than can be gathered. For the Apostle sayth that sometimes
 it is lawfull to abstaine from accompanieng. But these men take it to be a com-
 maundement to all sortes of ministers, euer to be vnmarrid. Which argument
 is both weake and vnprofitable, as the art of Logike manifestly sheweth. For
 we graunt, that it is mete for ministers sometimes to conteyne themselves, and
 that oftner than other men, but not continually. This they object, if other men
 moderate themselves, makinge their prayers but sometimes, what shoulde they
 do, whose duty is alwayes to apply themselves vnto prayers & to the adminis-
 tration of the sacramentes: I aunswere. First, that we much maruelle at those
 which allege these thinges, when as the clergy for the most part neuer almost
 teach, & distribute the sacraments very seldom, & celebrate that their most fylthy
 & abhominable masse scarce once or twise in a whole yeare. But in y mean time
 play & whozemogers & pollute theselues with adulteries. And they caule that
 they cannot mary, because of y ecclesiastical degree which they haue take by the.
 Vndoubtedly the reasons which they bying do nothing defend this kind of men.

They which
 were married &
 called to the ho-
 lye ministration,
 did not forsake
 theyr wyues.

Farther we must marke, that the wordes which Paul there speaketh, belong
 not to comon fasting, or to comon & vsual prayers: other wise it were lausful for
 none ether to mary or to haue a wyfe, for as much as al me ar commaunded to pray
 with out ceassing. And there ar sometime certayn solemne prayers and fastinges
 appointed, ether for y auoyding of iminente calamities, or for the chosing of mi-
 nisters of the Church, and for such lyke necessityes, in whiche wee muste with
 the prophet & the Apostle counsel & exhorthe the husband not to depart out of the
 bedchamber, & the byde out of her bed. Howbeit I would gladly hear of these new
 masters & most senere cōsoys, what they did in y old time in the church of Rome,
 which they so much alow aboue all other worship, what I say was done when
 christians did communicate as Ierome & Augustine write was done in their time.

A distinction of
 prayers and fas-
 tinges.
 Sometimes
 fastinges & pub-
 like prayers ar
 commaunded.

At Rome they
 did communicate
 daily.

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Of the highe
priest of the old
Testament.

They indeede communicated, and yet had they wiues. Whereouer what did the high priest Aaron and his successors in the old testament, whose office was both morning and euening perpetually to minister at the tabernacle: For as the were not the courses of the priests distributed by Dauid, Salomon, and Ezechias. Used they not their wiues? Undoubtedly they brought forth children. But they say, that then it ought to haue bene done, soasmuch as the successio of the priest hode was by carnall propagation, neither might the priestes be taken out of any other tribe, then out of the tribe of Levi. But nowe that we are losed from that law, and that we may euery where haue ministers of the church, it is mete that they be without wiues. I wil aske these men, who was the autho?, that the high priestes & the priests in the old time should be continued by carnal propagation? It is meruelous if they graunt not that God was the autho?. I wil therfore conclude that they make theselues wiser then god, who is most wise, who also suffered & willed priests to vse matrimony. He might haue taken priests out of euery tribe and commaunded continency. But he would not do it. But these men dare do moze then he hath commaunded. Farther let them tel vs whether there were ministers in the p?mitiue church or no: undoubtedly there were, yea and those had wiues, & yet for all that they perpetually both taught and ministered. What they had wiues, the histories declare, the Canons do testifie, & these Canons in especiall which ar of the Apostles, wherunto our aduersaries thinke we must so much leane vnto. For there we reade, that he is accursed, which teacheth that a priest ought to despise his wife.

The ministers
of the p?mitiue
churche had
wiues and v-
sed them.
Canons of the
Apostles.

Concilium
Gangrense.

Who married
folkes are.

I am not ignoraunt, that there are certayne wily heades, whiche by triflinge wordes do so auoyde the place alledged, as though it were onely to be vnderstand as touching meate and drinke and clothing: for which thinges, they say a prieste ought to prouide for his wife when he is seperated from her. As though a wyfe is not moze dyspyled, from whom the due beneuolence is taken awaye, then if she should be neglected as touching meate and drinke and clothing. The council also of Gangrensis decreed, that he is accursed which putteth difference betwen the oblation of a married priest from others. Here also (least they should be counted dum) they say that a married prieste, is taken for him whiche was once before married, and not he whiche is presently married: whiche they thinke happeneth, when eyther the wife is deade, or elles if they be seperated the one from the other. But graunt which of these two wayes thou wilt, yet one of the clergy can not be called a married man. For they are married folkes, whiche both loue together, and are not seperated one from an other. And that the ministers in the p?mitiue church had wiues, and v?sed them, the history of Nicolaus the Deacon sufficiently declareth. And it is hereby also easely proued, bicause if ministers accompanied not with their wiues, Sircius, Pelagius, and other Romayn Popes should not haue neded to haue made so many prohibicions, that it should not fro thence forth be done, for these tyrans complained that it was so done, & therfore to their power by decrees ordina?ces, & threathnings they forbade the vse of matrimony to ecclesiastical men: which they should not neded to haue don, if such marriages had not then bene in vse. At the length they deny not but that so it was, but they fly to thys, that we must haue a respect vnto the times, & attribute somewhat to necessity. For in the p?mitiue church (as they say) was there a great w?at of ministers, wherfore they were sayne to chose them out of euery state of men, & therfore there were very many of them which were married at that time. But now that the church is encreased, we are not v?ged with that necessity, wherfore iustly it is decreed that onely vnmarried folkes should be chosen.

The p?mitiue
church had
greate abound-
ance of mini-
sters.

But I would haue these men to remember with themselves, that in that first tyme, when the heat of the holy Ghost did so much abound, there were a greate many more whych were mete for the ministry, then now ar, by reason of the great abundance of grace & spiritual giftes. Besides that the church when it was ex-
tending

tended and increased, it then neded many moze ministers. Farther an other necessitie oppzesseth vs moze grievously, bycause men at this day are moze weake than they were then, which their Popes also deny not. For in the dist. 34. chap: Fraternitatis, Pelagius iudgeth that a certaine Deacon which was to be promoted (whiche had committed whozedome, and yet hauing a wife of his own) should be moze gently intreated bycause in these dayes not onely bodies are febled, but also vertue and maners. If they be not ignoraunt of this weakenes of our times, which is farre greater than it was in the olde tyme, they ought not from thence to take away the remedy where they perceauie a greater necessitie. Neither is it mete, that they should dissemble the necessitie of this age, whiche obiecing vnto vs the maner of the old Church, dare lay against vs the necessitie therof. Where is on either side necessitie, and therfoze if there be a consideration had of the one let there be also a consideration had of the other.

Men are now weaker.

There are some amongst them, which say, that ministers in the old tyme had wiues, and somtimes used them: but they deny that after they had taken orders it was at any tyme lawfull to mary wiues. Undoubtedly they erre: For in the synode of Ancyra (as it is wrytten in the decrees the 28. dist: chap. Diaconi) it is decreed, that if a Deacon while he is in ordering, shal deny when the state of continency is required of him and shall testifie that he will not lyue without a wife, if the same Deacon after he is ordeyned do contract matrimony, he may not be hindzed but may frely execute his ministry. By which place we are manifestly taught, that it was lawfull to contract matrimony after orders receaued. Which Gracianus sawe well ynough, and therfoze he wryteth, that as touching that synode a consideration ought to be had both to the time & place. For it is obserued in the east Church, which in promotions of ministers admitteth not the promise of continency, but as touching time he addeth, that as yet this continency of ministers was not then brought into the Church: but if thou shalt aske, when that counsell was had, we answer, as it also appeareth by the same decrees vnder Synicrius and Innocentius, which liued in the time of Ierome and Augustine.

Whether it be lawfull to mary a wife after orders receaued.

Synodus Ancyra.

Gracianus.

But it is a wonder to see, how Tyzanny hath increased, and impiety by litle and litle taken depe rootes. At the begynnyng, the ministers of the Church which contracted matrimonies, were not altogether so severely handled. For the counsell of Neocaesariensis (as it is recited in the dist. 28. chap. Presbiter) commaunded such to be put onely out of their office, and not from their benefice: for they were still noyshed, and receaued their stipendes from the Church. Neither in the meane tyme will I ouerpasse, that the counsel did cast out of the Church such priests as were adulterers and whozemongers, namely, in excommunicating them which was very mete and iust, when as our men now a dayes do altogether winke at those synnes. After that they began not onely to put them out of their offices, but also (as they speake) to remoue them from their benefices, as it is wrytten in the 33. dist. chap. Eos & chap. Decreuerunt pea and those which so married, they banished either into a monastery, or into some straight place to do penance, but in our tyme they burne many of them. And afterwarde they raged also against the women, with whom the ministers had married, as it is sounde in the dist. 81. out of a certayne counsell holden at Toledo, chap: Quidam, where it is commaunded that the women should be sold. And in the dist. 34. chap. Eos, they are appointed to be seruantes of that Church, wherein the priest was, which hath contracted with them into seruitude, and if peradventure the Bishop could not bring them into seruitude, he should commit it vnto the prince or lay Magistrate. They banished them also sometimes into a monastery to do penance, as it is read in the 34. dist. chap: Fraternitatis. Neither were they content with this cruelty, but the children also whiche were by such matrimonies bozne, would they haue to be seruantes of that Church, wherein their father had ben, & they depriued them of al their fathers inheritance. And that is wrytten, in the 15. question the last chap: Cū multę.

Howe punishments agaynst the clergy which mary haue day by day increased. Conciliū Neocaesariensis.

Concilium Toleraum.

They

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A Commentarie vpon the

They do so not punish their adulterous sacrificers and whozemongers, neither their harlottes, nor yet their bastard children: they onely exercise their cruell tyranny vpon the wives of Priests and their lawfull children.

How of vnjust
things are of
no force.

Cyprian.

Jerome.
Epiphanius.

At the laste, when they haue almost no other thyng to byng, they flye vnto theyr bolwe as to a holy anchoz. They crye out that that must vtterly be kepte, and therefore it is not any moze lawfull for Ministers to mary, bycause when they are ordeyned they do bolwe sole lyfe. As though it were not both by the holy Scriptures and also by humane lawes commanded, that a bolwe, promise, or othe shoulde be of no force, if it compell vs to an vnjust or vnhonest thyng. And who seeth not, that it is a thyng very filthy, and agaynst the lawe of God that he whiche burneth in filthy luste, yea and so burneth that he dayly defileth hymselfe with harlottes, adulterers and vnlawfull Vsu veneris, shoulde be forbidden matrimonye? Undoubtedly the holy Ghost hath commanded matrimony to all such as can not kepe themselves chaste, yea and the fathers (which in this matter are moze enemyes to vs than they shoulde) saue this. Wherefore Cyprian as touchyng holy virgines, whiche had vnchastly behaued themselves, sayeth: If either they will not or can not kepe themselves chaste, let them mary. Jerome also feared not to wyte the same vnto Demetrius, Epiphanius also agaynst the Catharis, sayeth: It is better those whiche can not kepe themselves chaste to mary wyues, and sinne onely once, than dayly to wounde their myndes with vnpure actions. But the opinion of this father I do not in this thyng allowe, bycause he affirmeth that those do sinne, whiche when they haue made a bolwe of chastitee do contracte matrimonye, for as long as they do obeye the voyce of God, they charge not themselves with sinne. Neither do I allowe that his reason, wherein he sayth, that one sinne is to be committed, to auoyde a greater, onely this I meane to shewe by his wordes, that matrimony is very necessary to suche as can not kepe themselves chaste. But I will entreate no moze of this thing at this present for I haue abundantly spoken of all this question in my booke of Howes.

And the children of Israel ascended vp to her for iudgement, some affirme that this was done at certayne appoynted dayes, so that the Israelites shoulde come to her house, as to a certayne oracle, and to an interpreter of the lawes of God. Or els then they ascended vnto her, when he was inspired with the spirite of Prophecie. And undoubtedly it is very lykely, that she then called the people together, when she had any thyng to shewe vnto the Israelites in the name of God. And they are sayd properly to ascende, bycause in passing ouer the mount Ephraim they came vnto her.

6 And she sent, and called Barac, the sonne of Abinoam, out of Cedeg Nephtholim: and she sayd vnto hym: Hath not the Lord God of Israel commaunded thee to go, and leade vnto mount Thabor, and take with the ten thousand men of thee childre of Nephtholim, and of the sonnes of Zebulon.

7 And I wil bring vnto thee, vnto the riuer Kison, Sisera the capytayne of the host of Iabin, with his chariots, and his people, and I will deliuer him into thine handes.

8 And Barac sayd vnto her, If thou wilt go with me, I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me, I will not go.

9 Who answered, I will surely go with thee, but this iorney that thou takest shall not be for thine honour: for the Lord shall deliuer Sisera into the hand of a woman, So Deborah rose vp, and went with Barac into Cedeg.

Deborah

Deborah bleth the authoritie of a p[ri]nce, when she c[al]leth Barac vnto her and commaunded him to be called in her owne name. He came from the Citie of Cesdes. That was a Citie of the P[ri]ests in the tribe of Neptholim, and also a Citie of refuge as it is read in Iosuah the 19. chap. Hath not the Lorde God commaunded thee. So be bleth an interrogatiue speache: for that very muche profiteth to stirre vp mindes, and earnestly to commaunde any thyng. Some thinke that Deborah had moze than once yea often tymes admonished Barac in the name of god to accomplishe this office and he for feare lingered it. Wherefore she at the last openly and before the Israelites reproueth them. And it is as muche, as if she should haue sayde, In very dede it is God whiche hath commaunded thee these thynges. What whiche I speake is not myne inuention, I tell thee this thou must take in hande by the counsell and will of God. And in these wordes of the P[ro]phetesse may be obserued a maner much vsed in the holy Scriptures, which when they geue any p[re]cepte, do straight waye loyne therunto a p[ro]mise. When children are commaunded to obey their parentes, length of life is straight waye promised. Deborah also declareth, that she exercised the office of a P[ro]phet among the people, when as she P[ro]phesieth what shall become of Sisera, and fozetelleth a notable victo[ry], whiche God had decreed vnto Barac. Mount Thabor, whiche is here mentioned, of the Ethnike w[ri]ters is called Ichabirius: It is nighe vnto the Asirians, Nepthalites and Sabulonites. There the Lorde Iesus Ch[ri]st, our S[er]uaunt, was transfigured before thre of his Disciples, as it is declared in the hysto[ry] of the Gospell. This mount hath by it the riu[er] Kylon, whiche by the destruction of the Baalites is made notable: for there Helias the P[ro]phete slewe the P[ri]ests of Baal.

To p[re]ceptes are ioyned p[ro]mises.

Mount Thabor is called Ichabirius.

The riu[er] Kylon.

Drawe, and take with thee ten thousand men. This semeth to be a new kynde of speache: but vnto the thing whiche is in hande it is mosse p[ro]p[er]. For this Hebrew worde Maschach, is not in this place to be taken by violence to, but (as all the Rabbines almost do interpretate) with p[er]suasion to leade, that is, with faire and pleasaunt wordes to allure them. For without doubt it was a great and perillous worke wherunto they wer called, & for as much as they lyued vnder a Tyrant, their souldiers could not by publique authoritie be mustered or gathered together, but must of necessitie by faire meanes be allured, to conspire against a Tyrant. By this place we are taught that good and eloquent speeches are very p[ro]fitable in warrelke affaires, and that the arte of Rhetorike by the laue of God is not forbidden, but may in her place p[ro]fitably serue for holy men. Farther this is not to be left vnspoken of, that those two tribes, namely Neptholim and Zabulon, were not warrelke tribes but the weakest of all the tribes among the Israelites. And yet God commaundeth to chose out souldiers out of them, wherby we learne that it is a lyke to hym to vse either weake souldiers or strange warriors agaynst his enemies.

Rhetorike is profitable in warlike affaires.

The tribes of Neptholim & Zabulon were of lesse estimation than the other tribes.

Some man peradventure will doubt, by what argumentes or reasons Barac could be p[er]suaded, to beleue the wordes of Deborah. To whome we answer, that he weyghed with hymselfe, that those thynges whiche Deborah p[ro]mised, did very well agree with the wordes and p[ro]mises of God. For he, as he had threatened, that the Israelites when they sinned should by his commaundement and will be afflicted by outwarde nations: so agayne had he p[ro]mised, that he would deliuer them out of the handes of their enemyes, if they saythfully repented them of their wickednes committed, and saythfully from the heart called vpon him. He p[ro]mised that he would fight for them, neither should their weakness or feewenesse in number be a let, but that they shuld get the victo[ry] ouer their enemyes. Wherefore for as much as Deborah p[ro]phesied that those thynges should come to passe, whiche the Lorde had p[ro]mised vnto the people of the Hebrewes, it was conuenient, that Barac should receaue those wordes for true and saythfull t[ru]th.

The wordes of Deborah were agreeable with the holy Scriptures.

Farther the authoritie of the speaker helped thereunto, For Deborah was by God

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Deborah signi-
fies a bee.

God constituted in the ministry, not undoubtedly by an ordinary prerogative, but by a certain singular and principall prerogative. And if we should looke vpon the Etimology of her name, we shall thinke that her orations were verie sweete. For Deborah with the Hebrewes is a bee, which beast we know is a diligent artificer in making of hony. And yet all these things had not ben sufficient, to make Barac to beleue her, vnles the power of the holy Ghost had perswaded in his mynde those things which were commaunded. For sayth is onely the worke of the holy Ghost, whiche he can worke in the heartes of men without any outward instrument, but he hath decreed for the most part to vse them, I meane the worde and the ministry, not as though he were bound vnto them, but to shew vnto vs, how much we ought to make of these two instrumentes. Neither do I thinke that it is to be doubted, but that this holy woman, was both by miracles, and also by prophesying of things to come, declared to be the Minister of the true God and the most healthfull Judge of the Israelites. We therefore ought hereby to learne, that we must altogether heare the Ministers of God, when they set forth vnto vs, his wordes, promises, and also threatninges out of the holy scriptures neither is there any authority in the worlde, whiche ought to be preferred

They were
heard thynges
whiche Debo-
rah commaun-
ded.

before the ministry of the Church and word of God. Wherefore iustly ought Barac to beleue the things whiche Deborah commaunded, althoughe they seemed both greuous and hard. For she commaunded hym, to moue sedition and tumulte, to rebell agaynst his prince, a private man to gather an hoste, and that a litle one agaynst a most mighty king.

Whether Barac
were with-
out faith.

And Barac sayde vnto her, If thou wilt goe with me, I will go. In this place it semeth might be demaunded, whether Barac were doubtful, and beleued not at the beginning (as he ought to haue done) the wordes of Deborah. And that semeth to some absurde, when as in the Epistle to the Hebrewes the 11. chap: Barac is reckened with Sampson, Gedeon Iephthe and others, which by sayth ouercame kyngdomes. And therefore it semeth that his sayth being proued by the testimony of God, ought not by our iudgement to be empared. Wherefore they affirme that he would haue Deborah to go with him, not because he beleued not the promise of God, but that he myght haue a Prophetesse ready and at hande, whose Counsell he might vse in ordering his warre, in pitching his Campes, and other chaunces which are wonte to happen in warres. And I am not ignorant, that Augustine readeth it, after this manner. Because I can not tell in what day the Lord will prosper his anngell with me, &c. As though he should haue sayd, I will therefore haue thee with me, because thou being endued with the spirite of Prophecy (whiche hath not happened vnto me) shalt easily knowe, in what daye the anngell of the Lord will luckely fyght for vs. But I do thinke that Barac did somewhat doubt: for Deborah prophesied in the name of God that because of this answere he should be punished. And moreouer (sayeth she) thy glory shall be taken away from thee, and the Lord will sell Syra into the hand of a woman. And as Iosephus testifieth she spake these wordes being somewhat moued. And a Prophetesse woulde not haue ben angry, neither would God haue diminished the gloire of Barac without a faulte. And it appeareth not that he fell into any other sinne besides infidelity howbeit that in

Augustine.

Iosephus.

When although
they be godly
do not straight-
way beleue.

It is profita-
ble for Captay-
nes to haue mi-
nisters of the
worde in their
Campes.

credulitye was afterwarde taken away by the spirite and grace of God & when at the length he beleued the wordes of Deborah, and obeyed her, and by sayth (as it is written to the Hebrewes) he obtayned the victorie. And how often that happeneth vnto men, althoughe they be godly, namely, to doubt at the beginning, by reason of the dregges of the olde Adam, there is none whiche hath not experience of it in hymselfe. Afterwarde when they are strengthened with the spirite, there succeedeth a great assurednes of faith. And I do not deny that which the first interpretation sayeth, namely that it is very expedient for Captaynes,

hane Prophetes and Ministers of the worde of God with them in their warres. For as muche as the lawe of God in Deut. so commandeth and in the 2. booke of kynges it is wrytten, that Helizeus the Prophete was in the campe, when the kyng of Israell, the kyng of Iudah, and the kyng of Edom went to fight agaynst the kyng of Moab. Wherfore Christian princes, when they take any iust warres in hande, do rightely and orderly if they haue Preachers and Ministers of the worde of God with them in theyr expedition. Farther an other commodity came by the ptesence of Deborah: for thereby godly men vnderstoode, that it was no ralye warre, or taken in hand by humane reason, but enterprised by the commaundement of God, and Counsell of his Prophete.

The ptesence of Deborah was profitable in the Campe.

But in that it is wrytten that the glozy should be taken from Barac, and Sisera deliuered into the hande of a woman, it may be expounded two manner of wayes: either, because this victory should not now be ascribed vnto Barac, but to Deborah, namely, because she should haue the prayse to haue iudged Israell, and to haue set them at liberty, and Barac should not be counted amonge the number of the Iudges. Or els because Barac should not kill Sisera with his owne hande, but Iahel the wife of the Kenite should do it, as it shall afterwarde be declared. And in dede this latter interpretation seemeth to me moze naturall and pproprie.

Of these thynges whiche we haue now brought forth, are some most worthy to be noted. The first is, that God might haue deliuered this people the Israelites without the helpe or holpe of ten thousand men, whom yet he therfore choosed to teach vs, that he disalloweth not iust warrefarre. Farther that humane helpe, when they are ptesent, are not to be despised. Moreover he accorpyng to his wisdom vied the gathering together of these souldiers thereby to prouoke Sisera, that he agayne might gathered an host, and come and ouerthrow Barac.

And in that God sayth he will draw Sisera vnto mount Thabor, he teacheth vs, that his drawing is of force, not onely to good thyngs, but also to euill, in respect that they are paynes and iust punishmentes. No man can doubt, but that Sisera sinned in this, because with a great violence he contended to oppresse the Israelites, and that vniustly. And yet God promised to drawe him to it.

The drawing of God serueth both to good thynges and to euill.

Nevertheless we must marke, that the maner of the drawing of God is not a like as touching good thyngs and euill: because to good thynges we can not be drawn, except God do heale our vnderstandyng, and geue vs a good mynd. For by nature we are the chyldren of wrath and vterly corrupte, but when we are induced to euill God nedeth not to instill, any new malice in vs, for as much as we alwayes of our selues haue it ready and prompte to do euill: but onely the boyng of God, directeth them to what ende he will, and he so gouerneth them, to make open his glozy as he hath decreed. After this sorte vndoubtedly was Pharao hardened, and Sisera now drawn to destruction. God also drew those ten thousand men after Barac, for other wise they would not haue folloved him, but this drawing was after an other maner: for here he vied the speache of this man, whiche he made to be of efficacy in the heartes of his souldiers: but there to moue and prouoke Sisera he appointed both falling awaye of Barac, and the host gathered by him.

The maner of the drawing of God is not a like as touchyng good thynges and euill.

God drew both the men of Barac and also Sisera but by diuers meanes.

This is also to be considered, that by this place is proued, that glozy is a certayne good thing, whiche iuste and good men may desire: other wise Barac, to be punished for his incredulitie, shuld not haue ben depriued of glozy. And glozy is certayne noblenesse comyng of thynges well done. For those thynges whiche good men do very excellently of their own accord, do bryde a noble name or glozy. Wherfore the matter wherin it consisteth are opinions & talkes of iust & wise me. But the end wherunto glozy ought to be directed, is the setting forth of the name of God, & also an exaple whiche is set forth for our neighbours to follo. And as the bryghtnes of the name of god, & the edifying of others, are very excellent & good thyngs

Glozy maye lawfully be desired.

What glozy is

The matter & end of glozy.

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God can do many things which he will not do.

A destructio of an absolut power & of an ordinary power.

The counsels of men are so efficacy as the predestination of God hath ordained.

So also is it manifest y the glory which serueth vnto the is a good thing. Wherefore although glory for it selfe is not to be desired as the last ende, yet for those things which we haue mentioined, ought it not to be neglected. Farther we must note that God can bring certayne things to passe, which yet he will not performe, excepte things be done of vs. For he could (as it appeareth by this place) haue geuen the glory of this victorie and health of Israel onely vnto Barac: which he would not do, because he refused to go alone to that expedition. Helizeus also (as it is written in the 2. booke of kyngs) when he was sore sick, and commaunded the kyng of Israel which stode by him, to strike the earth with an arrowe, and he did strike it onely thre tymes, the prophete was grievously angry with hym, and sayde: If thou haddest striken sixe or seuen tymes, thou shouldest utterly haue destroyed Syria. But now thou shalt onely thrice bere and molest it. This maketh agaynst those, which thinke that the power of God differeth not from his will, as though he can not do those things, which he will not, when as for all that Christ sayde, that he could haue r. legions of angels of his Father, to defende hym from the Iewes that they should not take hym. And therefore could haue done that which he dyd not. Wherefore they seme not to thinke euill, which referre things to an absolute power and not to an ordinary, or definite power.

But how it is sayde that Sisera should be solde into the hande of a woman, we shal not nede now by many wordes to declare, and for as much as we haue before hearde this selfe same worde, and howe ryghtly it agreeth with God is there expounded. This onely will I adde, that he was now sold of God to him, to whome before God had solde the Israelites, and it is sayd that he shalbe solde into the hande of a woman, which should haue power and myght to kyll him: for he was killed by Iael, as a litle after ward shalbe declared.

10 And Barac gathered together Zebulon, and Nephthali in Kedesh, and he went vpon his feete with ten thousand men. Deborah also went by with him.

11 Nowe Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab the father in lawe of Moses, was departed from Cain, and pitched his tente euen to Elon in Zaanannim, which is in Kedesh.

12 And they shewed Sisera, that Barac y sonne of Abinoam was gone by to mount Thabor.

13 And Sisera gathered together all his chariots, euen nine hundred chariots of yron, and all the people that were with hym from Harozeth of the gentles, vnto the riuer Kishon.

It is before shewed by what meanes Barac gathered his men together, namely by an oration of much likelyhood and of much efficacy which was of so great strength with these tribes, that there came of them ten thousand men vnto him, neither would God (as it appeareth by the wordes of Deborah) haue any more. Hereby we see that the Counsels and wordes of men are so farre forth fruitfull, as the predestination or will of God hath before appoynted. Wherefore Luke in the Actes of the Apostles feared not to write: And they belened as many as were ordeyned to euerylastyng lyfe. Some translate this Hebrew worde Bergeliu, footemen, and others, after hym. But as for that matter we will not muche contend: because if they followed the feete of Barac, it is a token, that they also were footemen, neyther were the Israelites wonte to be of any great force on horsebacke, for as they were by God forbidden to kepe any greates number of horses. And when they should go by the mounte, though they had

had ben hoysmen, they could not haue ben so apte in those places. Farther this also maketh with it, for stragght way is used the same kynde of speach, when Sisera lept out of his chariot, & would haue fled away on foote. But therof we will speake in his place.

Deborah also went vp with hym. It was befoze sayde that she went with Barac vnto Kades: but because he should lede his host from Kades to the mount, it is properly sayd that she now also went by together with the souldiers that were collected. And there was no small sayth both in the Captaynes and also in the souldiers, whiche durste take suche enterpryses in hande, beyng so weake and fewe in number. But sayth seeth those thynges whiche appeare not to the eyes of the body. Helizeus the prophete once prayed, that the eyes of the lad whiche was with hym myght be opened, to see the wonderfull number of aungels, whiche very valiantly fought for hym agaynst his enemyes. And therfore as many of vs as do beleue in Christ, when we are in daungers, ought by constant sayth to take holde of that helpe whiche God hath prepared for vs, although we with our eyes see it not.

The thynges whiche are now by a Parenthesis declared of the Kenite, are therefore in the history by anticipation set forth, that those thynges maye the easier be vnderstand, which afterwarde shalbe spoken of Sisera that was killed by Iahell.

This Heber the husband of Iahell was of the posteritie of Hobab the father in lawe of Moses, of whome we haue abondantly spoken befoze. But of this place we learne why they were called Kenites. For Cain was the name of their family: but this Heber dwelled a parte from his kynsemen, neither remayned he any longer amonge them. For the rest (as it is wyrtten in the .i. chap: of this booke) departed from the Citie of Jericho, followed Othoniell, and lyued in the desert together with the children of Israel. But Heber of whome it is now wyrtten, went to the borders of Zabulon and Nephtalim, and pitched his tente nere to Cedes. But what was the cause of his departure from his brethren, it is not presently wyrtten. But we knowe that Loth and Abraham by reason of the aboundance of cattell and want of Pastore, departed one from an other: and seying the same myght easily happen vnto the Kenites, it is not onelykely, but that they were vpon the lyke occasion separated. This worde Tscenim, (if we maye beleue the Chaldey Paraphrast) signifieth ditches full of water, with whiche that place peradventure abounded. It is no meruaile that the family of the Kenites dwelled in tentes: for so muche as the Rechabites whiche came of them, had no where any tyme abyding places, and that was wont to be the manner almost of all shepheardes, to folowe Pastors that be plentyfull, in what place so euer they be. And this worde Aeilun signifieth sometymes an oke, and sometymes a playnesfelde. The Chaldey Paraphrast turneth, it a playnesfelde: but it myght be, that there was some notable oke or groue of okes in it.

It was shewed vnto Sisera onely howe Barac had gathered together an host and tolde hym that Deborah the Prophetesse of God was there, because that all men had a respecte vnto them at whiche was the Captayne of the hoste. And though a woman were they, firste counsellor, of this enterpryse yet there is no thyng shewed hym of her, for the thynges whiche are done by women, are wont for the moste parte to be referred vnto men. Neither had the Ethnikes peradventure any regarde to the gyfte of Prophecie wherewith Deborah was endued. What number of souldiers Sisera had it is not in this place expessed: onely there is mention made of nyne hundred Chariottes of yron. But Iosephus testifieth (as we haue befoze sayde) that the Chananites had 300000. foote men, 10000. hoysmen, and lastly 3000. Chariottes. And in that the history

Why the family of Iericho were called Kenites.

Why Heber departed from his kinsfolkes.

The Rechabites were the Kenites.

Iosephus.

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Augustine.

now maketh mention onely of 900. It is to be vnderstande, of hooked and ppon chariots, which interpretaciō Augustine in his questiōs on this place followeth. Farther Iosephus addeth that this Sisera by the commaundement of Iabin hys kyng directed this host vnto mount Thabor or Ithabyrius.

14 The Deborah said vnto Barac: by, for this is the day, wherein the Lord hath deliuered Sisera into thine hand. Is not the Lord gone out before thee? So Barac went downe from mount Thabor, and ten thousand men after hym.

15 And the Lord destroyed Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host with the edge of the sword, before Barac. So that Sisera lighted downe of his chariot, and fled away on his feet.

Iosephus.

Barac is made strong by the wordes of Deborah, and forced to foyn battail with his enemyes. For that is the power of sayth, to strengthen the weakenesse yea if the exhortation of Deborah had not bene, Barak (if we may beleue Iosephus) by the sight of his enemyes was so feared and troubled, that he would haue gotten hym to the stronger fenced places of the hill, but she called hym backe againe, and by her wordes dyane hym to fight. Being therfore strengthened, and confirmed, he forsooke the well fenced partes of mount Thabor, and came downe to fight with Sisera. This is (sayeth she) the day. As though she should haue sayd, no humane power, or warlike might can let the victory, which the predestination of God hath this day decreed vnto thee. But a man will aske howe it is now sayd that Sisera should be deliuered into the handes of Barac, when as before it was sayd, that he should be solde into the hande of a woman: I answer that it is therfore bycause that the host should be destroyed by Barac, and Sisera should be so made to flye, that the matter was begonne by the conduct of Deborah, and finished by Iahel, but the fight and slaughter was accomplished by Barac. Therfore in the history there can not iustly be noted any contradiction or diuersitie.

Augustine.

Is not the Lorde? The interrogation whiche the Prophete vseth, doth not onely stirre by and encourage the heart of Barac, but also vehemently commaundet hym, as the Latine Poete also hath sayde: Shall not armure dispatche the matter, and shall they not followe me through the whole Citie: But here may somewhat be doubted, in that our text hath, that the Lorde went forth before Barac, when as the Chaldey paraphrast turneth it, an aungell. For it sayeth, Shall not the aungell of the Lorde prosper thee: And vndoubtedly this paraphrastis sheweth, what was the cause why Augustine read (as we haue before admonished), that Barac sayde vnto Deborah go with me, bycause I knowe not in what day God shall prosper bys aungell & me. Therfore we must thinke, that the Greke interpretoz had these wordes of the Chaldey paraphrast, which afterwarde crepte into the texte, but yet out of place. But as touchyng the matter, eyther is true, both that God and bys aungell were present and fought on the Hebrewes side. And vndoubtedly Christ was that aungell whiche defended the Jewes and fought for them. Of Malachie the Prophete he is called the Aungell: and in Exodus God promised both, that he himselfe would come with his people, and also send his aungell, for our Christ both is God and also had euer with hym aungels as Ministers defending the Hebrewes.

Christ was the aungell which defended the Jewes.

And the Lorde destroyed Sisera. This Hebrew worde Icham maye haue for hys roote or grounde this worde Hamam, whiche signifieth to make afeard or to trouble. And then shall the sense be, God made him afeard, but the same worde signifieth also, to breake, or to destroy, althoughe as Kimhi sayeth,

teth, his rote may be this woꝝd Hom and Him which almost signifieth the same thinge. And in dede God did both, he terrified the hartes of the Chananiſes, and ſtroke and brake their hoſt.

How this ſlaughter happened, or by what ſingular ayde of God the Iſraelits overcame, it is not in this place wꝛitten. But Iosephus affirmeth that a grate violence of tempeſte and hayle was caſte from heauen into the eyes of the aduerſaries, wherewith the Chananiſes were ſo hindꝛed in the battayle, that they were not able to defend theſelues, & therefore they were miſerably ſlayne, whē as yet ſo miſery nothing at al hurted the Iewes. For ſo hayle was onely on their backe, and therfoꝛe theyꝛ violence againſt theyꝛ enemies was in nothing letted.

VVith the edge of the ſword. It is ſayd that God ſlew them, ſoꝛ he made them aſcared, and wonderfully troubled them with the tempeſt or hayle. Howbeit the victoꝛy was ſo obteyned, that the Iſraelits alſo fought: ſoꝛ it is wꝛitten ſoꝛ the enemies periſhed by ſoꝛ edge of the ſword, by which kind of ſpeech vndoubtedly is declared that they were ſlayne. This I haue ſoꝛ this cauſe noted, becauſe God ſometimes ſo maketh aſcared his enemies & graunteth victoꝛy ouer them, that his people whome he deliuereth, do nothing at all: as it came to paſſe in the red ſea, when Pharao periſhed there with his hoſt: and when the hoſt of Senacherib was wonderfully deſtroyed in one night by the aungell.

Iosephus.

God ſometimes deſtroyeth his enemies without the helpe of men.

16 But Barak purſued after the Chariotes, and after the hoſt eue vnto Harozeth of the gentiles: & al the hoſte of Siſera fell vpon the edge of the ſword. And there was not a man left.

17 Howbeit Siſera fled away on his fete to the tent of Iahell the wiſe of Heber the Kenite. For there was peace betwene Iabin the king of Hazor, and the family of Heber the Kenite.

Againe in this place we haue this woꝝde Bergelin, that is, on his ſeete. And in dede it appereth ſoꝛ it ſignifieth nothing els but a ſooteman. For Siſera thought he could not in that battell be ſaued in his chariote: wherfoꝛe he determined preſently to flye amonge the raſchall ſouldiours. He now therefore ſoꝛſaketh and abſteth his chariot which was prepared vnto him ſoꝛ a defence and ayde. And aſſuredly whē God taketh away audacity and ſtrength, the things which befoꝛe were weapons, are then made burthens and lettes. Miſerable Siſera flyeth, but he eſcapeth not. He made haſt vnto the place, wher god had prepared a ſnare ſoꝛ him. For the other Cananiſes fled to Hazoreth of the gentils, namely vnto the place from whence they came. But Siſera turned his iourney an other way from the reſt of the ſouldiours, neither fled he the right way as the other did. He knew the ſhorter way, & he gat him to the tent of the Kenites: which he knew was nigh home, and not far from the place wher the battayle was fought. And there he hoped to haue lurked, till the rage of the warre ſhould haue bene paciſed.

In that they were all deſtroyed, it is a token of a perfecte victoꝛy. But as concerninge the peace betwene Iabin and the Kenites, in what ſoꝛte or manner it was, we haue no certainty. Wherfoꝛe to affirme any thinge of it ſoꝛ certain, it ſhould be raſhly done. For it mighte be that Heber payed ſomewhat vnto Iabin ſoꝛ the paſtoꝛs which he occupied, and contrariwiſe that the kinge promiſed him ſecurity and ſafety ſoꝛ his flockes, cattel, and family. There may be alſo very many other things thought & thoſe very likely, but not to be affirmed ſoꝛ certaine.

Whither it be lawful ſoꝛ the godly to haue peace

with the vngodly.

This queſtiō is now to be diſcuſſed and defined, whether it be lawful ſoꝛ godly me to make peace & to kepe it with vngodly. And me thinketh we may ſaye

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that it is lawfull, especially if it be concluded for peaceable defending & keeping of the borders or borders on either syde. Paul saith, as much as lyeth in you, haue peace with all men. So did the most Christian princes with the barbarous infidels, in making peace sometimes with the. So Jacob in his old tyme made a league with Laban. So also did the children of Israel, with their other neighbours, excepting the seven nations, for God commaunded them not to make war with all those nations that dwelled about them.

An example of godly Josaphat.

But if thou shalte demaunde, whether it be lawfull for the godly when they take a common expedition in hand, to loyne their army and power with the vn-
warre against Ramoth Gilcad, he loyned him self with the king of Israel. Neither sped the same king luckely when he sent shippes together with the king of Israels shippes into Tharsis. For there arose a tempest in Aschou-Gaber wherby hapned a shipwacke and so he lost his paye. And as it is written in the latter booke of Paralip. God by the mouthe of his ppropete rejoyced Josaphat, because he had loyned himself with an vngodly king. The Achabites also made

An example of Achabites. The question is confirmed by seasons.

leagues with the Romaynes, & Lacedemonians, but what displeasure they had thereby, they history declareth. But now that we haue manifested the thinge by examples, let vs confirme it also by reasons. This no man can deny, that in such hostes, namely consisting of the vngodly & the godly together, the sincere religion and idolatry are mingled together: wherby it easely commeth to passe (suche is the weaknes of our nature) that the vnpure do infecte the holy ones. And it selde happeneth but that some impiety cleaueth vnto the childe of God. Farther when they come to handy strokes they muste call vpon God, and when the victorie is obtayned, they muste also geue thanks vnto God. And in doinge these thinges, what innocation I pray you, what sacrifices, what thanks geuinge shall there be? The true god shalbe mingled with Belial, idolatrous rites with lawfull rites, and true piety with superstition. These thinges vndoubtedly displease God. For if he would haue thinges after this sort mingled together, why choosed he a peculiar people vnto himself? Vndoubtedly he did it, that the saythfull mighte liue purely by themselves, and worship the true god sincerely. And seeing the matter is so, it is not lawfull confusedly to haue to do with the vngodly: other wise the order which god hath appoynted should be troubled.

Of the league of Abraham with the Cananites.

A man might peradventure say, that Abraham made league with Abner, Eschol, and Mambre, and with they: and toke in hand an expedition, wherin he deliuered Loth his kinsman, which was led away captiue. But they which obiect this example, where find they that these men wer idolaters? Vndoubtedly do not see that it can be gathered by the holy scriptures. But rather I suppose that they were worshippers of the true God. For God saide vnto Abraham, that he would not straightway geue vnto him the lande of the Cananites, because the sinnes of that nation were not yet full. Wherfore it is not absurde to saye, that these three men were yet there, & did worship the true God simply. Forasmuch as we know assuredly that Melchizedech also was in those regions, who blessed Abraham, and was the priest of the most high God. But graunt y they wer idolaters as these men wil haue them: Shall that which was by a certayn singular prerogative lawfull vnto Abraham, be straightway counted lawfull vnto al men to do it iustly and without punishmente, I thinke not. Farthermore we muste mark, y the common wealth of the Jewes was not yet obtained. And Abraham alone could not dwell among the Cananites without some couenants or leagues made with them. Wherunto thou muste adde that God had not yet geuen the law, wherin he peculiarly forbade any thinge as touching this matter.

Whether it be lawfull for christians to seeke for helpe of infidels.

But if a prince, or Christian pub: wealth (as sometimes it chaunceth) should be in daunger, maye they desire helpe at infidels handes? They cannot. For if Paule will haue vs rather to suffer wronge and hurt, than that we shoulde go to the

to the iudgement seats of the infidels when we are in controuersy with our brethren: How much lesse is it lawfull to vse the helpe of the vngodly, to deliuer vs from other Christians, which vniustlye oppresse vs.

I know that Asa king of Iudah sente money, golde and siluer, vnto Benhadab king of Siria, to make warre against the king of Samaria, that thereby he mighte be deliuered from him whiche in a manner oppressed him: Howbeit I doe not thinke that the acte of this kinge (though it had good successe) is to be followed. For he was reprobued of God for it. And though it be not expessed in the booke of kinges, yet in Paraltip: it is manifestly described. For there we reade that the prophet was purposely sent of God vnto Asa the king to reprove him greuouslye for this his acte. And there is an other notable example of like sorte written in the same booke, namely that Amasia did hter agaynst the Edomites. C. thousand Israelites: which the prophet in the name of God grieuouslye reprehended, and commanded that he should put away the Israelitish souldiours from his hoste, because that the will and good pleasure of God was utterly from thē. The kinge answered vnto the Prophete: But nowe I haue geuen them an C. talentes for theyr stipend. The man of God answered, that the Lord could aptly and easely repay him as many talentes, and that for so small a losse he should not suffer Idolaters which were hated of god to be in his campes.

An example of Asa the kinge.

An example of Amasia.

I will not tel how often the Jewes were forbidden by the prophets, that they shoulde not require helpe of the Egyptians, or of the Assyrians.

But to retorne to the matter from which we haue somewhat decreased: This Heber the knight, if he had peace with Zabin, for his limites or borders, or for some pencion agreed with him for past or for his cattle, it cannot be discommended. Forasmuch as godly men seke not to dwel out of the world, & they ought according to the Apostles commandement to haue peace with al men as much as in the lieth. But if he had peace, to take in hand any comd expeditio, it was vniust, neither ought it to abide ratified. But the thinge whiche we haue in hande was don by Iahel, and not by Heber her husband. For he either was not at home, or elles if he were at he home was sick: Wherefore he could not execute this notable acte.

18 And Iahell went out to mete Sisera, and said vnto him, Turn on my Lorde, turne in to me, feare not. And he turned in vnto her tente. And she couered hym with a coueringe.

19 And he sayde vnto her, geue me I praye thee, a little water to drinke for I am thirstye, and she opened a bottle of milke and gaue him drinke and couered him.

20 Agayne he sayd vnto her, stande in the doze of the tent and when anye man doth come and inquire of thee, saying: is anye man here? thou shalt say, nay.

21 Then Iahel Hebers wife toke a nayle of the tente, and toke an hammer in her had, and went priuely vnto him, and smote the naille into his temples, and fastned it vnto the grounde. For he was faste on slepe and wety: and so he died.

Iahel bled guile and that euil guile: but agaynst her enemy, not her own enemy, but one already reiected of God and an oppressor of the people of God. And in what sorte it is lawfull to vse euil guile against such enemies, we haue before declared. The couering wherwith she couered him, it is vncertayne what manner of one it was, and the opinions of the interpreters do muche differ therein. For some affirm that it was of silk and fine, and other some that it was a thick wollen garment full of beares and lockes hanging in both sides. But the matter is

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The cause of
the drought of
Sisera.

of no greate importance, and consisteth wholly in coniectures.

That Sisera was oppressed with thirst we ought not to mervelle, when as he had traueled so farre on foote, and was pressed with so great grief, for both they which are weary and also they that are heauy for the most parte are wonte to be thirsty. For both laboꝝ and the affection of soꝝow, haue a power of drying. The woman gaue him milke. Paraduerture shee diide it of purpose, to cause him to fall on slepe. Neither was it any hard thing for her to geue him milke to drinke, for she had it in hand, when as she & her whole family exercised the arte of graspinge of cattle. And in that it is said, that she opened a bottle, it declareth that she had no smal stoꝝe of milke, but greate aboundaunce therof. But Sisera when he had wel dronke, forgot not yet his owne safety, but diligently admonisheth the woman, what she shoulde aunswere, if any body came to aske for him. And that none shoulde haue occasion to entre into the tente, he willet her to abide at the doꝝe, to aunswere such as shoulde go by, to the ende that if they soughte for him, they shoulde sone departe from thence.

The cause of
Siseras slepe.

A nagle of the tente I take to be that which they vse to fasten into the ground to cause the tente being bound vnto it to abide spꝛeade abroad. And in that the woman vsed a hammer and a nagle, this I gather thereby, that the Israelites whilst they serued the Chananites, had theyꝝ weapons taken away from them by the Chananites that they shoulde haue neither sword noꝝ dagger mete to kill a man withall. This holy woman vndoubtedly was gouerned by God, whiche durst accomplish so great an enterpryse. For the strengthe of women is not able to atchieue these thinges. Sisera being on sleepe, died. The causes of his sleepe are now sufficiently expꝛessed, namely that he was weary by reason of his iourney, he dronke a greate deale of milke, and lay well covered: He was oppressed with heauines: and it is possible, that he slept but a little the night before.

The woman came softly or priuely, to se whither he were thoroughly on sleepe and when she saw that he was so, with a stout and balliant courage she gaue him a stroke. Sisera died, and that with ignominy. For God for this cause suffered him for a time to flye, that he might not be killed in battayle amonge men, but being on slepe be slayne by the hand of a woman.

22 And behold Barak pursued after Sisera, and Jael came out to mete him, and sayd vnto him, Come, & I will shew thee the man whome thou seekest. And he came in vnto her. And beholde Sisera lay on the ground deade, and the nagle in his temple.

23 So god brought downe Jabin the kinge of Chanaan that daye before the children of Israel.

24 And the hande of the children of Israel prospered, and preuailed against Jabin the king of Chanaan, vntill they had destroyed the same Jabin king of Chanaan.

Jael meeteth Barak and shee therefore sheweth him his enemy killed, that he shoulde no moꝝe trauaile in seekinge of him. Sisera was not deceaued when he thought that Barak would come to the tent of Jael, for he came thither in dede, for pursuinge the Chananites euen vnto Hazoreth of the gentiles, he sawe not Sisera among them which sell: wherfoꝝe he iudged he lurked somewhere, and suspected that he had without any moꝝe a doe fledde vnto the tente of the Levites, because of the league and peace which he had with them. God therfoꝝe broughte downe Jabin, pea if ye maye beleue Iosephus, the Israelites destroyed his citie with sword and fire.

Whither Jael
be in violating
the lawes of hos-
pitality did
well, or no.

But it seemeth that Jael in this her enterpryse and notable act did violate the lawes of hospitalite and league, and therefore nowe resteth, either to condemne her or to quitte her.

But

But because al controuersye, not a litle dependeth in this, that is of the circumstance of the persons, let vs therfore set her befoze our eyes, and consider with our selues what maner of men the Kenites wer. They assuredly in bloude wer ioyned with the Israelites. For it is written that they wer the posterity of Hobab the father in law of Moyses. Farther, in the study of piety and the lawe of God they most purely consented with the Hebrewes. Neither was they saythe pole, but of efficacy and working. For they leaving their country, followed the Israelites, and God which was their guide throught the deserte places. Wherefore at the length when the landes were distributed, they obtayned inheritance together with them in the lande of Chanaan. For these causes, if Zabel went about to set the Jewes at libertye, she did but her dutye, neyther tooke she vpon her any other mans office.

What maner of
me the Kenites
were.

On the contrary part let vs thus thinke of Sisera. He was an oppresser of the people of God, and now killed by the power of God, and utterly confounded, neyther appeared there in him any token of repentance, but rather would therfore hyde himselfe, that escaping this so present danger, he might againe gather a new host against the Israelites. In deede after a sorte he was in league with Heber the Kenite: but (as it is to be thought) not with a pure hart, but onely to plucke him awaye from the rest of the Jewes, whereby he might haue the fewer enemies, & not be compelled to fight with so many enemies at one tyme. Or els to get of him a great tribute, or some other commoditie which he looked for. Farthermore in this his vnluckye chance, he calleth vpon no God, he imployeth not the prayers of others, but onely seeketh hiding places, wher he might hyde himselfe tyl such time, as the rage and byte of the Conquerers were somewhat slacke: and onely trusted in humane aydes and leagues. By these thinges it easlye followeth, that both Zabel vndo her dutye, and that Sisera deserved so to be killed.

What Sisera
was.

But as touching the lawes of hospitality, we also do iudge that they by them selues and of their owne nature ought to be kept sacred and vniuolated. Whys vnder good Loth, when he would haue abandoned his daughters to the fylthy lustes of the wanton Sodomites, to the end they should doo no iniury vnto them which had turned in vnto him. Neither departed that olde man from his example, which receaued the Leuite with his wife as strangers, as it shal be moze at large declared in this discourse of the Iudges. Whose counsell in betraying his daughters, although I allow not, yet I do very much commend the defending of the strangers. Yea, and the Gentiles worshipped Iupiter hospitalis, knowing by the light of nature, that God had a singular care ouer strangers and gesses. Pythagoras also discommendeth the Swallowes, namelye for this, because they dayly lodge vnder the covering of mens houses, and yet will neuer be made familiar or tame vnto their hostes. There were also sometime certain mischeuous houses, in which no man might anye moze inhabite (as probable authoys haue written) and that because in them the lawes of hospitality had bene violated. And contrarywise wher hospitality hath bene wel and faithfully kept, not onely Angels, but God himselfe also sometimes hath bene an acceptable gess. Christ also at the end of the world will say: I was a stranger and ye lodged me, commending his in the sight of the whole world, for the vertue of hospitality. And it is manifest, that men in the old time decreed that betwene the gess & the host ther should be great friendship. Lastly God in the law commaunded, that the Hebrewes should not despise the Egyptians, or utterly erpel them from them, & that namelye for this, because at the beginning they shewed hospitality vnto their elders. Wherefore we must affirme that by the vniuersal and ordinary lawe, the lawes of hospitality ought to be kept inuolated. And this ought also to be firm, that in lawes, no friendships, are so honest and so iust, but they are to be broken if God commaund otherwile. For al these thinges ought so long to be of force,

Lawes of hospiti-
tality ought or-
dinariely to bee
kept vniuola-
ted.

Pythagoras.

Mischieuous
houses.

When God
maundeth, all
lawes of friend-
ship are to bee
broken.

as the wil of God shal allow them. Wherefore, soasmuch as God had no we re-
lected Sisera and the Chananites, and would haue them destroyed, no covenant
could iustlye be kept with them. For we must rather obey God than mans rea-
sons. And of this wil of God Deborah was both a prophecie and an interpre-
ter. She had declared that Sisera was now relected of God, and had openly soe
told that he should be sold into the hand of a woman.

After this maner the Leuites when they had slaine their friends & kinsfolkes
followed Moyses: to whom Moyses in the name of God said, ye haue consecrated
your handes, so farre was it of that they were reposed for violating the bondes
of kinred. Jeremy also, when by the commaundement of God hee had pronoun-
ced that the Moabites should be kyled, he cursed those which had withdrauen
themselves from that murder. He is cursed (said he) which doth the worke of
the Lord deceatfully. In the lawe also it is commaunded, that none should be
spared which entised any to idolatry, no not the Father, no the Mother, no no-
he or she which sleepe in thy bosome. Who seeth not here that most straggles
bondes of kinred are to be contemned, if the wil and word of God be against it.
Abraham was commaunded to kyl his sonne, and that his onely sonne, as tou-
ching whom he had receaued a most large promise. The promise of God and fa-
therly kindnes seemed to be against his precept, and yet against these thynges,
the word of God bygging him, he ought to haue kyled his sonne. So must we
think, that al men, although they be nigh of kyn vnto vs, or sacrifices vnto god,
as many as he commaundeth to be slayne. Wherefore in Esay the xxxiii. chap.
it is writtten: The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozra. But they which with a prepo-
sterous clemency wyl against the word of God be merciful, let them remember
what happened vnto the king of Samaria. He, when he had spared Benadab the
king of Siria, contrary to the commaundement of god, he was in this maner re-
prehended in the name of god by the Prophet. Thy soule shalbe for his soule.

What happ-
eth vnto them
that be prepo-
sterously gentle.

Wherefore Iahel in this place is not to be blamed, soasmuch as she obeyed the
counsel of god, and was excellently commended in the song of Deborah, as we
shal straightway see. And vndoubtedly this her worke came of a great fayth and
singular obedience. I know that some thinke, that the act of Iahel is to be com-
mended, in that she killed Sisera, and had so ready a mynde to set at libertie the
Israelites: but yet they condemne the lye which she made, and the promise wher
in she promised that she would hyde and defend him. For she said: turn in to me,
turne in to me, I pray thee, my Lord, be not afeard. By which kinde of spech she
seemed to promise him not to betray him to his enemies. I also would affirme
the same, but that I see that god was the gouernour of this whole enterpryse. I
haue before taught, that it is lawfull to vse guile, and that euill guile against our
enemies, and that certayne conditions are iust. But I added, that there should be
mingled no promises nor lyes, nor othes with them. But al these thynges are
to be vnderstand by the common law. But if god shal spyre vs up to doo other-
wise, there shalbe no blame layde in vs, if we obey him: so that we be very as-
sured that god will haue it so to be done. And this is not to be left out, that some
thinke, that Iahel at the beginning, when she called Sisera vnto her, thought of
no guile or fraude towards him: but that she was minded to keepe hym safe, as
she had promised: but afterward she chainged her purpose, because god had she-
red her, that she should otherwyse worke.

The x. Chapter.

1. **W**hen sang Deborah, and Barak the sonne of Abinam
the same day, saying:
2. Prayle ye the Lord for the auenging of Israel, and
for the people that offered them selues willingly,

The dittie or song which is here written, belongeth to a demonstratiue kind of oration: for it comprehendeth both praises and dispraises. Praises chiefly of god, which was the principal author of this victory: for in ouercomming Sisera, it is mentioned that he used the ayde of the starres of heauen, and of the tempest. Deborah also and Barak are praised, lyke wyse Iahel, and also these selue weake and vnarmed men of the tribe of Zabulon and Nephtholim, which obeyed the Oracle of god. On the contrary part Sisera is dispraised as a most cruel enemy of the people of god: & they are sharply rebuked, which belened not the word of god, but despised the commaundementes of Barak and wordes of Deborah: & hauing a regarde to their owne weakenes, and not so much esteeming the goodnes and promises of god as they shoulde haue done, they refused the battayle appointed them of God.

Of Musicke and Songes.

This song is a song of victory, such a one as Moyses sang when Pharaos was drowned: and as Hanna the mother of Samuel made by the inspiratiō of the holy ghost, when she had brought forth Samuel: and such a one as the Paydens of the Iewes openly sang in companies of players and dauncers after the victory of Dauid against Goliath. And in lyke maner in the newe Testament, Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon gaue thanks to god in their songes. The Ethnikes also when they had obtayned victories, were wont to appoynt supplications for certayne dayes, which in deede was nothing els, than to geue thanks vnto God. Wherefore being moued with the occasion of this place, I thinke it good somewhat to speake of Songes and Musicke, as much as belongeth to piety. Fyyste, from whence they had their beginning, and to what ende they were instituted. Secondly, whither they may be kept in the Churches. Lastly, what kinde of songes and measures are profitable and healthful.

As touching the first, we must vnderstand that the men of the olde tyme were wont with common bowes to sing certain solemn ditties, both when they gaue thanks to god, and also when they endeouored to obtayne anye thyng of hym. Wherefore Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, and Horace, and such like Poetes which used the Harpe, wrote most part of their hymnes for these uses. And in the Roman publike wealthe, the Priestes of Mars, which were called Salii, carped shields, and sang their verses throughte the Citie. Furthermore, it was the maner, that Musicke and verses were had, when the praises of noble men were celebrated, chiefly at feastes: whereby they which stood by, might be admonished to to imitate their noble actes, and to detest suche vices, which were contrary vnto theyr vertues. Moreover, they used them to recreate the myndes, and to comforte suche as were penfull for the dead. For in burials they sang Epitaphes. And contrariwise, when anye great cause of ioye happened, it was expressed by Musicke and Songes. Wherefore in weddinges they were wont to syng wedding songes. All these thinges, if they be done moderatly and in due time, maye be both bozne withal, and also commended. For Musicke and Songes contayne thre kyndes of good thinges, honest (I say) profite, and pleasantnes. For although synging of it selfe delighteth the myndes of men, yet when wordes are ioyned vnto it, which are of a iust number, and bound by certayne feete (as we see verses are) it is then made much more pleasant. And vndoubtedly Poetry had hereof hys beginning, and I cannot deny but it is a gyfte of god: but I woulde wythe this that it be kept pure and chaste among men. And that I for this cause say, because certayne vncleane and vnpure men haue most filthily defiled it, applying songes and verses to wantonnesse, wicked lusts, and euery filthy thing. Whose verses, although they be eloquent and good latine, yet they are vtterly vnwoorthy for Christian eares, neither ought they by any meanes to be taught vnto yong men, who being themselves prone inough to vices, neede no new fyres or motions to moue

A song of victory.

Poetes vsing the harpe. Sally.

Epitaphes.

Επιθαλμια.

Poetry a gyfte of God. Against wanton songes.

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more and enflame them. Verses of this kinde, may iustly be called the Sirenes of tender mindes: wherewith yong men being infected, it is scarce possible, but that they shal suffer shipwacke.

The godlye
much vned holy
songes.

But holy songes the people of God muche vned. For the Hebrewes in Moyses tentes, sang this song: Let God arise and destroy his enemies. Neither did they set it downe without some godlye song, as it is written in the booke of Numb. Furthermoze, in the Tabernacle & in the Temple which was built by Salomō, the Levites at houres appointed wer present & sang holy himnes befoze & Lozde in the hearing of the people, & whē they gaue thanks vnto God, they most swete lyce celebrated certayne notable benefites which he had bestowed on his people, and they adioyned prayes and added sentences to the information of the manners and lyfe of godly men. Householdiers also, when they sat down in their houses, or rose from a feast, did sing certain himnes, whē they kept solemne dates among their household, according to the commaundement of God: & so in geuyng thanks to God, they deliuered ouer in manner by hand, his notable woorkes to their posterity. Which laudable custome our Lozd Iesus Chyist semeth to haue followed, when after the Pascchal supper, in the night wherin he was betrayed, he went out together with his Disciples into the mount Oliuet, when thei had said an himne. And of what force holpe musicke is to pacifye the affects of the mynde, Helizeus testifieth, who being in minde somewhat moued agaynst the king of Israel, commaunded one that plaid on an instrument to be brought vnto him. Dauid also in playing befoze Saul, brydeled the violence of the euill spirite wherewith Saul was oppressed.

An example of
Helizeus.

Musike doth
in a manner raise
the & whole
man.

Pithagoras.

Cicero.

Tertulian.

Whether sing-
ing: may be re-
created in the
Church.
The east chur-
che.
Phai.

But why Musicke seemeth so to rapte men in a manner wholye, the reason is plaine. For there are certain pleasures, which onely fel the outward senses, and there are others also, which pertain onely to the minde or reason. But musick is a delectation so put in the myddest, that both by the sweetenes of the soundes it moueth the senses, and by the artificialnes of the number, and proportions, it delighteth reason it selfe. And that happeneth then chiefly, when such wordes are added vnto it, whose sense is both excellent & learned. Pythagoras opinion was, that they which studied his doctrine, should be brought on slepe with a Harpe, and by the accordes thereof also wakened, wherby they might quietly enioy the time both of sleeping and waking. And it is a common saying (as Cicero affirmeth) that rockes and wildernes do geue a sound, and cruel beasts by singing are asswaged and made to stand still. I wyl not speake, howe the Poetes fable, that when the walles of Thebes the Citie were built, the stones of their owne motion came together with the sound of the Harpe. And no man is ignoraunt, what the same Poetes haue written of Arion and Orpheus. And who knoweth not how much Dauid here & ther in his Psalmes praiseth both Musick & songes. And among Chyristian men Tertulian in his Apology teacheth that the faithfull did very often make suppers, wherin after they had moderatly and honestly refreshed the body, they recreated themselves with godly songes. And in an other place, when he commendeth Patrimony, that is of one and the selfe same religion, he sayth: that Chyristian couples doo mutually prouoke them selues to sing prayes vnto God.

But now that we haue sene the nature, beginning and vse of songes, and muche: ther resteth to inquire, whither it may be vned in Churches. In the East part the holy assemblies, even from the beginning, vned singing, which we maye easily vnderstand by a testimony of Plini in a certain Epistle to Traian the Emperoz: where he writeth that Chyristians vned to syng hymnes befoze daye vnto their Chyist. And this is not to be left out, that these wordes wer written in that time that Iohn the Euangelist lyled, for he was a liue vnto the time of Traian. Wherfoze if a man shal say, that in the time of the Apostles there was syngyng in

in holy assemblies. He shal not stray from the truth. Paule, who was befoze these times, vnto the Ephesians saith: Be not filled wpth wyne, wherein is wantonnes, but be ye filled with the spirit, speaking to your selues in Psalmes, Hymnes and spiritual songes, singing in your hart, geuing thanks alwaies vnto God, for all thinges, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. To wyne the Apostle setteth the spirite as contrarpe: and forbiddeth the pleasure of the senses, when in freede of wyne he wil haue Christians filled with the spirite. For in wine (as he saith) is wantonnes: but in the spirite is both a true and a perfect ioy. Drunkardes speake moze than inough, but yet foolishly and vayne thinges: Speake ye (saith he) but yet spirituall thinges, and that not onely in voyce, but also in hart: for the voyce soundeth in balne, where the minde is not affected. They which be filled with wine, do speake foolishly, filthy, and blasphemous thinges: but geue ye thanks to God, alwaies (I say) and for all thinges.

To this ende vndoubtedly ought Ecclesiastical songes to tend vnto. To the Colossians also are witten certaine thinges not disagreeing from these. Let the word of the Lord (saith the Apostle) abound plentifully in you: teache and admonish ye one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall songes, singing in your hartes with grace. By these wordes Paule expretheth two thinges. First, that our songes be the word of God, which must abound plentifully in vs, and they must not serue onely to geuing of thanks, but also to teache and to admonish. And then it is added, with grace, which is thus to vnderstand, as though he should haue said, aptly and properly both to the senses, and to measure, and also vnto the voyces. Let them not syng rude and rusticall thinges, neither let it be immoderately, as doo the Tauerhunters. To the Corinthians the firste Epistle the. xiii. chapter where he entreateth of an holy assemblie, the same Apostle writeth after this maner: When ye assemble together, according as euerye one of you hath a Psalme, or hath doctrine, or hath a tounge, or hath reuelacion, or hath interpretation, let al thinges be done vnto edifieng. By which wordes is declared that Syngers of songes and Psalmes had their place in the Church.

But the west Churches moze lately receaued the maner of singing: for Aug^{stine}, in his. ix. booke of Confessions testifieth that it happened in the tyme of Ambrose. For when that holy man together with the people watched euen in the Church, leaue he should haue bene betrayed vnto the Arrians, he brought in singing to auoyde tediousnes, and to dzine away the time.

The west Church.
Augustine.

But as touching the measure and nature of the song which ought to be retained in Musicke in the Church, these thinges are woorthie to be noted. Aug^{stine} in the same booke of Confession, both confesseth, and also is sorry, that hee had sometimes fallen, because he had geuen moze attentue heede vnto the measures and cordes of musicke, than to the wordes whiche were vnder them spoken. Which thing hereby he proueth to be sygne, because measures and singing were brought in for the wordes sake, and not wordes for Musicke. And he so repented him of his fault, that he exceedingly allowed the manner of the Church of Alexandria vsed vnder Athanasius, for hee commaunded the Reader, that when he sang, he should but lytle alter his voyce, so that he shoulde bee lyke rather vnto one that readeth, than vnto one that syngeth. Whobest on the contrary, when he considered, how at the beginning of his conuersion he was inwardly moued with these songes, namely in suche sorte, that for the zeale of pietie he burst forth into teares, for this cause I say, he consented that Musicke should be retained in the Church, but yet in suche maner, that hee saide he was readye to chaunge his sentence, if a better reason could be assigned. And he addeth y^e those do synne deadly, as they wer wont to speake, which geue greater heede vnto musicke, than vnto the wordes of God: To which sentence vndoubtedly Ierome assenteth, as he hath noted vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. Gregory also Rome, in the Synode of Rome was of the same opinion. And both their wordes

What manner of measure the ecclesiastical song ought to be.
Augustine.

The manner of the church of Alexandria.

Ierome.
Gregory.

are wrytten in the Decrees, Dist. 92. in the chap. Cantantes, and in the chapter, In sancta Romana. In which place are read in the glose two verses, not in bede so eloquent, but yet godly.

*Non vox, sed votum, non cordula musica, sed vox
Non clamans, sed amans, cantat in aure Dei.*

That is: Not the voice, but the desire: not the pleasantnes of musick, but the voyce
Not crying, but louing, syngeth in the eare of God.

And in the wordes of Gregory, this is not slighte to be passed ouer, in that hee saith: Whylest the sweetenes of the voyce is sought for, the life is neglected: and when wicked maners prouoke God, the people is rauished by the pleasauntnesse of the voyce.

The abuses of
Ecclesiasticall
Musicke.

- But now let vs declare the cantions which are to bee obserued, to the ende we maye lawfully and fruitfully vse singing in the Church. The first is: That in Musicke be not put the whole summe & effect of godlines, and of the worship-
1. ping of God. For among the Papists they do almost euery where thinke y they haue in the churches fully worshipped God, whē they haue long & much soong
2. and bleated. Farther, we must take heede that in it be not put merite or remissio of synnes. For there are very many Priestes and Monkes, which for this cause do thinke they haue very wel deserved of God, bicause they haue soong very many Psalmes. Yea and the Pope also, Cardinals, Bishops & Abbots, when they haue heard songes of Passes and Quensonges, do oftentimes pronounce vnto
3. the people indulgences of synnes. This vice also is to be taken away, that sin- ging be not so much occupied in the Church, that there bee no time in a maner left for to preach the word of God and holy doctrine, as they doo almost euerye
4. wher. For they so chaunt all thinges with synging and piping, that there is no part of the time reserued for preaching. Wherby it cometh to passe, that the peo- ple depart out of the Church full of Musick and harmony, but yet hungerstoznen
5. and fasting as touching heauenly doctrine. Moreover, so riche & large stipendes are appointed for Musicians, that either very litle, or in a maner nothing is pro-
6. uided for the Ministers which laboꝝ in the word of God. Neither may that byo- ken & quauering Musicke be lawfully retayned, wherewith the standers by are so letted, that they cannot vnderstand the wordes, no though they would. We
must also take heede, that in the Church nothing be soong without choyse, but onely those thinges which are contained in the holy scriptures, or which are by iust reasons gathered out of them, and do exactly agree with the word of God. For if there should be a wyndow opened vnto the inuentions of men, it wer to be feared, least Ecclesiasticall Musicke should at the last be chaunged into trifles and fables. Yea, we already see, that there are brought into the assemblie verie many foolish Sequences (as they call them) and sayned Hymnes, and manye o-
ther thinges also which doo styꝛe by vnto the hearers rather a laughter and a wearynes, than a true sayth. Neither doo I speake these thinges as though I would dyspayse the Hymnes of Ambrose, and other whiche are of that kynde, forasmuch as by them I iudge that the saythful maye be both instructed, and also

Hymnes of
Ambrose.

The Symbole
of Athanasius.
The Psalmes
of Augustine.
The Psalmes
of Chrysostome.

The Psalmes
of Valentine.
Psalmes in the
honour of Sa-
mosatenus.

admonished. The Symbole of Athanasius seemeth also to bee allowed, and the Psalmes of Augustine against the Donatistes: and also the Psalmes of Christo-
some (of which the Ecclesiasticall histoꝝ of Eusebius maketh mention in the 7.
booke) if they were remayning. For whatsoeuer thinges were wrytten in them,
we must beleue that they agree with the holy scriptures, and that they doo ad-
uaunce the edification of the faithfull in the Church. But contrarywyse the
Psalmes of Valentine (of which Tertulian maketh mencion) ar above al thinges
to be condemned. And with them the most corrupt Psalmes whych were soong
in the Temple in the honour of Paulus Samosatenus, as the histoꝝ of Sozome-
nus declareth.

But

But now to conclude the matter, I affirme that godly & religious songes maye be retained in the Church: and yet I confesse that there is no pzecept geuen in the new Testament of that thing. Wherefore if ther be any Church, which vpon iust causes vseth it not, the same Church cannot iustly be condemned, so that it defend not that the thing it selfe of his own nature, or by the comaundement of God is vnlawful, and that it do not for the same cause reprove other Churches, which vse singing & Musicke, or els exclude them from the fellowship of Christ. For the Church of Alexandria (as it is before said) vsed either very litle singing, or els almost none at al. For they saw the infirmity of the people to be so great, that they gaue moze heede to the harmony, than they did to the wordes. Wherefore if in these daies we shal perceaue, that the Christian people do runne vnto the Churches as to a stage play, where they may be delighted with piping & singing, in this case we must rather abstaine from a thing not necessarye, than to suffer their pleasures to be coked with the destruction of their soules. But now I thinke it good to returne vnto the victorie.

There is no pzecept geuen for the hauing of Musicke in the Church.

Then sang Deborah and Barak. It seemeth that Deborah alone made this dittie: for the spirite of prophete had perced her, and not Barak. Howbeit hee is ioyned with her, because even as in the battaile he was the Captaine, so also among the singers, and those which gaue thanks vnto God, he was the chiefe.

Who made this song.

In that day. We may thus enterprise, that in the selfe same day of victorie, this song of victorie was both made and also song: which lyketh me verie well, that we might hereby learne straight waye to geue thanks for the benefites receaued. For to deferre it, as some do, it can scarcely be defended from the vice of ingratitude. Neither can the maner of certayne men be commended, which to obteyne anye thing at Gods handes cease not wth moche importunate bolles to pray vnto him, but when they haue obtayned their request, they scarce returne vnto God, to geue him thanks sometymes at the last.

It is vicious to deferre thanks geuing.

The Ethnikes (as we gather by good authours writers of histories) when they had gotten the victorie, did straight waye syng hymnes in praises of their Gods: & if they wth so great a study gratified their false Gods, howe muche moze ought we for the benefites which we haue receaued, without anye farping to offer thanks vnto the true and liuely God, whom we worship.

Conquerers did straight waye syng hymnes vnto their gods

Prayse ye the Lord for the auenging of Israel. Because this Hebrew word Perag is doubtful, therefore the sense thereof may be taken diuers waies. First, it signifieth to make naked & to spoyle, as it is put in Exodus, when Aaron tooke golden ornaments of the Israelites, to make the molten Calfe. For he was reprovved of Moyses, because he had wth ignominy made naked the people. Wherefore according to this signification the sense of the dittie is: Geue thanks vnto God, which first made you naked both of strength and of his ayde, when we wet geuen ouer vnto the Chananites. Furthermore, geue hym thanks, because he hath after ward made you prompt both to take in hand warre, and also to recover your liberty. Eche of these actions of God is to bee praised, for they turned to good to his people. For the defection calleth them backe to repentance, and the deliuey deliuereth them from a grievous pike. Let god therefore be praised, which both leadeth to hel, and bringeth from hel. Neither must we geue hym thanks onely for prosperous thinges, but also for aduersity. Also this word Perag signifieth to reuenge: and by this meanes soasmuch as reuengement may be referred to two thinges, the sense of it also may be taken twoo wayes.

To the elect it is profitable both to bee cast downe, & also to be deliuered. We must geue thanks vnto God for prosperitie & aduersitie

The first is: That god in oppressing the Israelites, and deliueyng them to the Chananites, reuenged the injury that was done vnto himselfe, wherein they dyd grievously offende hym, when they fel to impietye and Idolatrye. Neither doth this latter sentence vary anye thyng from the first. Soasmuch as by this way also Deborah commaundeth to geue thanks vnto god for the former afflictions. For to the godly aduersitye also turneth to good.

All.

For

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For the Saints when they haue fallen, are wont by scourges wherewith they are punished to be called backe againe to repentance, which repentance God poureth in them by diuers and many verations. The third sense is, which is euery where, and almost receaued of al men: That they should geue thanks vnto God, which at the last had reuenged the iniuries of the Israelites. For they were befoze long time, & that grieuously oppressed by the Chananites. And then by the spirite of God they were made willing and prompt, which befoze were such abiectes and cowardes. Two things therfoze are expessed, namely, that God confounded the Chananites, in reuenging the euils whiche they had done vnto the Iewes, and also that he strengthened them in the battaille. If God reuenged them, they by them selues coule not reuenge themselves. If he made them willing, they themselves were not such. Wherfoze free wyl is put down, and the goodnes of god commended. For euery as we doo not aske of god those thinges which we haue in our own hands and power: so for these thinges when they happen vnto vs, we geue him no thanks.

We do not aske
those thinges of
God whiche ar
in our own po-
wer.

3 Heare ye Kinges, hearken ye Princes: I, euen I wyll syng vnto the Lord, I wyll syng psalme vnto the Lord God of Israel.

Why he calleth Kinges in special, there maye be manye reasons alledged. The first is, bicause all the Iewes were called in a manner Kinges. For God made that nation both a kingdome and a priesthoode vnto himselfe. They were all therfoze so called, euen as we of Christ are called Christians, or anoynted, of our onely head Christ, whych was chiefly annoynted wth the oyle of righteousness and grace.

In admonitio
to Magistrates

Farther, he maketh an Apostrophe to kinges, because that shee song these wordes not onely for her time, but also hauing a regarde to the tyme to come: wherfoze by her, all Princes and Magistrates are in especiall admonished, because they being puffed vp with pride and cyches, both thinke and also affirme that the people should looke for safety at their handes. But now they are taught by the word of God, that it is he which defendeth and keepeth, although sometimes therunto be vsed the helpe of them that are preserved. Lastly, Deborah speaketh to strange Kinges, whiche had determined wth them selues to destroye the Israelites, and exhorteth them diligently to weigh wth themselves the thinges which God hath done, and to marke howe hee knoweth to auenge his people in due tyme.

I, euen I (sayth shee) wyll syng. The repeating of the pronome of the first person, is not onely vsed of Poetes, but also of Orators: nether doth it onely adorne the oration, but also moue the affections, and directeth by men vnto admiration. Virgil saith: I, euen I am present which did it, turne your weapon against me. Cicero also saith: Ah I miserable man the goodes, the goodes I saye of Gnaeus Pompeius, were most cruelly by the voyce of the cryer, &c. This now is, as if Deborah should haue sayde: I althoughe a woman, yet a Prophet. I althoughe a woman, yet a saviour of Israel wyll syng vnto my God.

Virgil.
Cicero.

They vse to put a certayne difference betwene these two latin wordes canere that is, to syng, and psallere which is also to syng: but because that difference is not alwaies obserued, yea, one is taken oftentimes for an other, therfoze I willingly overpasse it.

4 Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou departedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, the cloudes also dropped water.

5 The mountaynes melted befoze the Lord, as did that Sinai befoze the Lord God of Israel.

In the ditties and periodes of songs and of the prophets this is a common vse, that the latter part differeth not from the fyrst, as touching sence, but cōtayneth the same thing, the wordes being somewhat chaunged: which thinge also in the p̄ouerbes of Salomon is easy to marke. And I doubt not that the same is done vpon iust causes. Forasmuch as of the holy ghost nothing is done rashly or vnprofitably. The sentences also which are entreated of in those bookes, are verie graue, and therfore by that taryng in them, our dulnes is holpen. For it quickly passeth ouer the sence of the fyrste parte: therfore the latter parte being all one with the fyrst, maketh vs to geue moze attentue heede. Farthermoze our hardenes is so greate, that to one stroke it vseth not to geue place. Wherefore it is no merueyle if God strike it with a double stroke. And when the wordes are chaunged, the efficacy and wayght of the sentence alkedye spoken, is moze and moze expressed. The want of humayne speache is holpen, whiche want is suche, that at one speaking, the whole signification of a wayghty sentence can not be opened. Wherefore by that repetitio, that which is not expressed by the fyrst wordes, is expounded by other wordes which serue for the same thing.

Why in the periodes of the holy scriptures one sentence is repeated.

God therfore, by whose conducte this victorie was obteyned, is to bee praysed: which is by very good reason done, forasmuch as his beneuolence towarde Israel is p̄oued to be no strange or new beneuolence. Wherefore Deborah celebrateth him as an old and auncient patrone of the Iewes. From the time (sayth she) wherein the Israelites at thy cōmaundement, walked. 38. yeres by diuers wyters (as it is wrytten in the. 2. of Deutronomy) about mount Seir, and then at the length by thy will departing from thence, they went sozward to the land of Chanaan, thou nobly takest in hande theyr cause. For thou goyng with vs in a pillar of fyre, and of a cloud, so fearedst the Chananites our enemies, that they wer not able to resist vs, which were otherwise weake and feble. Befoze when we went aboute the mountayne, they liued in securite, and scoute contemned vs. But when thou leddest vs out of those places, such a feare came vpon them, that euen the earth seemed to tremble, and the heauens and cloudes caste downe great tempestes and shoures. And it was so greate as though the mountaines should roule down greatcheapes of water, to the inferiour valleys. By these alligories Deborah describeth the feare that was giuen into the Amozites and Chananites. And it is no maruayle (saith she) if at thy sight they wer so troubled, whē as this Sina was not able to abide & discēding down vpo it, whē in old time thou gauest & law, for it was altogether shaken, & it wōderfully trembled. Let the prudent reader mark that there wanteth this particule Caph. Whiche is a note of a similitude, whiche should be here put. This Sinai is wrytten simply: whē as we must vnderstand sue as this Sina in the old time was moued, so they at our cōming were soze afrayd & trembled. To mount Seir or Edom, which is now mentioned, in the. 30. chap. of Deutronomy (where almost the same thing is wrytten) is Pharan added, namely a mountayn lying hard by it, and the like thing is red in the Psalme. The Rabbines of the Iewes do bying trifles, and say that God did therfore come from Seir when he would geue the law, because he would fyrste haue genen the lawe vnto the Edomites: which when they refused, he went vnto mounte Sina to the Iewes, which receaued the law, with a willing and glad hart. But these fables are not drawen out of the holy scriptures, but spring out of theyr own inuention, which immoderately cōmend their own nation, as though they by their own iudgement & byright wil, had deserved to receaue the law of God. But others thinke, that God when he came to Sinai, was sene to haue descended from those mountaynes of the Edomites, as though he should beginne to goe from thence vnto the Israelites. This also is but a weake reason. The fyrste interpretation sitteth best, for as touching the bystory, when God caused the Israelites to passe ouer beyond the mountayne, then were the Chananites soze asfearde, especially when Og, and Sihon the kinges were slayne.

A farned thing of the Rabbines

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6 In the dayes of Sangar the sonne of Anath, in the dayes of Jabel the highe wayes were vnoccupied, and the traauylers walked thorough bywayes.

7 The towne of Israell were not inhabited, they decayed, vntill Deborah rose vp, which rose vp a mother in Israell.

Hetherto is God commended as the auncient defendour of the Israelites, but now is set forth this present victorie. And is handled by comparison because it is declared that God had now graunted farre greater things than befoze he had geuen, when Deborah was not yet stirred vpp. For Sangar (of whome we befoze entreated) althoughe he obtained some victorie ouer his enemies, and did some what for the safety of the people, yet he did not perfectly set the Hebrewes at liberty. Neither performed Jabel a full deliuerie. For in their time high ways also were not then safe, and men were compelled, eyther not to go forthwarde, or els to trauaile throughe bywayes and vnknown places. And thinges were come to that poynte, that villages, and towne whiche were not fenced and inclosed with walles, were cleane forsaken. Wherfoze marchandise, husbandrye, & iudgements were bindzed, and the Jewes were compelled to kepe themselves in cities well fenced, except they would haue ben made prayes vnto the Chananites. And this misery indured fro the oppzession of Jabin to the dominion of Deborah.

But it may seme meruellous, why he maketh mention of Sangar & Jabel both together. Some thinke that she iudged Israell after Sangar. But for asmuche as the holpe scriptures write not so, I dare not affirm it, I thinke rather that shee was named with Sangar for honours sake: as though she should haue sayde: Althoughe God hath by her nowe killed euen Sisera, and that hitherto God hath loued her, yet as long as shee hath liued vnto this presente daye, the calamity of Israell hath endured, neither was it taken away. This Hebrew worde Perzon in the singular number signifieth, villages, and towne without walles and fences: and therfoze it is construed with a verbe of the plurall number, namely Chadelu. Farther we must note that this verbe Chadelu is twise repeated, for it is put both in the beginninge and in the ende of the sentence, as in that verse of Virgil: He demaunded many thinges of Priam, & many thinges of Hector.

She sayth that she rose vp as a mother in Israel, because she was stirred vp not to raigne as a tirant. Certayn do sometimes fight for theyr country, and do seme as though they would set it at liberty, but afterward the same men doe oppzesse it no lesse than enemies. Cesar semed to haue deliuered the frenchemen and the Germanes from the yoke of the Romaines, but he vtterly oppzessed the publike wealth, that is, the liberty of the people. The same thing went Marius and Silla aboute.

And here is touched the duty of a lawfull and good prince. And that is to haue a fatherly minde toward his people. Wherfoze Senatours were called fathers, and they wer named Patres conscripti. That is, appoynted fathers, whose families also wer called Patritia. And assuredly in the old time it was counted an excellent and a most noble title to be called a father of his countrey, for Tullie esteemed it to be so honozable vnto him, that he sayd: The city of Rome called Cicero the father of the country.

8 When he chose new Gods, then was ther warre in the gates, if there were a shield or speare sene among 40000 of Israell.

These wordes are expounded two manner of wayes, and that not vnaptly. First, it may be sayde, that warre did then straght way oppzesse the Jewes, and that the enemy also beseged theyr gates and cities, when they declined vnto Idolatry. According to which interpretacion the election is referred vnto Israel, and this

Virgil.

Cesar.

Marius
Silla.

What is the
property of a
lawfull prince.

this woꝛde Elohim, shalbe the accusatiue case, so that there is a reason shewed of the misery wherewith the Hebꝛues were afflicted. Undoubtedly they were therfoꝛe hynsed and made ascard, and also not one of many thousandes which durste take a shield, oꝛ shake a speare, bicause they had polluted themselves with idola try. And Deborah testifieth this to be so true, that she may confirme it even with an othe. Which this particle (If) which is here put declareth mozeouer we maye in this soꝛte interpreate it: Deborah after that I was stirred bype of God, there was warre in the gates, either of the tentes, oꝛ els bicause the Hebꝛew souldioꝛs which befoze kept themselves within, wer now gone soꝛth of the gates: bycause god hath now chosen new thinges, that is, he hath broughte in a new shewe and soꝛme of thinges longinge vnto the Israelites. Dure menne durst do nothing hetherto, which now burst soꝛth and assaile theyꝛ enemies. It is god therfoꝛe, whiche hath chosen newe thinges: And this woꝛd Elohim in that sense shalbe the nominatiue case. The things which god hath now wrought, are not vnwoꝛthe ly called new thinges: Foꝛ it is a rare and an vnaccustomed thinge, that armed souldioꝛs should be banquished of vnarmed mē. And the Hebꝛues were so with out weapons, y not among xl. C. men was found so much as one shield oꝛ speare.

This Hebꝛewe woꝛd Aim is a particle of one that sweareth, and is very much bled in the holy scriptures. I haue swoꝛne in mine anger, if they shal enter into my rest. Also: Loꝛde if I haue done this, oꝛ if there be iniquitye in my handes &c. The reason of this kinde of speach is, bycause they which do so sweare, doo begin an execration, and sometimes they perfoꝛme it not. If, say they, they should adde. I do it, let this oꝛ that happen vnto me, let me perishe, let me dye, let me suffer cruell punishment, and such like. But sometimes they fully expresse it:

9 My darte is set on the gouerners of Israel, and on them that are willing amonge the people, praye ye the Loꝛde.

10 Speake ye that ryde on white asses, ye that dwell by Middin, and that walke by the way.

Deborah by an eloquent distribution turneth herself to diuers kinds of men, & exhorteth euery one of them to prayse the Loꝛd. She maketh mention of pꝛinces befoze the other, and sayth that her harte is set on them, namely bicause she feruently desireth them to be thankfull vnto God, and to prayse him foꝛ the benefite which they haue receaued. She calleth them Hokekei, bicause to them pertained to make both decrees and lawes. Afterwarde she speaketh of all those, whiche of theyꝛ owne will and accoꝛd had offered themselves vnto the battaile.

Ye which ride on white trim asses. Almost al interpretoꝛs vnderstand this to be spoken of merchantes, which ryde to and fro to sayes and marketes. And indeede asses are very much bled in Siria: soꝛ there the asses be stronge, and mighty Asses are bled in Siria. and of a good bigge stature, and do go pleasauntly.

VWhiche dwell by Middin, Some vnderstande it thus, that they whiche are iudges shoulde be prouoked to prayse God. Foꝛ (saye they) as shee had befoze stirred by marchants and rich men to prayse God, so now she calleth vpon iudges to do the same. Foꝛ as befoze marchants were bindyed from their trades, also were iudges lettred from exercising iudgementes. Foꝛ they being oppressed of theyꝛ enemies could not minister iustice. But it is better that by this woꝛd Middin be expꝛessed some certayne place, which peraduenture was grievouslier oppressed by the enemies thā other places wer. Oꝛ els bicause theyꝛ marchandises wer wont to be much occupied, which being now set at liberty & in safety, the inhabiteurs of that place are peculiarly stirred by to prayse God. And lastly this semeth to pertayne to the common people. VWhich walke by the way. Namely on fote. Foꝛ other, either they did ryde, oꝛ wer caried vpon asses, soꝛ that they were

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rich and noble men. All ye (sayth she) Schichu, that is tel, and shew. But bicause that verbe signifieth also to meditate, we will thus expound it: with a redye and an attentue minde tell oʒ shew. D; els it is sayd, Ye which walke by the way, to declare a certayne cause why they ought to geue thanks: as though shee should haue sayd: All ye, which I haue mentioned, therfoze geue thanks vnto God, bicause nowe ye may walke by the way freely.

11 For the noyse of the archers appaied in the places wher water is drawen, there shall they reuerse the righteounes of the Loʒde, bys righteounes of his townes in Israell, the did the people of the loʒd go downe to the gates.

Water is a very necessarie thing in Syria

When she had nowe prayesd God, because he had restored the common highe wayes free vnto the Hebrewes, she addeth now an other benefite which he had bestowed on them, namely in that thei might with out feare draw water, which befoze was in a maner wholly letted them. This thing vndoubtedly, althoughe in other places it seemeth to be of no greate value, yet in Siria where is wonderfull greate scarcety of water, it ought to be counted foʒ an excellent gifte. The welles oʒ fountaynes whiche were without the cities by the streates and highe wayes, could stande the Jewes in no steade, by reason of the Chananites whiche kept away al thinges. Foʒ the hoʒsemen which were archers, hidde them selues priuely neare such waters, and assailed those which came foʒth to draw water there. Many of them they led away captiues, and with theyʒ noyse and cry, they feared away in a manner all from drawinge of water. Ye haue nowe escaped (sayth Deborah) the horrible and barbarous noises and cries of hoʒseme, which were archers vsed to crye with an horrible voyce when they assaile theyʒ enemies, Jeremy in the .4. chap. testifieth. And the whole city (sayth he) fled away at the cry of the hoʒsemen, which they made whilest they bended theyʒ bowes.

Why thei geue iudgements in the gates.

After that is setfoʒth an other singular benefite, namely that þ little townes and villages, which wanted fences, and were not inclosed with walles, and seemed to be desolate and empye by reason of the enemies whiche besieged them, ar now by the help of God reedified and restored. Wherfoze she concludeth that foʒ this cause also, god must woʒthely be praised. Lastly is added, þ the people of god might now assemble at the gates of þ cities, fro the which befoze they were altogether prohibited. The iudgement place in the old time was wonte to be in the gates wher thei executed lawes. But by reason of warres and oppzessions it seemeth that iudgements ceased, which thing how great a misery it byingeth to the publike wealth, they do manifestly vnderstand, which are not ignozant that in iudgementes in a manner the whole power of the publike wealth is contayned. But why the Hebrewes executed these thinges in the gates, thys seemeth to me to be the cause, bicause they thought those places most meete to be chosen, vnto which not onely the citizens, but also the rusticall and husband men might safely come. And þ vndoubtedly could not be better done in any other place, then in the very gates of the cities. Geue thanks therfoze vnto God, sayth Deborah, bicause all these thinges by his ayde haue nowe recovered theyʒ olde foʒme and order.

12 Arise, arise Deborah, arise, arise, singe a songe. Up Barak, and leade thy captiuitie captiue, thou sonne of Abinoam.

Forasmuch as Deborah studied to inflame all the Israelites to geue thanks vnto god, by an eloquent figure she now stirreth by herself, þ therby others might be

he picked forward, and endenour themselves by her example to praise God. Go to, Go to, Deborah, go to, go to sing a songe. This without doubt, is, the manner of saintes in their Psalmes and songes that they neuer satisfie themselves in praising God, they alwayes thinke that they are to colde, and so that cause euery where they vse suche stirringes by of themselves. Here R. Salomon doteth, when he writeth, that Deborah did to much boast of her selfe, and therfore when her spirite began to ware saynte, she endenored her selfe by such stirring by to kindle it agayne. If these thinges are spoken by the spirite, as in very dede they are, there can no sinne be in them without a great faulte. Therfore let Salomon go whether he will with his fables. Leade thy captiuitie captiue. She exhorteth Barac to triumphe & with a certaine pompe to boast of his captiues. For by that meanes it semed that the honoz and name of God should moze and moze be illustrated, when all men vnderstoode, that the Chananites were now captiues vnto the Hebrewes who before thought that they would either utterly destroy the Hebrewes or els take them prisoners. This is the punishment of the iust lawe called the law of the like, that they should iustly suffer those thinges, which they vniustly went about to do vnto others. Farthermoze the Rabbines haue here noted that the songe is peculiarly ascribed vnto Deborah, because she was a Prophetesse: but the triumphe was geuen vnto Barac, because in the battayle he had fought agaynst his enemies.

A sayned exposition of R. Salomon.

13 Then they that remayne haue dominion over the myghty of the people: the Lord hath geuen me dominion over the strong.

Agayne the victorie is by a comparison amplified, not as it was before, with the euils and discommodities wherewith the Israelites were oppressed, but the conquerors are very aptly copared with the which were overcome. They which were overcome wer undoubtedly of great renoume, baleant, expert in warres, & noble, but our men seme to be like remnants, so fewe came vnto the battayle and those fewe were of fewe tribes. Besides that those fewe which came were men despised and of no reputation: For that commonly suche are remnants, namely to be both small in number, and also vile and abiecte, if it be compared with other, whose remnant they are. Howbeit these remnantes, what maner of men so euer they were, they had the dominion, and were gouerners over the noble men.

The Lord hath geue me dominion. This is added by correction, lest any man should thinke that any thing in this battayle is attributed vnto mans strength. It is the Lord himselfe which overcome and hath dominion. Nevertheless hath done this by me. That word Li may be thus vnderstand, as though she should say thorough me: or as God would overcome by her: or the ioy, approbation and pleasure is noted which she conceaued in mynde of this greate honour of God.

14 Out of Ephraim was there a roote of them agayne Amalek, & after thee Benjamin agaynst thy people, out of Machir came rulers, and of Zebulon they that dratwe with the penne of the writer. 15 And the princes of Isaschar were with Deborah and Isaschar: so Barak was sent on his feete in the valley: in the diuisions of Reuben were great thoughtes of heart.

Vergill and Homere rehearsed the order and number of the ships captaynes & people, which wer helpers vnto those princes whom they praised: so now Deborah rehearseth those of the people of Israel which came to take in hand this warre.

A roote

Cap. 5. A Commentary vpon the

Deborah was
of the tribe of
Ephraim.

A roote of them, that is a prince of Ephraim. This I thinke pertaineth to Deborah her selfe: for as it semeth, she was of Ephraim and iudged the people vnder the oke of Ephraim as is befoze sayd, and without doubt this warre was taken in hand by her conduct and admonitions. But this semeth somewhat darke, in that it is sayd that the battayle was appointed agaynst Amalek, but by a figure or figuratiue kinde of speache, we must by Amalek vnderstand the Chanaanites also. Howbeit I am not ignorant, that by this roote of Ephraim, some vnderstand Iosua, who was both an Ephraite, and also fought agaynst Amalek, as it appeareth in the booke of Exodus: and they suppose that in these thinges which follow, therfoze is made mention of the tribe of Benjamin, to declare & shew forth that Saul whiche should come of the tribe of Benjamin should within a while afterwarde finish the warre agaynst the Amalekites whiche thyng we read was done in the first booke of Samuel. This exposition, as I do not abiet, so also I do not easely allowe it: because I do not thinke that the actes of Iosua are now rehearsed, neither can I be perswaded that Deborah by the spirite of Prophecy, did Prophecy of those thinges whiche should come to passe in the tyme of Saul. I will omit therfoze that interpretation, and returne vnto myne owne. Some of the tribe of Benjamin did at the beginning ioyne themselves vnto Deborah, although (as I iudge) they were very few of them. But out of Machir (whiche was a noble famely of the tribe of Manasses) came some notable men. Zabulon also was not without some Doctors, Lawyers, & Scribes, whiche were better with a pen than with weapons, and that is signified, in that it is sayd. They whiche drawe with the penne of the writer, that is, whiche were exercised in drawing the pen. And the tribe of Issachar is wonderfully commended, for from it came princes, yea euen at the beginning. Furthermoze it is added that Issachar was as Barac. For as Barac was sent vnto mount Thabor, so it semeth that Issachar with his footemen was sent into the valley, and there he the on eche side inuaded the enemies, when the battayle beyng begon the Israelites were in daunger, there the Israelites behaved themselves valiantly. Wherfoze iustly are they in this place exceedingly praised. The complices therfoze of this warre are mencioned, namely, Ephraim, Benjamin, a part of Manasses, Issachar, Zabulon, and Nephtalim. But there is nothing spoken of Iuda, Simeon, Levi, and Gad. Afterward are reprehended Reuben, Dan, Aser, and peradventure al of the tribe of Manasses, as we shal hereafter see. Wherfoze they aboue named which apyed in the battayle, were worthily called remnantes, because they were both fewe in number and also of no reputation.

In the litle brookes of Reuben. The tribe of Reuben is reprobated because it detracted the battaille. They dwelt beyond Iordane in the pastozs, and it semeth, that by reason of theyr shepe and cattell they had no regard vnto the publique wealth. The places of the Rubenites are not vnworthily called riuers: for they had gotten fertile pastozs by the riner of Iordane. He attributeth vnto the greatnesse and wisdom, but he accuseth them for this, namely, because they had so great a care vnto their owne thinges. Such a thing semeth here to haue come passe, as is that whiche is set forth in the parable of the Gospell, namely, that diuers which were bidden vnto the wedding refused to come, because some would go proue a yoke of oren, some had bought a Town, and other some also had married a wife. But of the remnantes which were gathered out of the stretes & high wayes, was the wedding fulfilled. So also cometh it to passe in our dayes, when kyniges, Emperours, Princes, Noble and mighty men of this world do therfoze despise the profession of the Gospell, because they preferre theyr owne common ditties befoze religion and heauenly thinges.

16 Why abydest thou among the shepefolds, to heare the bleatings
of

of the flockes: in the diuisions of Reuben were greate thoughtes of harte.

17 Gilead abode beyond Iordane: but why doth Dan remayne in shippes? Aser sat on the sea shoure, and taried in his decayed places.

Ruben is described both by the arte of a shepheard which he exercised and also by the places of Pastors which he inhabited: and therewith all it is shewed that they were great men, and men of a wise vnderstandyng, peradventure to reprehend their swelling and pride, as though they would not obey the commaundementes and conduct of Deborah being a woman. This is the nature of hygge mindes, that they thinke that al things that they do, are wel done. But in that it is added, To heare the bleatings of flockes: it may be vnderstande plainly as though the Rubenites had moze minde to the bleating of cattell, than they had to the regarde of the publique wealth, but some vnderstand Allegorically, saying that the Rubenites sat still among the shepfoldes by the fertile pastours of Iordane, althoughe they heard they lamentations and complaintes of the flockes of Israel, that is of the people of God, with which lamentations and complayntes they earnestly imploied theyr ayde.

Gilead abode by the riuer of Iordane, or beyond Iordane. Some thinke that the Galaadites were reprehended together with the Rubenites, because they also with their cattell abode by Iordane, and neglected this battayle. Halfe the tribe of Manasses, vnto which the Galaadites pertayned, when the land of Chanaan was deuided, obtayned the region beyond Iordan together with the Rubenites. They which thus expound it, are encombred with a certain doubt, because it is before sayd that Machir came: and he was both the sonne of Manasses, and also possessed the mount Gilead. Therfore if Gilead came as it is before sayd, why is he here repproued as though he came not? Peradventure they will aunswere, that Manasses had two childre Machir, & Lair, of which childre wer two families deriued, of which either possessed parte of Gilead. Therfore it might be, that Machir, of whom before is mention had, came: but Lair is now repproued, which together with the Rubenites neglected this battayle. But other, with whom I agree, do thus thinke, that the thinges which are now spoken serue to aggravate the crime of the Rubenites, as though it should haue ben sayd *αυτοπορον*: Thou Ruben without doubt dwellest by the riuers of Iordane, and there dwelleth Gilead also, who came for all that to the battayle. Therfore all excuse both of dwelling and place is cut off from the Rubenites. And it semeth that this sentence should be spoken by a certaine interrogation. Did not Gilead also dwell by the riuers of Iordane? Therfore cease Ruben to excuse that which thou hast naughtly committed.

Two sonnes of Manasses.

Signe

Signe

V Why doth Dan go to the shippes? This can not be vnderstand of shippes logging to the sea, for as much as the lot of the Danites fell not by the sea side: but we must vnderstand it of the shippes of Iordane. Not as though Dan did altogether dwell by Iordan, but (as they say) this tribe was so feared with the sight of the hostes, that they fled vnto their shippes, to passe over to the Rubenites. And that, euen as it was filthy and vncomely so also is it now iustly & woorthily blamed.

The situation of the Danites

Aser sat on the sea shore, and in his decayed places. Aser is also blamed, who semeth to haue excused his absence: first because he dwelled far off, & is, by the sea shoure: secondly because his Cities and Townes were decayed and vnensured. And therfore would he tary at home, for feare lest if he had gone, his enemyes should easely haue had occasion to inuade his borders. For, for as much as he possessed places which were weake, he thought that if he were absent, his neighbours would easily berieue him of them. I do not doubt, but that it was greuous and troublesome to those tribes so to be reprehended, which yet the holy ghost would haue done: partly that they being admonished, might repent: partly for other and

We also being by this example stirred vp, myght not refuse to obey the woꝛde of God yea though it be with daunger: whiche if we shall not perfoꝛme, as these men are now reproued, so also shall we in the last day of iudgement, not onely be reproued with ignominie and irreconuerable hurte, but also we shalbe damned foꝛ euer.

18 But the people of Zebulon haue leoparde their soules vnto the death, and Nephtalim in the high places of the field.

He praysed the tribe of Zebulon and Nephtalim foꝛ they2 desertes bycause they had put foꝛth to reproche their soule, that is their life. Foꝛ other men counted the foolcs, bycause so few and vnarmed men durst rashly take in hand warre agaynst so many and well appointed souldiers as they thought. Or They put their soule to reproche, bycause they nothing esteemed their life, and in a manner counted it as a vile thing, putting themselves foꝛth into most certaine daunger of death, if they should looke vpon mans iudgement. Whobest they are foꝛ þ same cause very much to be commended, bycause they preferred both God and also his woꝛde befoꝛe their owne life. And it is added. In high places of the fiede, oꝛ els in high fieldes, bycause those were souldiers led vnto mount Thabor, from whiche place they might easely behold þ whole host of their aduersaries. But although they beholde them, yet were they not so feared, to leaue of their enterpryse.

19 The kinges came and fought: then fought the kinges of Chanaan in Chaanach and by the waters of Megiddo: they receaued no gayne of money.

So we is described the foꝛme of the battayle oꝛ victoꝛy. He sayth in the plural number that kinges came and fought: bycause peradventure Sisera had very many other rulers ioyned with him, who although they were not there in person, they had foꝛ all that their hostes there. Oꝛ els by a figuratiue kinde of speach the plural number is put foꝛ the singular number, as is this sentence of þ poet. But we haue gone a great space of the sea. Cicero also sayth, we haue deceaued the people, we seemed to haue bene oꝛatoꝛs. Thaanah, and Megiddo, seemed to haue ben riuers in the tribe of Manasses whiche had by them two Cities of the same names, not farre from mount Thabor. We must thinke therfoꝛe that the hoste of Sisera possessed all the playne grounde whiche laye betwene these two Townes. And those repetitions, foꝛ one verbe serue to adorne þ sentẽce oꝛ song. Nilchamiu Are Nilchamiu, that is they fought then, they fought as Cicero also sayth: No man looketh vpon the matter, no man considereth the reason, &c. so þ betwene two woꝛdes repeted he putteth this one woꝛde (no man) This woꝛd also Melachim that in kinges is repeted. Foꝛ it is sayd that the kynges came, and that they fought as Cicero also sayth, This fathers appoynted is found to be your acte, and not myne, and vndoubtedly it is a most noble acte: but not myne (as I haue sayd) but yours.

They receaued no gayne of money. This may we thus vnderstand, they came to enriche theselues with the spoiles of their enemies: but that came not to passe according to their expectation. But others interprete these woꝛdes moze subtilly, saying, that the enemies so deadly hated the Israelites, that they had no regard to the gayne of the praye, but they would fight vnder Sisera agaynst the Israelites euen without wages, that is, as it is sayd, without meate and dꝛynke & harnesse. Some referre it to this, that they thinke those enemyes of the people of God were such bloudsuckers, that if in the battayle they had gotten any of the Hebrewes, they would take no ranfome of them, but straght way slep them, being such as desired not the praye, but onely thirsted foꝛ they2 bloud.

They

Virgil.
Cicero.

Cicero.

Cicero.

20 They fought from heauen, the starres from theyr courses fought agaynst Sisera.

He maketh mention of the helpe that came from heauen & from the starres, by the will and government of God. But how that came to passe, is not expressed. But it might be, that fire was sent among the enemyes, or that hallesstones thundring and lightnings (as Iosephus affirmeth) afflicted the Chananites. Per adventure also the winde so stirred vp the dust in the face of the Chananites: (as Levi writeth happened vnto þe Romanes in the battayle of Cannensis) that they *Linini* could utterly see nothing at all.

The starres from their courses fought. That is from their degrees and stations, least any man should thinke that they descended from heauen, or departed from their course.

21 The river Kison swepte them away, the river of auncientes, the river Kison, O my soule thou hast marched valiauntly.

To the helpe of the heauen and of the starres, the river fauorably toynd it selfe: for it swelled, when as other wise it was wont to be but small. Wherefore it was so encreased, that it both choked and swept away many of the enemyes. But this word Goeth signifieth not by any meanes to sweepe, but as it happeneth when a house is sweapte or made cleane with broomes, for then what soeuer is vncleane, it is together with the dust cast forth. So in this destruction, they which were counted noble, were in the same sorte sweapte away, as if they had bene dust and filthe. This word River is often repeated in this verse, which vndoubtedly is pleasant, when it is in due place done: which I therefore speake, least any should thinke these repetitions to be to no purpose. *Cicero* And Cicero also writeth in solute oration: When I shall come agayne into sa- uoy with Appius Claudius, and shall come agayne by Cu. Pompeius: I therefore when I shall come agayne, &c. And this Kysen is called Kedumim as though it had two names, and were called by both the names, or els because there per adventure was some other river so called, which river because it ran into Kysen, gaue it also his name. But some translate that word of Ancientnesse, namely of Counsels: because God hymselfe had before the foundations of the worlde were layd, created and appoynted that river to this purpose, to be an ayde vnto hym in this victorie in tyme to come. It chaunced not so, that the whole host of Sisera was drowned in that river. For how could that be, when there was an incredible number of souldiers, and the river of so narrowe a breadth? But as it is to be thought, þe chiefrulers & captaynes which entred into þe water wth their horses & chariots, wer drowned: which thing whē the other souldiers saw, their courage was both daunted, & also they turned themselves to flight. And we see this to come to passe oftentimes in cāpes, þe those thinges which of their owne nature seme to be of no great value, do much profit either this party or þe part in þe victory. This aye without doubt hath some affinity, with þe drowning of Pharaos, but þe sea is not so well compared with a little river: neyther did a part of Pharaos host perish in the sea, but the whole host was overwhelmed in it. But all these men (as we haue sayd) wer not drowned in Kison. Farther the rashnes of the Egyptians semed greater then these mens, when as it is much moze foolish to enterprise to passe over the sea, then to wade over a river.

22 Then were the houses of the horses broken with the oft beating together of the mighty men.

Here is set forth the third calamitye, namely þe horses hooves were broken
h. i. ken

Virgil.

ken. By nature in dede the horse houses are myghty and strong, neither are they easily clonen, but the spurring of them so2warde to ruine was so great in thys conflict, that they were wo2ne awaye. This wo2de Sol, that is a horse, is spoken in the singular number. And that number is also vled of our men both Poetes and Orato2s, in steade of the plurall number. For we saye that Fraunce hath overcome Spaine, and Virgill sayeth: The stoute Romane was no lesse valiant then his fathers. When the houses of the horses were broken and to2ne, the horsemen could neither inuade the Heb2ues, neither yet were they able to saue themselves by flying awaye. The Heb2ues bycause they wante a superlative degree, therfore to expresse it, they double both nouns and verbes: as it is here sayd Miuharoth Deharoth that is of great and very often leapynges. Wherfore the repetition of one selfe same wo2de serueth not onely for the adorning of the sentence but also to expresse the vehemency of the signification. There are therfore thre, discōmodities now rehearsed, which came vnto the Chananites, namely one from heauen, an other from the river, and the thirde of the houses of the horses beyng broken.

2; Curse ye Meroz (sayd the aungell of the Lord) in cursing, curse the inhabiteres thereof, bycause they came not to helpe the Lorde, to helpe the Lord agaynst the myghty.

She curseth the Citie of Meroz whiche was great and nyghe vnto the place where the battayle was fought, bycause they would not ayde them whiche labored, beyng also desired of them thereunto. Deborah curseth not the Cities and tribes which dwelt farre of, bycause they, although they had no true excuses, yet had they some, suche as they were. But these men whiche dwelt nere at hande, sawe thynge it selfe, and were called: for as much as they would not heare, they lustily and wo2thily fell, vnder these sharpe and sore curses.

Said the aungell of the Lord. This she therfore putteth in, least she should seme to speake of anger, as though she should haue sayd: Euen God himself hath commaunded me thus to sing. Other vnderstand by the aungell, Barac, and that peradventure not ill: for it might be, y he went to y Citie to sir it vp to fight, who when he sawe the citizens to be so wilful & obstinate, by the impulsion of the spirite of God, he in this maner cursed it. As touching y composition, she maketh y cōclusiō with y helpe of Lord, & beginneth y next clause with the self same wordes, as doth Virgill: O ye Pericles do ye these noble thynges to Gallus, to Gallus I say, whose loue doth dayly so much increase towarde me.

Virgil.

What is to be
iudged of curs-
inges & ban-
nynges.

We haue at large before handled the place of cursinges, wherfore now I wyll not speake much of it. The Summe is: That it is not lawfull for a man, to curse any mā, for the satisfieng of his owne anger. For when our owne matters are in hand, we must loue our enemies: & we must blesse the which curse vs. But when God doth sometimes certainly make manifest, that he will haue some destroyed, they whiche are so admonished of his wil, can not but allow it, for by the spirite wherw they are inspired, they wil also the same thing y God wil. And after this maner Dauid & other Prophetes burst forth oftē tymes into cursinges of the enemies of God, whiche selfe same men for all that, as they were men, by naturall compassion whiche is not vicious, were not a litle so2y for the destruction of the enemies of God. So Samuel, Dauid, Jeremy, yea & our sauour himself, wept & lamented y fall of vngodly mē. Neither is it to be doubted, but y duties of this kind were very acceptable to God, for as much as they procede from charity. Howbeit when we see some men cruelly to rage agaynst the godly men and Gospell of God, it is lawfull in that case to praye, that either they will may be chaunged, or they strength confounded, that they shoulde not accompysh all the things which they appoint to do. Which things if they can not be obtained, this is at the least to be prayd for, y God will geue vs strength & myght to suffer all such things which may aduāge his hono2 & glo2y. And we must diligently weigh, that

that this curſe was therfore ſtirred by agaynſt the citie Meroz, bycauſe they de-
nyed to helpe þe people of god. What the is prepared for thoſe, which do not one-
ly not helpe the ſeruauntes of Chriſt, but perſecute, grieue, and cruelly bere
them: Farther we muſt marke, that it is ſayd: theſe came not to helpe the Lord,
as though God needed they: ayde: and that coulde not be as touching hym ſelfe:
howbeit God in his people wanteth helpe, and in the members of Chriſt when
they are bered, Chriſt himſelfe is bered. Wherefore he will ſay in the laſt day of
iudgement: I was hungry, and ye fed me, I was thirſty and ye gaue me drinke
ec. Wherefore let vs hereby learne to obey whẽ God calleth vs as did the Iſrae-
lites which are commended of Deborah, neither neglected they to take in hande
the battayle. Let vs learne alſo to helpe thoſe that are in neede, eſpecially when
they followe they: vocation. Math. 25.

24 Jabel the wife of Heber the Kenite ſhalbe bleſſed aboue other
women, aboue women ſhall ſhe be bleſſed in tentes.

When ſhe had curſed the wicked Citie, by a contrary phraſe ſhe addeth a good
prayer: as the City Meroz was woorthie to be curſed, ſo of the contrary was Jabel
to be commended. Chriſt in the laſt daye of Iudgement will not onely ſay:
Come ye bleſſed of my Father: but on the contrary parte, he will adde: Go
ye curſed. Here is in his place a parte of the ſalutation of the aungell Mary,
as it is deſcribed in Luke: Bleſſed art thou aboue women. Which claue is
here twiſe put for the greater moving. But in that in this repetitiõ it is added,
In tentes, it may be thus interpreted, For this cauſe let this woman be prayſed,
bycauſe ſhe dwelleth in tentes. So that by a wonderfull, compendiuſneſſe of
one woꝛde, the ſlaying of Siſera is noted, which happened not in the campos, but
was done in þe tente. Or els we may ſay that Jabel is to be prayſed aboue other
women dwelling in tentes. For the family of the Kenites dwelled not in houſes
but in tentes. Wherefore ſhe is prayſed aboue all the women Kenites, which are
ſignified by this woꝛde tentes.

25 He asked water, and ſhe gaue him milke, ſhe offered him butter
in a cup of the mighty.

Jabel is here prayſed for her prudence and ſtrength: but the mother of theſe
vertues is ſayth. It was prudence to call the enemy vnto her, handſomely to co-
uer hym, and to geue him milke to drinke. Alſo to finde out a hammer and a
nayle, and to choſe out his hed among the reſt of the members which ſhe would
ſtrike, and among the partes of the hed to ſmite thorough the temples. Her
might and ſtrength is hereby known, bycauſe a woman durſt enterpriſe ſuche
a notable acte, and feared not to aſſaile ſuch and ſo greate a Captayne, but had a
full confidence that ſhe, not withſtanding that ſhe was a woman, ſhould be able
to kyll hym. Peradventure thou wilt ſaye, the Scripture maketh no mention
here of ſayth. I graunte that it doth not by expreſſe woꝛdes: but when it is ſayd
ſhe ſhalbe bleſſed or prayſed, her ſayth is noted. For we be al by nature the chil-
dren of wrath, neither are any bleſſed with ſaythfull Abraham, but by ſayth, as
the Epistle to the Galathians teſtifieth. For what ver-
tues Jabel is
prayſed.

He asked water, and ſhe gaue him milke. That he might the eaſelyer and ſo-
ner fall on ſleepe. Why mentiõ is made of butter, this (as ſome ſay) is the cauſe,
bycauſe out of that milke the butter was not yet cherned. And in dede of that
kind of milke a mā may drinke a great draught, for as much as beſide the quen-
chyng of thirſt it hath alſo a certayn ſweetneſſe.

She vſed the cup of noble men. Which namely was a very great one. For
noble mē wer wont to drinke out of large and wide cuppes. Cicero alſo agaynſt
Anthony ſayeth. It ſo be that it had happened in the Supper tyme among the
greate cuppes, who woulde not count it filthy ec. And they were wonte in
Cicero.
hane

Kimb.

baquets of noble me, at the latter end to bring forth great cuppes. Wherefore this witty woman, to the end she would prouoke him to drinke a very depe draught, vsed a cup apte for the same. R. D. Kimbi expoundeth these thinges, as though she gaue him not onely drinke, but meate also. For he thinketh that when he had dronke, the woman did set butter before him to eate. Whiche exposition if we receaue, we must then put out this word cup whē as that is vsed for drinke, and not for meate: vnlesse by the maner of a cup we vnderstand such a kinde of vessell wherein meate also is wont to be put.

26 She put her hand to the nape, and her right hand to the workemans hammer: with the hammer smote she Sisera, she smote of his head, wounded him, and peried his temple.

27 He was bowed down betwene her feete, he fell downe, he slept betwene her feete: he bowed hymselfe, and fell: and when he bowed himselfe, there he fell downe, destroyed.

Description.

That whiche is translated, She put her hand, in the Hebrew it is put in the plurall number, Taschlechavah, and yet the speache is but of one, namely of Iahel, whiche semeth can not aptly be done. Wherefore some do so expound it, that the two extreme letters of that worde are added by this figure Pleonasmos, so the number may be reduced to vnitie, that Iahel be sayd to put her hande to the nape. Other thinks that the plurall number, ought not to be referred vnto Iahel, but vnto her strength & might, which extended her handes to these thinges. There are some also whiche to vndo this heard doubt, say that the handes should be interperetated moued or put to, in the passive voyce. For the right hand was put to the hammer, & the left hand vnto the nape. Lastly, the order of the wordes whiche semeth to be troublesome, of some is thus construed: Her hande vnto the nape, namely her left hande: and her right hand to the workemans hammer, put themselves that is, desired or gaue themselves vnto it. And this is a verie trim description, whereby this thing done is manifestly set before our eyes, neither maketh it vs onely in our mindes to see the woman, holding in her hand the hammer & the nape, but also it sheweth vnto vs one certayne part of the body whiche was stricken, namely the hed, and in the hed, the very temples, because they are easely pearled. And vndoubtedly that membre was stricken of her, which being broken or peried, the whole body is utterly left vnprofitable. Farther, there are here described certain motions, which are proper vnto such as perish suddenly, & by a violent kind of death. For whē he was very sore wounded, & by ouermuch payne in a maner astonished, he bowed his body twise or thrise. For he went about to rise, and wanting strength he fell downe agayne, and miserably lay betwene the feete of Iahel. So God throweth down and putteth to shame the arrogant and proude enemies of his people. For what thing can be thought to be moze filthy, then for such a great captayne to be spoyled of his host, to lye luyng, dronke, and snoring, and so to be kyllen of a woman.

28 The mother of Sisera looked out at a windowe, and cried thorough the lattere: why is his chariot so long a commyng? why stay they the wheeles of his chariots?

29 Her wise and noble Ladyes answered her. She also comforted her selfe.

30 Haue they not founde, & they deuide the spoyles: every man hath a mayde or two: Sisera hath a pray of diuers coloured garnētes: a praye of sondry colours made of needie worke, of diuers colours of needie worke on both sides, for the chief of the spoyle.

In the last part of the songe, to the end we might manifestly see, to how great a confusion and ignominy the enemies of God came vnto, and from how great a hope they fell, the person of the mother of Sisera is brought in, and the wordes both of her, and of other noble women which were together with her, are set forth. She might haue sayd in few wordes: The mother wayled, that her sonne should retorne with glozy and laden with spoyle, whome the wretched woman knew not to haue so myserably perished. But if she should so haue sayde, the oration would haue bene slender and cold. Wherefore to make it of efficacie and vehemement, & talke of the women is put here. Which maner also was very much vsed amonge the Ethniike writers, and it is reade also in Esay the. 14. chap. where is expessed the talke of kinges and princes which were deade, with which they re- ceaued the king of Babilon being miserably destroyed and descending downe vnto them. Neither do the holy writers lye when they sayne such thinges, so as much as they write not to deceaue, but to declare & thing moze openly. The motherly affection, & vehement naturall loue of the parentes towards the children is here expessed, whiche for the longe absence of theyr children are very muche carefull, and are many wayes afflicted. It is sayd therefore that the mother of Sisera, whilest he desired to retorne, beinge troubled enen herselfe oftentimes, looked out at the windowes or thow the latesses beyonde the windowes, to see if she could see him returninge. And this she did not without crying and lamentation, suspecting by this his long taryng that euill had happened vnto him. But the women which stode by had a great deale better hope, for they interpreted & taryng of Sisera in & good part. Terence in Adelphis hath notably wel writtē. It is much better, & those thinges happē vnto vs which our wiues in our absēce suspect of vs, then those thinges whiche our parentes suspect. For when a man taryth longe in a place, the wife sayth with her selfe he loueth, or is loued, he is a drinke, his minde is pleased, and he is in so good case, that he forgetteth to retorne home. But the parentes when theyr sonnes return not in time, by and by they are afraid, least they haue had some fall, lest they be a cold, or haue broken somethinge, and till such time as they retorne they are wonderfull carefull. Yetther do I rehearse these thinges without a cause, because the old translation, writteth & that most wise princeesse of womē which talked together wth the mother of Sisera, was Siseras wife. Wherefore it is no maruelle if she were in better hope then his mother. But because heuy thinges are not pleasaunte, and euen by the instincte of nature we fly from them, therefore they which vpon suspicion are heuy do easely receaue comfort. Wherefore it is now written, that the mother of Sisera was so satisfied with the wordes of & woman whiche comforted her, that she herselfe with the same wordes answered her selfe. When shee was pricked wth sorrow & heauines. The some of the comfort was, that the victory was altogether on Siseras side, but his retorne was deferred to distribute the spoyle whiche they had taken, and so as much as the same distribution oughte iustly to be done, namely to geue vnto every one accordyng to his estate, labour, and desert, and for that in so greate an host very many thinges are to be deuised after so noble a victory: it could not therfore be done in a short time.

A figuratiue speech is not to be accused as a lye.

Terence

Thys Hebrewe word Racham, signifieth not properly a maid: but yet so must we translate it, because that womā being an enemy of the Jewes speaketh with greate contempt of the Hebrewe women, and nameth them by the secrete parte of the body, namely by the belly and womb. It is spoken by the figure Sinechdoche but very bitterly. For she signifieth that they were vncaste, and appoynted to vnbonest vse. And so as much as the moze noble rewarde are wont to be geuen vnto princes and the best thinges to the captaine of the whole host, therefore she sayth, to every man shalbe geuen a mayde or two, that is, the prays of the rascall souldiours shalbe bondmen or bonde women be geuen. But to our Sisera shalbe geuen the most woorthiest thinges, garmentes I say of diuers colours and noble

Plin.

Laws for ap-
parellDiscipline of
warre amonge
the elders.

wozke. Plini in his 8. booke the. 48. chap wvitereth that the men in the old time vsed to dye their wolles and garmentes with such sundry and pleasant colours, because they would imitate the most beautifull colours of floures and herbes. And the same wviter attributeth vnto the Babilonians the inuention of diuers colours in garmentes, and euen as garmentes of siluer which were found out in Asia vnder Attalus the king, were called Attalical, so those garmentes which were by the Phrigians wvought with the needle, beinge set out with golde and sundry colours and pictures, wer called Phrigionical. And so that these woorkmanshippes wer in the old time had in estimation, god would haue the holy tabernacle, and the high priestes garmentes wvought with needle wozke. And this is not to be passed ouer, that by the ciuile lawes it was not lawefull for euery man to weare such precious garmentes. Wherfore it is sayd now in this song, that garmentes of sundry colours, and such as were wvought with the needle are attributed only to the prince. In the Code de vestibus oloberis, lege, Auratas, It is prohibited vpon great punishmente that any other men shoulde weare precious garmentes. And it is no doubt, but that in the old time there wer lawes for apparell, which at this daye vtterly voide. These womē spake as they knewe the manner then vsed, for they were not ignorant of the custome in war, wherby princely garmentes wer not distributed to priuate men, but vnto captaynes and emperours. Farthermoze we muste consider that the elders vsed greater discipline in their camps, than at this daye our men do. For when a town or cite was sacked, euery man had not that which he by violence tooke: al thinges wer brought vnto the king or Emperour, and not vndoubtedly that he only shoulde haue them, but that he shoulde part them according to the labo, dignity, and quality of the souldiours, which manifestly appeareth in the decrees, 23. question the. 5. chapter Dixerit aliquis. They are the woordes of Ambrose in his booke of Abraham the Patriarche. And the same thing is most playnly taught, Dist. the. 1. chap. Ius militare. This hebrewe woord Tsoari signifieth properly a necke or neckes in the plural number, but in this place by translation it signifieth a captayne or prince.

31. So let al thine enemies perish, O Lord: But they that loue thee let them be as the Sunne when he riseth in his strength. And the land had rest. 40. yeares.

The thinges which are now mentioned, the holy Ghost doth therfore speake them by Deborah, to expresse with a great emphasis and signification, that those thinges do happen vnto the vngodly which they be asfearde of: the thinges which they hope happen cleane contrarie. Wherfore the songe is now concluded with an elegant exclamacion, and consisteth of thinges contrarie: So let all thine enemies perish O Lord, as Sisera hath fallen. This her Apostrophe or turning to God stirreth vs vp, that we shuld with a singular affectio embrace God by author of so great & notable acts. Deborah also in this speaking, declareth, that she setteth not forth her owne cause, for she sayth not, let my enemies perish, but thine. But they that loue thee, let them continually encrease in al kind of good thinges, as the sunne increaseth from his rising, vntill it be none wherin he is most strong ether from the spring time to the highest of sommer. She addeth not, Let them that loue him be saued as the Antithesis or contrary position required. For these two are contraries, namely to be saued, and to perish. But let them be encreased, saith she, & strengthened, as the sunne increaseth from his rising vnto his strength. By this conclusion the vse of example is taught vnder the forme of a prayer. Sisera is ouerthrowne, but the people of Israel is encreased with a notable victorie: so therfore shall it come to passe and happē vnto vs. We shalbe deliuered if we be godly, & they which do persecute vs for Christs cause, shal perish. Wherfore it is profitable, by examples to gather out rules of the gouernment of God, which rules w frute let vs apply vnto our owne thinges. This perfozmed David, as touching

ching this selfe same hystoꝛy, in his psalme, where he sayth do vnto them, as vnto Middian, as vnto Sisera, & Iabin at þe riuer Kyson. Wherfoꝛe þe some of this hystoꝛy is to set befoꝛe vs þe severity of god toward his enemies, & again his clemency towards the godly. And therfoꝛe it becometh þe severity of his iudgements breath in vs a fear, and that by sayth we take hold of his goodnes and clemency.

The fyrst Chapter.



And the children of Israel did euill in the syghte of the Lorde: and the Lorde deliuered them into the hands of Middian seven yeres.

2 Wherfoꝛe the hand of Middian preuailed against Israel, fro the face of Middian the children of Israel made them dennes in the mountaines, and caues, and stronge holdes.

3 For when Israel had sown, Middian came vp, and Amaleke, and the sonnes of Kedem came by agaynst them.

4 And camped against them, and destroyed the fruite of the earth, euen till thou come to Haza: neyther lefte they anye foode in Israel, neither cattell, noꝛ oxen, noꝛ asses.

5 For they went by and theyꝛ cattell and came with theyꝛ tents as greshoppers in multitude: so that they and theyꝛ camels wet without number, they came I say into the land to destroy it.

Deborah and Barac were deade: by the authoꝛity of whiche pꝛinces the people of the Hebrwes were kepte in their dute and religion. But after theyꝛ deathe, they fell agayne vnto synnes, and especially vnto idolatry. But yet they are not counted to haue turned so heynously from God, as they did befoꝛe: foꝛ it is not wꝛitten: And they added to do euill. Farther their punishment was not so long, foꝛ they serued the Madianites onely seven yeres. Moꝛeouer it is not sayde, that God sold them, as he did befoꝛe, but that he deliuered them. I confesse that these coniectures are but small: but yet not so small, that they shoulde seeme vtterly to be despised. Two thinges are pꝛincipally entreated of in this hystoꝛy, the affliction of the Hebrwes, and theyꝛ deliueꝛy by Gidion. But because eche of these partes haue their causes, therfoꝛe we must also entreate of them. Foꝛ euen as affliction springeth of sinne, and deliueꝛy beginneth of repentance: so was it mete, that first it shoulde be declared that the Israelites had sinned, befoꝛe mention be made that they were deliuered vnto the Madianites, and theyꝛ repentance must first be shewed, befoꝛe their setting at libertye be spokē of, wherfoꝛe these thinges shal in iust oꝛder be spoken of, and shalbe noted in theyꝛ places.

The pꝛincipall pointes of this hystoꝛy.

The oꝛde of thinges to be spoken of.

First of all it is wꝛitten, that Israel sinned, to the end we might vnderstande that they were iustly punished. The kind of theyꝛ synne (as we shall afterwarde see) was idolatry. And the punishment which folloved was their deliueꝛy vnto the Madianites to be vered of them. And what these Madianites were, I thinke it good in few woꝛdes to declare. Madian (if we may credite Ierome) was a cite so called of a certayne sonne of Araham whome he begat of his last wyfe Ketura. It lieth beyond Arabia toward the South, in the desert of the Seracens, not far from the Sea called Erithreum. And these people were called Madianites, and peradventure by an other name moꝛe in vse with the Echnikes, namely Maudrenites. From thence Moses hadde his wyfe and of them also came the Kenites, whiche went together with Moses into the land of Chanaan. And lastly from thence those black men are thought to haue theyꝛ offspꝛing, which in our times wander euery wher, and of some are called Egyptians: they dwell in tentes: and beinge very the-

What the Madianites were, Ierome

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with the men, they line all allwayes of other mens goods.

But what these Madianites were, it skilleth not much to know, let this content vs, in that by the hystory it is declared, that the people of God wer by them verpe grievously afflicted. And the Israelites to auoyd the miseries made them Caves

What difference
is betwene a
cave and a den.

for so doth this Hebrew word Manaharoth signifie. And dennes. It is in Hebrew written Mearoth. But what difference there is betwene these two words, as much as I can gather by the Hebrewes, I will declare. Those fyfte places were in bankes of hilles, and were so called because from the upper partes, they had certayne chynckes and holes, which were like windowes, so that throughte them they had light sufficient within. And the same places were very handsome for men to dwell in them. R. Levi sayth, that throught those holes or clefts, which were like windowes, spies, when they saw the Madianites comminge, did use either by kindling of fiers, or by some other token, to geue knowledge vnto the Hebrewes, wherby they might gather their stuffe, fruites & cattels into the dennes & leade them away from the enemies which wer comming by. For dennes wer not in mountaynes, but places vnder the earth in the fields being dark & wout light, where in men did not dwell, but they mighte after a softe hide their things and goods. But caves in latten are called Specus, a speciendo, which is to behold and to looke vpon, because out of them as out of highe places they whiche were there, used to looke throught. They made also fenced places as bulwarches and castels, which might be openly sene, but that they could not be conquered. And not only the Madianites invaded the Jewes, but with them were the Amalekites and also the children of the east, whome Iosephus calleth Arabians. They suffered the Israelites to be in peace and quiet, so long as they tilled and sowed the earth, but when the fruites were ripe, they invaded them, and destroyed and wasted their fyeldes. And the Israelites do aptly set forth the nature of sinners, whiche when they put little confidence in god, & haue almost forgotte him, then they fly vnto mans inuentions, helpes and municions: which yet iustlye and worthelye stande them in no steade: for stragghe way it is sayd.

Iosephus

6 Wherefore Israel was exceedingly impouerished by the Madianites, and the children of Israel cried vnto the Lord.

Of munitions
and castels.

Neither caves, nor dennes, nor strong fenced castels could helpe the miserable Israelites. For sinners must not onely take heed of outward enemies, but they must chiefly fye from the anger of God, from whiche vndoubtedly no man can auoyd by caves, dennes or municions. And as long as that endureth, these humane helpes do not defend fro outward enemies. And if any man wil not beleue this, let him call to memozye the breadth of the walles of Ecbatanis, which as it is written in the booke of Iudith the .i. chapter) was thyrty foote broad, and seventy foote hygh, and had in it an hundred Towers, and yet all those thinges could not withstand those which besieged it. And of Babilon also it is written, that the walles of it was an hundred foote in hight, and eighty foote in breadth, and it is sayd to haue bene so large that it might haue bene a prouince rather then a city, and yet it was conquered and utterly ouerthrowen. Suche thinges men doe about when they withdrow themselves from God, these their hoynes are created agaynst God. These thinges do leade vnto desperation the afflicted, which thynke not vpon God, as though tyrannes by whome they are oppressed could neuer be plucked out of so strong and wel fenced places. But in Abacuk the prophet such madde building are wonderfully laughed to scozne of the spirite of God, and Abdia in the name of God threatneth the children of Esau, that they next should be throwne downe to the ground, howe soeuer it seemed vnto them that they had set it in heauen.

Ecbatanis.

Babilon

But

But what more notable example neede we to looke for, then that tower, whiche men straight after the flood, began to build, as though they would defend them selues against God, if he againe should go about to destroy the world wth waters, but the Lord from heauen laughed to scoone their made furiousnes, as it is amply set forth in the booke of Genesis. God wanteth no excellent politike deuises: for first, from such, which so much trust to munitions, when they thynke they shall stand them in most neede, he blyeth to take awaye the courages of the bold, and al promptnes, & so to strike them with madnes, that he utterly maketh them hope of wisdom. Therfore he debilitateth their harts, & their strength faileth them. Yea, and they seme to be made as dead and very sore abashed, euen of the very stones, beames and walles of their Castels. I could here easily shew things, whiche haue in our age happened, but that I must haue respect to be blyse. Reade the .2. chapter of Baruchs.

What then? Are not Cities or Castels to be consed? I deny not but that that may be done, but I would haue w^{is}domes which do in such sorte build, first to be ascertained of this, that no thinges created can defend or succor men, vnles with them be ioyned that power of God, whereby with his becke hee ruleth and governeth the world: and when hee w^{it}thdraweth that, whatsoever men go about or enterpryse, it utterly happeneth contrarily. And euen as out of breade, wyne, or other meates we ought not to looke for nourishment, if God do drawe backe vnto himselfe that his power and operation, which hee daylye lendeth to those things: so also without it, ther is no defence to be had out of munitions, walles, being otherwise neuer so strong, and Castels very well fenced. Therfore be- fore we begyn munitions, we must put our confidence in God, and we must lay the most profitable foundation of holy prayers: and pray vnto God, to keepe vs chieflly in true and sincere godlynes, to cal vs backe from synnes, and daylye to geue vnto vs a perfect repentance. Lastly, we must desire, that when a iust and holy man shal haue neede to haue the vse of such munitions, hee woulde touch- safe to bestow vpon them that his most mighty and healthfull power. Which selfe same cogitations and prayers we must vse both in meate, drink, apparel, or any other thing, when we begin to receiue them.

Whiche it be
lawful to fence
cities & castels.

And the children of Israel cryed. Nowe shalbe declared the deliuerie of the Israelites, but firste is set forth their repentance and inuocation. Nowe at the length the Hebrewes asie vnto the sure rockes, vnto the safe denues, and vnto the true Castels. For the rocke or castle best fenced, (as we reade in the Proverbs) is the name of the Lord. In that rocke Dauid escaped al aduersities.

7 And when the children of Israel cryed vnto the Lord, bycause of Midian.

8 The Lord sent vnto the children of Israel a Prophet, who sayd vnto them: Thus saith the Lord god of Israel, I haue brought you out of Egypt, I haue brought you (I say) out of the house of bondage.

9 And I haue deliuered you out of the handes of the Egyptians, & out of the hand of al that oppressed you, and haue cast them oute before you, and geuen you their land.

The maner whereby the Israelites wer stirred vp to cal vpon God, is in this place set forth. They were turned vnto God by the impulsion of saythe, whiche was stirred vp by the preaching of the word of God: for he had sent vnto them a man which was a Prophet, not legions of Angels, not a multitude of souldi- ours, not armour, neither warlike engins. He directed vnto them a Preacher & Minister of the word of God. And this ought not to seme absurd, if this verbe Vauischlah be interpreted in the signification of the p^{re}terpluperfect tense, for as much as it is a thing very much bled in the holy scriptures. And yet I denye not

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*And thus he maketh
open the way
vnto profitable
sermons.*

not, that this place may be vnderstand an other way: namely that the Israelites in dede cried first, but yet with a certaine violence stirred by by troubles and miseries, which violence by it self, could not be allowed of God, neither had it obtained any thing at his handes, except it had bene adozned with a true faith & perfect repentance: for the byinging to passe wherof, God not forgetting his mercy, sent them a Prophet or Preacher meete thereunto. Whobest the first sense, which consisteth al the pterplouerfines, pleaseth me very wel: although I deny not but that both waies may be admitted. Farther, some thinke that these thinges ar to be vnderstand by Synecdoche, so that it is ment that not one prophet, but very many prophets were sent of God. But I iudge that it is wrytten of some one certaine prophet, which was of great authoritie among the Hebrewes. And I am not ignorant that some thinke this prophet to haue ben an Angel: which I allow not, soasmuch as he is called both a man and a prophet. And I finde in no place of the holy scriptures y Angels wer called prophets: although on the contrary we rede in them sometimes that a prophet was called an Angel, as it most manifestly appeareth of Malachi. But let vs marke this rather, that oppressions and aduersities, which often times happen, do geue good occasion of profitable sermons: for as much as the hearers by such vberation ar made much moze attentue. The Hebrewes thinke that this Prophet was Phineas, of whom also they saye that it is wrytten in the first booke of Paralip. the. ix. chap. that he liued in the time of Dauid, when as for all that the same place may otherwise bee expounded. But who hee was, it maketh no great matter. We must rather marke the argument of the sermon, whiche is in seue woordes touched. First, the benefites of God are rehearsed: their deliuey I say out of Egypt, wherby they were deliuered from seruitude most greivous: his defence against those which went about to oppresse them: and lastly, the possession of the land of Chanaan. God had now faithfully perfozmed al these thinges, as hee had promysed vnto their fathers. Wherby it manifestly appeareth that the couenaunt made with the fathers, was on his part kept bntolated. Let vs note in these woordes, that God at that time was by this title praised, namely because he had deliuered his people out of Egypt: for his nature otherwise is most farre remoued from the mindes of men, neither can it any other way be knowen, but by the effects. But of this thing I haue inough spoken, as much as seemed sufficient. Wherfore it is manifest that the Preacher which was sent from God, doth beate into the Hebrewes the benefite which they had receaued, namelpe both to stirre vp in the Israelites the knowledge of the true God, and also to shewe forth his truth ended with constancy.

10 And I sayd vnto you: I the lord your God. Fear not the gods of y Amozites, in whose lād ye dwel, but ye haue not obeyed my voyce.

Now is added what God againe required of the Hebrewes, namelpe that hee shoulde be their God, and that they shoulde not feare the gods of the Amorites, or not worshipping them. For in this worde feare is verpe often comprehended all maner of worshipping and religion. For what shoulde they worshipping straunge gods, when they were the peculiar people of the true God, by whom they were deliuered from the house of bondage, that is, out of a prison or dungeon most hard, and after ward in their iourney they were deliuered both from the Amalekites, & also from the Moabites, & from Sihon and Og the kinges: Wherfore forasmuch as they had receaued these benefites of their God, it was neither lawfull nor meete that they should worshipping straunge gods.

*Two principal
spynnes of the
Israelites.*

Ye haue not obeyed my voyce. Two most greivous crimes of the people are reproued, wherof the latter dependeth of the first. First they beleued not his word, & then they obeyed it not. Undoubtedly they which beleue not the thyngs that God setteth forth, do not also obey his commaundementes. And contrarywise, they which do truly beleue, do willingly and without compulsion obserue his

his commandements. Although the wicked actes of the Hebrynes were sundry and manifold, yet onely one is reproued, namely Idolatrye, bicause in it almost al the other sinnes are comprehended. For if we commit synne there, wher God is called vpon, and if we sinne in that thing wherein we seeke to be reconciled vnto god, what goodnes can ther be in any other of our actions: If those things be corrupted in vs, which are taken for holy thinges, what maye be iudged of other woordes which are counted prophane: Wherefore soasmuche as in these thinges the Hebrynes greuously fel, we must vnderstand that they also sinned in all other thinges.

11 And the Angell of the Lorde came, and abode vnder the Oke, which was in Ophra, that pertayned vnto Joas the Abiezerit: and his sonne Gideon threshed wheat to prepare his flight fro Midian.

When by faith the sinnes of the Israelites were forgivenen, and that they had called vpon God and repented, their deliuey is set forth, wherby they were deliuered from the outward bondage of the Madianites. Which without doubt God would hane done by Gideon the Iudge, for the which cause hee raised hym vp to deliuer his Iewes. And this brought he not to passe, til such time as things were almost come to utter desperation: al humane helpes wer taken away, and the Israelites trusted onely to flight. Wherefore Gideon is not called, but when he gathered some wheate to hide, least the Madianites shoulde violently take it away. And that is ment by this Hebryne woord Lehanim, that is (if thou turne it woord for woord) to prepare his flight. For he would hide that wheate from the Madianites, were it neuer so litle, that with it he might somewhat sustaine both himselfe and his household. He which appeared vnto him, was in very verbe an Angel, as it shall afterwarde by manifest tokens and argumentes bee declared. He came to Ophra, but to that Ophra whych pertayned vnto Joas the Abiezerit, which is therfore adde d, bicause there was also an other Ophra in the Tribe of Beniam in, wherof is mention made in the booke of Iosua. And I doubt not but the Angel came vnto Gideon in the shape of a man, for he abode vnder the Oke: and (as we shal heare) he spake vnto hym. Joas the father of Gideon was of the family of Abiezer, which in the booke of Numb. and in Paralip. is reckoned among those that were of the Tribe of Manasses. Gideon was of the tribe of Manasses.

And Gideon at that tyme threshed corne in the wyne presse. The Hebrynes haue two woordes, Dash, which signifieth to thresh, but yet then when we occupy to threshing beastes. The other woord is Chabat, which is also to thresh, but yet with flayles and without beastes. Wherefore it is noted that Gideon used this latter kinde of threshing, that he might the better hide that which he did: and therfore it was in a wyne presse, where soasmuche as wyne was used to be pressed, no man did easily suspect that any wheate was there threshed. Let vs marke in this place, that the excellent men in the olde time, when they had gotten any leasure, either from holy seruices, or from ciuill things, they spent al that leasure, either about husbandry, or about the arte of a shephearde. For they would not consume them selues with yolenes, sumptuousnes, glotony, or drunkennes. And this shal we not onely learne in Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Gideon, and other holy fathers, but also it manifestly appereth by the histories of the Romanes. For there we reade that Curius and Seranus and such like, wer elected for the chiefeest Magistrates, when in the fieldes they were at plough, and tyllid the ground. And the earth also at that tyme (as Plini saith) brought forth her fruites moze plentiful and abundant, when it was handled with the handes of Emperors most noble. Not vndoubtedlye, bicause the earth was endued with any sense, but bicause wise men, as they used wisely to gouern waightry affairs, so also for husbandry, when they were occupied about it, they exercised it with The two maners of threshing.

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farre greater diligence then did the rude men. Our Gideon without doubt had seruautes, whom he might haue commaunded to haue wrought what woorkes so euer was to be done, yea and his father (as we shall afterwarde heare) was a man of power among the people. And for all that he was suche a one, yet he dispiseth not rusticall woorkes.

12 Then the Angel of the Lord appeared vnto him, and sayd vnto him: The Lord is with thee, thou valiant man.

Salutation by
sed of the godly

Here is expressed a moste auncient maner of salutation, wherein they sayde: The Lord is with thee. We rede in the booke of Ruth, that Boaz vsed it, when he came vnto his haruest men. The Angell also in this maner saluted the blessed Virgin. Yea, and the Church of Christ by the Minister saluteth the people in the holy seruices, and saith: The Lord be with you. The angel called Gideon a strong man, not by that strength (as it is thought) wherewith he was befoze endued, but by the strength which should afterwarde be geuen him, for the accomplishing of thinges. Although it might easily be, that Gideon was a man skilfull in seates of warre. But the first interpretation agreeth better. Howbeit Augustine in his questions vpon this place, thus readeth this particle, as though God hym selfe should be called a strong and warlike man, as if he should haue saide: That God which is mighty & warlike, is with thee, or be with thee. Neither ought it much to moue vs, because this word Man is added, forasmuche as it is after the same maner written in the song of Exodus. For God may so be called by a Metaphore. But the first exposition is moze receaued, and seemeth moze simple.

Augustine.

13 To whom Gideon answered: O my Lord I praye thee, is the Lord with vs? why then is all this come vpon vs? and where be all his miracles which our fathers told vs of, and sayde: Wyldest thou not the Lord bring vs out of Egypt? But now the Lord hath forsaken vs, and hath deliuered vs into the hand of the Madianites.

The hebreue word Bi signifieth in me: and is spoken by the figure Eclipsis, as though it should haue bene, looke louingly vpon me. And therfore they turne it, I pray thee: which is a particle of one that erbozteth. The next word is Adonai, by which name Gideon called him which appeared vnto him, not by a religious or deuine title, but by a common title, which is applyed also to prophane men. For he vnderstood not that he was an Angel: he thought he was some Prophet or holy man. Gideon perswadeth himself that God was not with him, when the Israelites were afflicted with so great miseries. For he vnderstandeth the saying of the Angel, as though he had said that God was not onely with hym, but also with all the hebreues. And it is no doubt, but that the nature of man thinketh that God is not with those which are afflicted. The saintes after this maner learned to expostulate with God. Therfore in the Psalmes it is written: Arise O God, why turnest thou thy face away from me? why hast thou forgotten me? and such lyke. This is a grieuous kinde of temptation, wherunto if a man geue place, and be therewith ouercom, he grieuously sinneth. For he transgresseth the first precept: I am the Lord thy God. But, howe farre that sentence is from the truth, this hystorie declareth. For when Gideon thought that God was absent from him, then was he present, and talked with him.

God is not sup
posed to bee
with those whi
che are afflicted

VVhere be all his miracles? These wordes may be vnderstande two wayes. The first way is, as though Gideon should reason by contraries, saying: When God was with our fathers, he did marvellous thinges for their health: but now hath he deliuered vs vnto the Madianites, neither deliuereth he vs by his excellent woorkes: therfore he is not with vs. The other interpretation is, as if by a certain godly expostulation he should say: wher doth God now restrain these his marvellous

marvellous woordes: **W**hy suffreth he the benefites which he so plentifully bestowed on our fathers, so much now to want? Undoubtedly whilst we are thus forsaken, all these things, as it seemeth, are frustrate of their end. These things manifestly declare, what is the temptation of godly men in aduersities & troubles: For the deuil, the flesh, and the world go about to persuade them, that they are notwe forsaken of God, and that they in vayne put their confidence in hym. Which kinde of temptation also was moued vnto Christ, when vpon the crosse he cryed: **O** my God, my God, why hast thou forsake me? For none (as I thinke) would beleue that the same had happened vnto Christ, vnlesse the Euangelists had written, that he being vpon the crosse said such woordes. And this temptation would be therfore suffer, to the end that (as it is written in the seconde to the Hebrewes) he myghte be lyke vnto vs in all thynges without synne. Wherefore Esay testifieth: **H**es hath in verde borne our infirmities, and carryed our sorowes.

What temptation is counted grievous to the Godly.

14 And the Lord looked vpon hym, & said: **G**o in this thy strength, and thou shalt saue Israel out of the lande of Madian. Haue not I sent thee?

The Angel looked vpon Gideon, when he had spoken these woordes: For per aduventure whilst he spake them, he looked not vpon him: but then he behelde him, when he sent him to deliuer the Israelites. But in that he sayth In this strength, it is expounded two maner of waies. The Hebrewes saye, that by the sight of the Angel he was fylled with strength, and therfore it is sayde go thou in this strength, which I haue now geuen thee, and thou shalt deliuer Israel fro the Madianites. Neither is it anye straunge thing, that God doth chaunge those whom he chooseth to any function, and endueth them with sundry gyftes. For we rede that it so happened vnto David and Saul, when they were called to be kynges. And it is expessedlye written in this booke that Iephthe and Samson were adozned with the spirite of strength. That strength also may here be noted, which God vsed in helping the fathers, when for them he wrought myraculous things in the tyme of Moses and Iosua. Gideon had demaunded where those marvellous woordes were now become, and therfore the Angel answered him: **G**o in that strength, whereby those things in tymes past were wrought, and by it deliuer Israel. By which woordes the Angel declareth, that hee shoulde not by his own strength bying to passe the things which he had commaunded him, but by that power of God, which was geuen the fathers in the olde tyme. And this ought not to seme marvellous, that the Angel is called the Lord. For that is for this cause done, either bicause he did it & spake it in the name of God, or els bicause he was in verge deede the sonne of God, which so appeared. The calling of the Iudges is therfore so diligently described, that wee might vnderstand that priuate men are not able to attempt matters and affaires of so great waight, vnlesse a certaine authoritie had bene geuen them of God. For to gather an hoste, and to take weapons against those whiche haue the chiefe rule of things, vnto suche as are weake and destitute of al ayde, it is altogether dangerous. Therfore ther is required an assurednes and vndoubted calling, which cannot be had, vnlesse sayth go befoze, whiche consisteth of the woorde of God, when it is rightly vnderstoode. The Angell vseth an intozrogation when hee sayth: Haue not I sent thee? Bicause this maner of speaking is verge apt to augment a commandement.

The Angel calleth himself the Lord.

15 And he sayd vnto him: **O** my Lord, wherby shal I saue Israel? Behold my familie is the pooze in Manasses, and I am the least in the house of my father.

God sayd not that he would deliuer Israel, but he declared that it shoulde be done by Gideon, who therfore marnelleth, soasmuche as he saw that he wanted all such thinges as were requisite to so great a woork. For warre coulde not be made by a poore man, and one of the base sorte, suche a one as Gideon perceaued himselfe to be: when as to the accomplishing thereof wer required power, riches, and especially authoritie. Wherfore Aristotle to ciuil felicity, hath toynd out ward goodes, and that namely for this, bicause they are necessary instruments of actes most noble.

Why God appointed tribunes, Centurions and Captaines ouer ten.

Of this Myllenary or thousand, he therfore maketh mention, because God in the publike wealth of the Iewes (as we rede in Exodus) instituted this maner, namely by tribunes or thousands, and hundredes the people shoulde be gouerned: For it could not easily be, that by a few Magistrates, an infinite number of people shoulde be numbred, and so gouerned, that their manners, liuing and ordinaunces might diligently be looked vpon, whych one thing chiesely pertaineth to gouerne well & rightly. For when euery man is permitted vnto him selfe in these thinges, he both abuseth his liberty, and also easily transgresseth the lawes, because he is not noted. Wherfore God in his people woulde for that cause haue rulers ouer ten, and ouer hundredes, and also ouer thousandes, least that publike wealth (if the people were negligently looked vnto) shoulde fall to ruine, and beare woofse and woofse. That band of a thousand, wherof Gideon was one, he declareth to be the poorest among all those of the tribe of Manasses. Farther, he saith that he was the least in his fathers house or family, and therfore he saw not, by what meanes he could set at liberty the Hebrewes. Some say that Ioas the father of Gideon was at that time a tribune or ruler ouer a thousand men, & that his sonne ment him, when he said by his family was the poorest among the tribe of Manasses. This sentence I disallow not, soasmuch as after ward it shall easily appeare by Ioas was of some authoritie among his people. But whether this word Alpi, signify him or no, I wil not rashly affirme, soasmuch as the first exposition, is both apt and also wel agreeth with the wordes of the history.

Whether Gideon sinned in gain saying the Angel. Whay holy me seeme to haue refused the promises and calling of God.

This must we rather note, whether Gideon in objecting these things sinned or no. Undoubtedly if we looke vpon the holy scriptures, we shal finde very many other, which sayd that their infirmity strided against the vocation and promises of God. Abraham sayd he was an. 100. yeare old, and therfore he desired that Isaac might rather liue before the Lord, than that he shoulde waite for a sonne of Sara which was both old and barren. Yea, and she also when she heard that a childe was promised her, she could not keepe herselfe from laughing, because she alredy felt her selfe vnapt by nature to beare a childe. Moses also, that he might not be sent vnto Pharao, alledged the impediment of his tong for a let. Farther, moze Jeremy sayd: Ah Lord, I am a childe, and I cannot speake. The blessed virgin also sayd vnto the Angel: How can this be done: soasmuch as I knowe no man. There might peraduenture also be mention made of others, but these are now sufficient. And I doubt not but that some of these whom I haue touched, fell in speaking these wordes. For God was angrie with Moses, when hee so obstinately excused the office which he had committed vnto him. Saras laughter also was reprobued. But I know that the other were praysed for their faith: for Abraham, because he beleued the promise, was iustified, and Elizabeth sayd vnto Mary: Blessed art thou which belenedst: for the thinges which the Lord hath sayd vnto thee, shal be performed. The difference betwene these is hereby to be taken, because some did in suche sorte aske an excuse, for that they beleued not the word of God, neither could they be perswaded to agree vnto God whych he sent them, or made promise to them. Wherfore soasmuche as they synned, God was not without a iust cause both angrie with Moses, and also reprobued Sara. But there were other some of them, which belened the word of God, and yet for all that they put forth certayne questions, not in deede to resist, but to declare

What is the difference betwene those whiche seeme to resist God,

clare what thinges seemed to be a let vnto they: calling, or to the thinges commaunded them, and in demaunding these thinges, they desired nothing els, than that they might be instructed of the way & maner, which they ought to vse, and they required to be confirmed, least those thinges which seemed to be a let, might plucke them backe, either for waiting for the promises, or els from fulfilling the thinges commaunded them. Howbeit these men can not be seperated one from an other, by the wordes which they spake, when as almost they spake all one thing. But by the purpose and thought of the hart they are seperated: for if they spake and excused those thinges of incredulity, they oughte not to bee counted without blame; but if they beleued, and desired onelpe to bee confirmed and instructed, we ought not to diffame them as guilty of incredulity. But who shal discern these thinges in them: Surely God which knoweth the harts and conscience of euery one of them. And we know that the sayth of Gideon is commended in the. xi. to the Hebzees. But whither that were straight waye geuen him, when he heard the word of God, or whether it came vnto him after some taryng and wassling with humane reason, we are ignozant.

The same wordes are allowed in one, that are disallowed in an other.

16 Then the Lord sayd vnto him: Because I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite Madian as it were one man.

Cease of (saith he) these humane reasons, and haue no regarde to strength, riches, and authoritie: if these thinges should ciuilly be done, thou mightest iustly require them. But now thou shalt vse my power and might. Thou shalt saue Israel, not by thine own might, but bycause I wyl be with thee. So God answered vnto Moses when he detracted his message. So was it also said of Iosua, I will be with him. After that maner was Jeremy answered, when he cryed that he was a childe, and could not wel speake. I will be with thee (saith the Lord) thou shalt accomplish all these thinges to whatsoeuer I will send thee. Gideon therefore is instructed of the way or maner of the victorie, namelye, that God woulde haue the handling and charge of it: and that chiefly by these wordes: Thou shalt destroy the Madianites as it were one man. For wth God it is as easy to ouerthrowe an infinite number, as one man. And the same thing as touching the marueylous murder of the Madianites, then vndoubtedly tooke effect, when they smote one an other with their own swordes, and by the impulsion of God they wounded one the other.

17 The he answered him: I pray thee, if I haue found fauour in thy sight, then shew me a sygne, that it is thou that talkest with me.

18 Depart not hēce I pray thee, until I come vnto thee and bring my sacrifice and laye it before thee. And he answered, I wyl tarpe tyll thou come agayne.

He therefore desired a signe, least he should thinke him selfe to be illuded by a ghost or spirit. For he was not content with wordes, but he would haue an assured signe of the talke now he had. But this sentence: That it is thou that talkest wyth me, semeth to be spoken by the figure Eclipsis, so that we must vnderstand, in the name of God, least peradventure I might thinke, that the wordes which thou speakest, are the wordes of a man, and not count them for the Oracle of God. These thinges were not done when he was a sleepe (as it appeareth by the history) but when he was waking, although God, as we shal afterward heare, appeared also by night vnto Gideon. He requireth a signe, because it is the parte of a godly man to trye spirites, and not rashly to beleue euery spirite, especially when any newe and vnaccustomed worde is commaunded: and that wherby otherwyse is not thought to bee lawfull, there no man wyl easely assent, except he be fullye perswaded that hys calling is of God. But when doctrine now

This visio happened to Gideon being waking, & not sleeping.

received, and confirmed by holpe scriptures is set forth, or woordes required, which in them are commaunded, we must beware that we require not signes, for as much as we are bound to beleue and obey them. But of this thing we will more largely intreate after ward.

19 Then Gideon went in, & made redy a kid, & unleavened breade of an Ephah of floure, & put the flesh in a basket, & put the broth in a pot, and brought it out vnto hym vnder the Ore, and presented it.

This place may be enterprized two maner of waies. One way it is thought that Gideon would haue made redy a dinner for the man of God: for such a one did he take him to be. Therfore for honours sake he desired to refresh him with meate in his iourney, & to talk with him at leasure for the shewing of the signe. And he thought not that God or an Angel was present with him. Therfore he thought to follow the example of Abraham & Lot. And in dede the things which he presented, pertained rather to a dinner, than to a sacrifice. He erected no alter, neither prepared he the fat to be burnt, nor the shoulder and the breast to be lifted up, nor the blood to be shed. The other interpretation is, that he would therfore bring him a sacrifice, that in that oblation he might obayne a signe, as to Abel the fauour of God was declared when he was offering sacrifice. And the authours of this sentence beleue that this doth nothing let that Gideon sod the flesh, forasmuch as that kind of seething was sometimes vsed in peace offerings, as the first booke of Samuel testifieth. Of the interpreters of this place this latter sentence seemeth to be receiued: for they iudge y Gideon intended to offer sacrifices: But I rather allow the first sentence as touching the feast, although I know that the Angell contrary to Gideons purpose vsed that meate to a sacrifice, and in it gaue the signe, which a little before was desired of him. This hebrew word *Mitsoth*

Flesh in sacrifice was sometimes sod.

Why the Elders vsed so often sweet cakes in their feastes.

The measure of an Ephah.

signifieth unleavened cakes. But the roote of the word may be *Naksa*, which is to hast, or to make speede. For the Elders were carefull to prepare meate for strangers with as much speede as might be. Therfore they straightway baked new bread, because peradventure their household bread was somewhat hard and stale. Therfore, to y end they might the sooner refresh y weary, they vsed sweete cakes, which were very soone baked. This measure Ephah was not a measure for liquide thinges, but for thinges dry, and (as the Hebrewes affirme) it held thre peckes, and a pecke contained. 144. egges. And ten Ephas made one Corus. Certaine Rabbines saie that there is therfore mention made of sweete breade, because this thing was done in the time of Easter. But how trifling this is, hereby we may gather, because it is wel knownen that sweete bread were by the commaundement of God vsed, not onely for sacrifices at Easter, but also at other times, especially such as wer to be burnt at the altar of the Lord. But if we shal say that Gideon prepared not a sacrifice, but rather a feast, we haue already shewed the reason, why he brought sweete bread. Gideon is utterly to be quitted of y dolatry. For his will was not to do sacrifice vnto the Messenger of God: because his purpose was eyther to set meate before the ma of God, or els to sacrifice vnto the lying God, by the hand of the Prophet, whom he counted to bee farre better than himselfe.

20 And the angel of God said vnto him: take the flesh & the unleavened bread, & lay it vpon this stone, & poure out the broth: & he did so.

21 Then the Angel of the Lord put forth the ende of the staffe, that he held in his hand, and touched the flesh & the unleavened bread, & there arose by fire out of the stone, & consumed the flesh & the unleavened bread: so the Angel of the Lord departed out of hys sight.

They which thinke y Pinhas the sonne of Eleazar was this ma of god, which appea

appeared vnto Gideon, affirme þ the same man was also after ward called Elias. And enen as when Achab reigned in Iſrael, he obtained fire from heauē, wherby the burnt offering was consumed, wherupon he had poured water and that abundantly & very many times: so likewise now out of the rocke, by the power of god he raised vp a flame, wherby þ meate which was put vpon it was burnt, wherupon he had beſore caused the broth of the fleſh to be poured. I confeſſe indeede that ther is ſome ſimilitude betwene theſe two actes, but therewithal I ſee many thinges to be cauſes, wherby the one differeth from the other. Farther, I utterly reiect this fained tale, wherin they ſaine that Pinhas was preſent eyther there or here. Wher, by reaſon of the great diſtance of times: & here, becauſe (as I haue expounded, & the wordes of the hiſtory do manifeſtly teſtify) it was eyther god himſelf or an angel, which talked with Gideon. Augustine. Augustine in his booke De mirabilibus ſanctæ ſcripturæ, teacheth that the ſigne, which is here geuen, both aptly agree vnto that which was demaunded. For it was ſhewed, that by the wonderful power of god, without mans labour and ſight, the enemies of the people of the Iewes ſhould be overcome, even as by the might of god above the ability of nature fire came forth, wherewith without mans helpe or induſtry thoſe bit-tailles were consumed. But Ambroſe very elegantlye wriſteth the Allegorye of Ambroſe. this place, in the Proheme of his booke de ſpiritu ſancto, which I to auoyd tediousnes do ouerpaſſe. This one thing onely I wil admoniſh you of, þ our giſtes are then acceptable vnto God, when wee offer them vpon the rocke, which is Chriſt. Things that we offer, are to bee offered by Chriſt. Where our actions are by the fire of the holy ghoſt purged, & that which otherwiſe of his own nature is vncleane, is of God receaued as holy.

And the Angel of the Lord departed. By this ſodain departure Gideon vnderſtood that it was an Angel whom he ſaw, wherfore he was ſore afraid, as the wordes of the hiſtory which follow, do manifeſtly declare.

22 And when Gideon ſaw, that it was the Angell of the Lorde, he ſayd: Alas my Lord God, ſhall I bycauſe I haue ſene an Angell of the Lorde face to face?

This is ſpoken by the figure Ecliptica: for when Gideon ſayth: Alas my Lorde God, ſhal I bycauſe I haue ſene an Angel of the Lord: there ſhould be added, dyc. The fathers by ſeyng of god & of angels wer made awayed. Thou ſhalt euer moze perceaue that the old fathers, after that they had ſene god or beholde his Angels, wer very ſore afraid, yea & ſo aſtoniſhed, that they feared preſent death to come vpon them. And no marvail, for they wer not ignorant, what God answered Moſes, when he deſired to ſee his face: Man ſhal not ſee me and liue. Iohn Baptiſt alſo (as we reade in the firſt of Iohn) ſayth: No man hath ſene God at any time. And Paul to Timothy hath confirmed the ſame wriſting. No man hath ſen God, neither can he ſe him: for he is inuiſible, becauſe he dwelleth in the light that no man can come vnto. And that alſo which nowe Gideon ſpeaketh, Mannah the father of Samſon (as we ſhal after ward heare) ſhal ſpeak. Iacob likewiſe, after he had waſtled al night, thinking that he had ſtriven with a man, when he vnderſtood that he was an Angel, marvelled howe he eſcaped a lye and ſafe. Haue I ſene the Lord (ſayth he) face to face, and is my lyfe ſaued? As though that þ was in a maner impoſſible. Yea, and the Hebrewes, when the Lord diſcended to mount Sina to geue the lawe, were ſo ſtricken with feare and dread, that they ſayd vnto Moſes: Haue thou (we praye thee) to doo with God, leaſt, if he go forthward ſo to ſpeake beſore vs, we dye. To this ſerueth that alſo which is wriſten in the ſame booke of Exodus, when the covenant was then made betwene God and the people, and Moſes recited the conditions, and ſprinkled the people with þ blood of the ſacrifices which wer offered, he brought forth the Elders vnto the mountain, wher they ſaw God ſitting in his throne with chiefe glory and maieſty. But after the recital of that viſion, it is ſayd: Neither did God extend his hande vnto them: which declareth that it was a newe and

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Jerome.

Unaccustomed sight, that men should see god, & haue their life still whole & sound. Wherefore that altogether is mentioned as a thing geuen by a singular prerogative. Jerome also testifieth, that Esay was vnder this presence killed of the Jewes, because he said that he had sene God sitting vpon his throne, as it appeareth in the vi. chap. of his booke. They cawled that he lyed, soasmuch as God can not be sene of men, which yet remain still a lye. Wherefore they condemned him for a lye, as though in prophesying he had taught & people not the things which the Lord had shewed him, but his own inuencions. This they sained against the innocent prophet, when as by sides it they had no other cause against him.

And there are the like examples in the new testament: when our Lord manifested in mount Thabor to his Apostles a certain shew of his maiesty & glozy, he was altogether changed before them, & he shined with an incredible brightnes & light, with whō wer Moses & Elias straightway present, & the voice of the father sounded from heauen. These thinges because they many waies overpassed the faculty of mans sight, the eyes of the Apostles were not able to beare them: wherefore they fel downe to the earth, & wer as it wer dead. Peter also, when in fishing at the commaundement of Christ he caught an incredible number of fishes: for before his woord he had long labored in vaine, maruelling at the straunge sight, and vnderstanding that God was in Christ, he was so asfeard of himself, that he said vnto him: Lord, I pray thee depart from me, because I am a sinfull man, and cannot without daunger suffer the presence of God. Paul also declaring his ranshing vnto the third heauen, where he vnder stood thinges deuine, whyche in woord he might not expze vnto mē, wryteth: whether it wer in the body, or without the body, I cannot tel. Merely he durst not affirme that those thinges happened vnto him, whilest he had the vse of the body, & senses of this life. Wherefore it manifestly appeareth, that Gideon was not without a cause astonished.

Platos sect.

But why the beholding of God or of the Angels seemeth to bring present destruction vnto them, we must now shew the reason. Peraduenture that hapneth by reason of the grosnes of the body, which (as the sect of Platos affirme) is to vs as it wer an obscure & darke prison. Wherefore soasmuch as by it we are letted, so that we cannot see thinges deuine, if peraduenture at any time we behold them, by & by we remember that the ioyning together of the body & mind is now dissolved, & that we shal straightway dye, & that therfore deuine thinges are set before vs to behold, because now is at hand the seperation of the soule from the body.

Aristotle.

For Aristotle in his Metaphisicis testifieth, & the powers of our vnderstanding are in such sort vnable to vnderstand thinges deuine, which of their own nature ar most euident, & iustly they may bee compared vnto the eyes of the Owles or Battes, whych cannot looke vpon the brightnes of the Sunne, and lyght of the day. They which thus thinke, doo in deede say somewhat, but not so much as is sufficient, to expounde the thing manifestly.

The body remoueth vs not from the beholding of God.

The body from the first creation was not therfore geuen vnto men, & it should be a let vnto them to know God, neither that it should restraine our soules as in a certain blinde & darke prison: for so the goodnes of God, which created the bodyly nature of man, should be accused. And that the thing is thus, the hystorye of Genesis proueth, which testifieth that God was very familiar with our first Parents, though they had bodies: for he led them into Paradise which he had planted, he shewed them the trees wherof they might eate, and for certaine trees he gaue them a law that they shoulde not toulche them, he set all creatures before Adam, to cal them by what name he listed. Wherefore the body was not a let, wherby the first man could not be familiar with God. Sinne vndoubtedly remoued vs from the sight of god. Therof cometh our dimnes, darknes, blindnes & ignorance as touching thinges deuine. For this cause we ar turned into Moles, Bats & Owles. But God of his owne nature may be sene, yea he is the lyght it selfe, but that the blot of synne is put betwene. Peraduenture thou wilt saye, that

Sinne separeteth vs from god

that is now sufficiently declared, that sinne is the originall cause of our blindness but we haue not yet shewed, why we are so ascard at the sight of god. For by cause of sinne happeneth all this also vnto vs: for men, besides that by reason of their darknesse they are oppressed with the diuine light, being of sinne accused by their conscience, do flye from the iudge who is no lesse mighty then iust. For they vnderstand that God himselfe is such a one, that by reason of his purenesse and iustice he will suffer no vncleane or filthy thing before hym. Wherefore to haue God present they thinke nothing els; then that their punishment prepared for them and the paynes whiche they haue deserued are at hande. For this cause our first parentes when they had sinned straight way hid themselves, and at the voyce of God were so ascard, that they determined to hide themselves among the trees of Paradise: whiche vndoubtedly came of a troubled conscience for as much as God of his owne nature is both quickning and also the author of all consolatio. Wherefore it is manifest that these terrores and discommodities, came not by hys default, but thorough our owne wickednesse.

Because of sinne men flye from the sight of God.

Of Visions, or in what sorte and how muche

God may be knowne of men.

Now the matter getteth vs occasion, somewhat to speake of visions of things deuine, and in what sorte and how much God may be sene of men. But least our disputacion should want either methode or els an order, I will first set forth certaine distinctions whiche I perceiue are needfull.

First, the knowledge of God is supposed to be offered vnto the senses, or vnder standing. Or els we thinke that it cometh of nature, either els by a prerogative, and reuelacion which passeth nature. For the knowledge of the substance, nature, and (as if I should say) of the very essence, is separated from that knowledge whiche consisteth of tokens, testimonies, argumentes and signes of the diuine presence. Lastly we must speake, either of that knowledge, whiche agreeth with this our life, or of that onely which is looked for after this world. I will begyn therefore at the senses: and of the knowledge of them this I suppose, that the nature, substance, and essence of God can not be comprehended by the senses. For those things haue no affinity with God whiche are vnderstand by senses, but are from him most farre distant. And to say the truth the qualities, which long to any certayne generall worde, and are reckened for accidents, do stirre vp the knowledge of the senses. And for as much as God, whiche is most simple, is not subiect to those, he can not therefore be knowne by the senses. And this to be true is by certaine experience perceaued whiche euery man taketh of his owne iudgement. For it is most certain, that no man hath by his senses perceaued hym. Howbeit the Anthropomorphites perswaded themselves that God might be knowne by the senses, as men which did attribute vnto god a humane body: but their opinion is utterly reiected. For the holy scripture testifieth that God is a spirite, and it also putteth a manifest difference betwene a spirite and a body, when our sauiour sayth: Fele and see, because a spirite hath neither fleshe nor bones. And there is none which vnderstandeth not, that a humane body and his members, can not consist without fleshe & bones. Farther their foolishnesse hereby appeareth, because there is not a body sounde, whiche is euery way pure and simple: for let it be as equall as thou wilt, at the lest way it hath partes, wherof it is composed. And that all composition is agaynst the nature of God; euen the Ethnike Philosophers perceaued.

Distinctions which serue to the questio put forth.

The nature of God is not knowne by our senses.

The error of Anthropomorphites.

But leauing the Anthropomorphites, we must speake of certayne other, whom Augustine in his Epistle ad Paulinam, de videndo Deo, maketh mention of. They as the Scriptures testifie and the right faith confesse, do beleue that God is also

Augustine.

gether most simple, and that he wanteth a body. But they deny that he can not

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Our bodily eyes do not be-
holde the effe-
of God neither
here, neither in
lyfe to come.

be sene with the eyes of the blessed, in that blessednesse whiche we wayt for. And therfore they say we are deceaned, bycause we measure the state of the lyfe to come by those thinges, whiche we see here to be done and to happen. Therfore say they, although the dull eyes of our body are not able here to see God, the aungels or spirites, yet when they are confirmed in felicity, they shall see them, but not in dede by their owne nature & power, and the sharpenesse of their sight shall be so illustrated, that they shall see euen the very essence of God. These men peraduenture erre lesse than the Anthropomorphites; but yet they erre. For how soeuer our eyes shall be confirmed whē we shall be in the blessed state, they shall see all that remaine eyes, and shall be bodily eyes: wherfore they shall not excede the nature and latitude of their obiectes. In dede they shall then easely abide a be-
menter and larger light, than now they can in seing suffer, neither shall they be hurte by those colours wherewith they are now offended, but yet they shall not attayne vnto the essence of god. For there are no bodies whiche in the blessed resurrection shall be so nobled, that they shall either be made spirites, or els cease to be bodies. Therfore neither to the body of Christ is this geuen, that after his resurrection it was turned into a spirite. For this were not to haue the body rise agayne, but to be abolished. Therfore they, whiche thinke that our eyes shall be made so perfect, that they shall beholde the substance of God, do not beautifye them, but in very dede destroy them. The Anthropomorphites do sinne agaynst the nature of God, in that they cloth it with a body: but these men do injury vnto the nature of man, which persuaide themselves that it shall not abide in the blessed resurrection. Our sentence therfore abideth and is true, as well of this lyfe wherin we presently lyue, as of the life whiche we wayte for to come.

What the Pa-
triarches and
Prophets saw.

But thou wilt aske, what then sawe the Patriarches and Prophets, to whō we read in the holy Scriptures that God many tymes appeared? I aunswere, that as touching the outward senses, they saw onely certayne images, similitudes and formes, whiche were offred sometymes vnto them by god and by his aungels, whereby it was shewed both that he was present with those fathers, & also spake vnto them, heard them and admonished them of thinges healthfull. But these thinges, namely the presence of god or of the aungels, also the wordes and significations, the sense it selfe vnderstand not, but by reason, and in minde they were gathered by those thinges, whiche the iudgement of the senses receaued. Therfore the Chaldee Paraphrast, when in Exodus it is writtē, that god came to mount Syna, affirmeth, that god himselfe came not simply, but translateth it, that the glory of god came: as though he should haue sayd, certayne noble and wonderfull signes were there sene, by whiche god testified that he hymselfe was there present: whiche selfe same thing he doth in Esay the 6. chap: wher he writteth. I saw the Lord sitting vpon his throne which was highe and lifted vp. But what manner of similitudes and images they were, which offred themselves as tokens of the presence either of an aungell or of god, it is easy to be gathered out of the holy Scriptures. The burnyng bushe appeared vnto Moses, the cloud, the pillar of fire, the smokes, voices, thundringes lampes, lightnings, the propitiatory, the arke of the couenaunt, Vrim and Themim, and sondry formes euen of men, whiche either did, or spake, or in some maner of sorte shewed themselves either to Prophets or to other men. All these thynges I saye, were signes and tokens of the presence both of God and of the aungels. And the same thinges were sene of the fathers, either when they were slepyng or els whē they were waking: & sometymes by the spirit of god or industry of the angels at the commaundement of god, & phantasy or imagination of mē receaued forme by such similitudes and figures. Wherby those thinges whiche god would shewe, were no lesse expressed in the myndes of the vnderstanders, than if they had been perceaued by the outward senses.

Prophets som-
times thinges
printed in ima-
gination and
sometymes out-
wardly.

Therfore in expounding the Prophets it is true, that very oftentimes we stand

And in great doubt, whether þ thing were so done outwardly, or rather so appeared to þ Prophet to be done in mind. And in certain of the by reason of the circumstances of the matter, we are compelled to graunt that it was onely a vision, as Ierome testifieth of the breeches or bosen of Ieremy, whiche at the commaundement of the Lord he put in a rocke by the riuer Euphrates: and he suffered them to remayne there so long, till they were rotten: and then he was commaunded to take them, and to put them on agayne. And this vision happened whilist the city of Ierusalem was grievously besieged by the Chaldeyans, whē the Prophet could not go and come to the riuer Euphrates. For at the same tyme, when he would once haue gone to Anathoth, where he was bozne, he was taken enē as he was going out of the gates, and accused of treason. In like manner the same Ierome affirmeth, that that was onely done by a vision, whiche is witten in Ezechiel, of the bread baked in the doung of an ore, and how it lay many dayes vpon one and the selfe same side. To these may be added the eatyng of the booke, and such like, whiche either humane nature, or circumstances of the matters and tymes, suffered not so to be done, as it is witten. And as touching the preaching & expounding vnto the people, that things whiche þ Prophetes had in their myndes, a thing sene by phantasy or imagination, was all one, and had as much efficacy, as if it had outwardly bene sene. But yet they fled not vnto the visions of the mynde, when the thing it selfe might outwardly be done. For seyng God can vse both wayes, he hath sometymes taken this way, and other sometymes that way, as it hath pleased him, and as he hath iudged mete and profitable for vs. But in all these things, me thinketh the sentence of Ambrose is to be holden, which intreating of these images, sayeth: That they were such as will did chose, and not such as nature hath formed: whiche vndoubtedly maketh agaynst those, whiche will haue prophesying to be naturall, as though by the power of the heauens, or some certain insinuat of nature, or temperature of humors such images & sights offered themselves to be sene, of the outward senses of the Prophetes, or to be knowen inwardly by imagination & phantasy. The will (sayth Ambrose) namely of god or of an aungell, would those things, and aboue other things chose them, and not the power of nature formed them.

Ierome.

Ambrose.
The visions of
Prophets were
not naturall.

But there is an other doubt which in dede is not to be left vnspoken of, namely whether god himselfe at any tyme shewed himselfe vnder these images or formed: Or whether onely aungels alwayes appeared, which wrought & spake with þ Prophetes, sometimes in theyr own name, & other sometyme in the name of god: Ther haue ben some which said þ god himselfe neuer appeared, but by aungels in þ name of god all those things were accomplished which are witten to be either spoken or done in those visions. And they contend that they haue certayne testimonies in the Scriptures which make with this: among which one is found in the Actes of the Apostles, where Stephen expessedly calleth him an aungell, whiche called to Moses out of the bush, when as for all that he is in Exodus named God. Farther Paul to the Galathians testifieth that the lawe was geuen in the hande of a Mediator, be the disposition of Aungels. And no man doubteth, but that in Exodus it is witten, that the lawe was geuen by god. Wherfore they conclude that we must vnderstand that God appeared not by himselfe, but by Aungels. Howbeit soasmuch as the essence or diuine nature, can not be taken away either from the holy ghost, or from the sonne (for either of them by nature is God) how will they defend their opinion, when as it is expessedly witten in the gospel, that the holy ghost descended vpon Christ in the forme of a Dove: If they say that an aungell came and not the holy ghost, they accuse the Scripture as a lyer: but if they confesse, that together with that Dove the holy ghost appeared, what shall let but that god himselfe also appeared vnto the fathers vnder other figures and images: They can from this by no meanes escape, except (which I thinke they wil not do: otherwise they should bring in a manifest heresy) they

Whether God
at any tyme
shewed himself
or whether
they were al-
wayes aungels
that appeared.

The holy ghost
shewed himself
in a Dove.

will

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A Commentarie vpon the

will deny the holy ghost to be God. And that which I haue answered of the holy ghost, we may object the like of $\hat{\text{h}}$ sonne, out of the wordes of Paul to Timothee the 3. chap, where he writeth: Without controuersy it is a great misery, god is made manifest in the flesh, iustified in the spirite, &c. For the whole Church and right faith confesseth that the word was the true god which appeared vnder the flesh of man. Which if he did, as vndoubtedly without conterasaying he did, why may he not be said to haue done the same in the old Testament vnder sondy formes and manifolde figures: Without doubt that was much greater which he gaue vnto vs in the latter tyme. But he which hath geuen the greater thing we doubt not but that he also can geue that which is lesse.

The sonne of
God appeared
in humane flesh

It is the word
of sonne of god
by whom God
spake vnto the
fathers & p^{ro}-
phets.

Iohn. 1.

Iohn. 12.

Hose. 12

Peraduenture they will say, that that which was geuen in the latter tyme, the holy Scriptures do set forth to the end we should beleue it: but that which we require to haue ben done in the old time is no where read. Yea but if we diligently marke, the Scriptures teach, that also. For the sonne of god is named by the Euangelist the word of $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, which we must beleue was not by him done rashly, but because it might be vnderstand that by him god spake, when the Scriptures testifie that he spake. Wherefore as often as we read, $\hat{\text{h}}$ the word of $\hat{\text{h}}$ Lord came vnto this man or to that man, I iudge that the same is so often to be attributed vnto the sonne of god Christ our Lord, namely that god by him spake vnto the fathers and Prophets. Which least I should seme to speake in vayne, I wil for this sentence bring forth two testimonies. The first is read in the first chap: of Iohn: No man hath sene god at any tyme, & straight way by $\hat{\text{h}}$ figure Occupatio is added. The sonne which is in $\hat{\text{h}}$ bosome of $\hat{\text{h}}$ father he hath reueled hym. For a man might aske, If no man haue sene god at any tyme, who appeared then to the fathers when things deuine wer shewed vnto them: who talked with them, when sondy formes and images appeared vnto them in the name of god, and wrought with them: straight way it is answered: The sonne which is in the bosome of the father he hath reueled him: he was to man, the most true interpreter of the father. An other place, is in the gospell the 12. chap: where it is thus word for word writte. Wherefore they could not beleue, because agayn sayd Esay: He hath blinded their eyes, & hardened their hart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor vnderstand with their hart, and should be conuerted, and I should heale them. These thinges sayd Esay, when he saw his glozy, and spake of hym. Vndoubtedly these two pronounes His, and of Him, do without controuersy signify Christ, for a litle before the Euangelist had sayd, Though he, namely Christ, had done so many signes before the, yet beleued they not in hym, that the saying of Esay $\hat{\text{h}}$ Prophet might be fulfilled $\hat{\text{h}}$ he sayd, &c. And to this sentence, which in very dede is natural, do agree Chrysostome, Jerome, Cirillus, & Augustine. Furthermore the wordes of Hosea the Prophet which he hath in the 12. chap: are diligently to be weighed, And thus speaketh the Lord there: I haue spoken vnto the Prophets, and I haue multiplied visions, and vsed similitudes by the hand of the Prophets, &c. Hereby we vnderstand, that similitudes were not geuen vnto the Prophets from the beginning, but god himselfe spake vnto them.

By examples
it is declared
both that God
himselfe, & also
that angels som
tymes appered

But no w must we by examples and such as are most eident, confirme, that the appearynges of god are bitterly distinct from the visions of aungels. First it is declared vnto vs in the booke of Genesis, that Iacob saw a ladder which reached from earth euen to heauen, and by it the aungels both ascended and descended. And at the top of the ladder, namely in heauen, stode the Lord from whom Iacob heard noble and large promises. Hereby is gathered, vnlesse we wil stil be blind, that aungels shewed themselves in one kind of images and god himself appeared in an other forme. This selfe same thing may we see in Esay, when he sawe the Lord sitting in his throne, and with him two Seraphins, which cried mutually the one to the other, Holy, holy, holy. And with so great reuerence they

woz

worshipped God which was in the midst, that with their two upper wings, they covered their face, and with the two neither wings their feet. Who seeth, not here a great difference betwene god and the aungels which appeared? I will not speake of Ezechiell, which saw aungels in the formes of creatures, namely of an Ox, an Eagle, and a Lion, by whom wheles were turned, but God himselfe sat in the hyghest parte in the forme of the sonne of man. Of Daniell also was sene the auncient of dayes, vnto whom came the sonne of man. And he addeth that thrones were there put, bookes opened, and a certain forme of a iudgement appoynted: then he maketh mencion of aungels, of which he sayth were present ten thousand and ten hundred thousand, whiche ministered vnto hym. And here we heare, what great difference there is betwene God and the aungels which ministered. Farther there is a place most manifest in Exodus, when God, being angry with the people, denied that he would go any farther with them though the desert, least being prouoked with theyr sinnes, he shuld at once utterly destroy them. But he promised to send his aungell, with which promise Moses was not content, and sayd that he would by no means go with the people, except god himselfe would go together with the. And undoubtedly by prayer and constantly abiding in his sentence, at the length he overcame, and (as he desired) had god for a guide of their iourney. How can these men therfore say, y god himselfe was not present vnder those formes, but only aungels were sene in such images? Whereouer let vs remember, that Moses (as it is writtē in the same booke of Exodus) desired of God to see his face: which his request god (for that he loved him exceedingly,) would not utterly deny, but yet he would not graunt him all that he required. Wherefore he answered: My face thou shalt by no means see, because man shall not see me & lyue, but thou shalt looke vpon my hinder parts, namely my backe. What is more manifest than this testimony? Surely god by certayne wordes here promiseth, to appeare vnto Moses in the shapē of a man, of whose forme or image Moses should see not the face but the backe. And the same he saythfully performed vnto Moses: for as god passed by, Moses saw the backe of his image by the rocke, and heard the wonderfull and noble names of god rehearsed with a most loude voyce. Which when he saw, he fell prostrate to the earth and worshipped: and it is not to be doubted, but that he gaue vnto hym that adozation, which is onely due vnto the onely god. For soasmuch as he beleued that he was there present according vnto his promise it is not to be had in controuersy, but that he worshipped him as being present in very dede. And undoubtedly god, except he had shewed himselfe present in very dede at the arke & mercy seat, should haue throwen the Israelites headlong into idolatry, if he would haue had onely aungels to answer such as came to aske counsell, for that he commaunded them to call vpon him and to worship him there. To these may be added that history which is writtē in the booke of kinges of Micheas the Prophet, which prophesied befoze Achab king of Israel and sayd, that he sawe god, with whō was present an host of aungels, & he heard him aske, who shal deceaue Achab, and that one offered himselfe to be a lying spirite in the mouth of the Prophetes of the king Achab. By this vision also we vnderstand, that there was an assured and notable difference, betwene god and the aungels, which appeared all together vnto the Prophet. Wherefore the gift of god which he gaue vnto the fathers, is not to be diminished or to be extenuated: & we must confesse, y he was in very dede present, whē he appeared, soasmuch as we reade y it was so done, and there is nothing that letteth, as farre as can be gathered out of y holy scriptures, neither is the very nature of god any thing against, it that it could not be done. It were not sound to attribute vnto aungels all those things which in the scripture are read of such visions. For so might we easely slip so farre, y at the last we should beleue y the word was not immediatly created by god, but by aungels at his commaundement. Wherefore let vs confesse that god was present in very dede,

God was pre-
sent in verpe
debe, whe it is
sayd that he ap-
peared vnder
diuers formes.

Angels mini-
stred vnto god
when he gaue
the law.

The angell
which spake vnto
Moses in
the bushe, was
the sonne of God

Chrysostome.

Augustine.

Tertullian.

Augustine ex-
cuseth Tertu-
lian.

The nature of
god is without
a body.

debe, & shewed himselfe vnder diuers formes, as often as we heare that the scrip-
ture testifieth or speaketh the same.

Now resteth to aunswere vnto the places before brought. As touching the
Epistle to the Galathians, I grant that the disposition of the aungels was in
the geuing of the law: for they stood by God when he spake, they made redy the
mist, thundringes, lightnings, & lapes, they prepared the tables of stone, & many
wayes ministered vnto God being present & speaking. Neither do the wordes of
the Apostle deny, but that God himselfe spake, & gaue the law, as the scriptures
testifie. Yea & there haue ben some, which by the hand of a Mediator, do not ex-
pound it to be Moses, but the sonne of god: but whether they do it rightly or wro-
gully, I haue no leasure at this present to discusse. But we neede not in many
wordes to aunswere vnto the which blessed Stephen sayth (as it is written in the
Actes of the Apostles) namely that an angel appeared vnto Moses in the bushe, &
talked with him. For if by the angell we vnderstand the sonne of God (as I haue
often admonished) there will then remayne no doubt.

But that the things which I haue now alledged, as touching this matter, may
the plainely & moze certainly be vnderstand, I thinke it good to confirme them
by some testimonies of the fathers. Chrysostome in his 14. Homely vpon John
saith. The things which the fathers say, were al of the by permission, but yet they
say not the pure & simple substance of god. And he addeth: If they had sene it, then
should they not haue sene it in any part differing, for it is pure, simple, & can not
be described: Wherefore it standeth not, it lieth not, neither sitteth, as sometime it
was to those Prophetes shewed. He saith mozeouer: God, before the sonne came
into flesh, exercised the father with those visions & images. He there also writeth the
which a litle before we alledged, namely the which with bodily eyes we can not see crea-
ted spirites, as are our soules & angels. Wherefore much lesse must we beleue, the
we can see god with the senses. And least a man thinke, the which onely agreeth with
god the father to be inuisible, & not with the sonne, he bringeth this sentence of Paul,
that he is the image of the inuisible God. And without doubt he could not be his
image, if he were not inuisible, as he is whose image he representeth. Augustine
also in his 3. treatise vpon John, saith of Moses: Althoughe it be sayd that he tal-
ked with god face to face, yet when he desired to see the face of god, that is his very
substance, he could not obteyne it. And in the same place he addeth: He saw the
cloude, & the fire, which were figures. And within a litle after: If they say that
the sonne was visible before he was incarnate, they dote. Augustine besides these
hath in his Epistle to Fortunatianus, gathered many moze things to this purpose
out of Nazianzenus, Ierome, & other fathers, which were to long here to rehearse.

Howbeit I will bring two argumentes, which are wont to be objected against
this sentence. In the beginning we sayd that the nature of God can not therfore
be comprehended with the senses, because his nature is not bodily. But all the
old fathers seme not to haue beleued so. For Tertullian agaynst Praxeas writeth
that God is a body, and in other places hee oftentimes testifieth the same. Yea
in his litle booke de Anima he teacheth that our soules are bodies. And which
seemeth moze straunge, hee laboureth by many reasons to confirme it. Yea and
in his booke de Dogmat. Eccles. the 11. chap: he writeth that all creatures are bo-
dies, and euen the aungels by name: because there is nothing, which filleth all
things as doth God: but all thynges are limited with certayne places, as it ap-
peareth of the soule, which is closed in with the body. Augustine in his Epistle
ad Quod vult deum excuseth Tertullian in this maner, that by a body he vnder-
stoode the substance, & that which is in very dede, as though he therfore wrote
that god is a body, least he should seme to deny the which he is, soasmuch as the vulgare
people do thinke that the which is utterly nothing, which is not a body. Howbeit the same
Augustine in his booke de Genesi ad litteras, in this maner reproueth him, that at
sometime being overcome by the truth, he said, That euery body is passible: wher
fore,

For, leaſt he ſhould make god paſſible, he ought to haue denied him to be a body. Neither needed he ſo to bend himſelf to the capacity of the comon people, & therfore he ſhould promiſe ſaile things of god. For Chriſtians are not ſo to be inſtructed, & like rude perſons (whom Ariſtotele alſo conſidereth) they ſhould thinke that god is nothing, which is not a body, but rather they ought ſo to be taught, & in thinking of god they affirme nothing without rules of the holy ſcriptures. And as for the booke de dogmate Eccleſiaſtico, we muſt attribute no more vnto it than is mete. For it is aſcribed vnto Auguſtine, but the learned beleue not that it is his.

The other thing, which is ſometimes objected, is an argument of the Anthropomorphites. For they ſay, that this cauſe we ought not to beleue that god is without a body, becauſe the ſcriptures teſtifie, that man was made to the image of God, which could not be true, except he haue a body as we haue. For the image ſhould want the ſimilitude of that wherunto it is referred. They thinke alſo that the ſcripture maketh witneſſe thereto, when as it ſometimes attributeth vnto god the members of men. But Ierome (as Auguſtine to Fortunatianus citeth him) witteſſeth & ſharply deſcribeth their argument. If we ſhould leane vnto this reaſon (ſaith he) we ſhall eaſily proue that a man hath winges, becauſe the ſcripture ſometimes aſcribeth the ſame to god, to whose image it is manifeſt that man was created. Theſe men ought rather diligently to haue weighed that the image of God, conſiſteth in holinneſſe, righteouſneſſe & truth, as Paul hath taught. Which thing if they had ſene, they had not only remoued a body from god, but they ſhould alſo haue led away their mindes from groſſer cogitations. Why do they not affirme that God is in very deede a beaſt, a Lion or fire, becauſe ſo do Amos, and Moſes, and alſo the Epistle to the Hebrewes call him? In the 91. Pſalme it is written: He that made the eye, ſhall he not ſee? he that made the eare, ſhall he not heare? Ierome ſaith that there ſhould haue been ſaid: he that made the eare, hath he not an eare? & he that made the eye, hath he not an eye? But ſo it is not ſayd, leaſt in thinking of him, thou ſhouldeſt be deceaued, & ſuppoſe that he hath thoſe members. But the holy ſcripture, if ſome tyme it attribute members vnto god, vndoubtedly this is the only cauſe, to helpe our infirmity, wherby althoughe we can not comprehend the eſſence of God as it is, yet in very deede it prouideth that by ſome certayne ſimboles and ſhadowes we may vnderſtande ſomewhat. Therefore members are by a moſt profitable Metaphoſe attributed vnto God, that we diligently remembryng his propertyes, might godlyly and ſaythfully exerciſe our myndes. And the Anthropomorphites: if ſo that cauſe they had aſcribed members vnto God, as the ſcriptures ſetteth them forth, to be a helpe vnto the weak underſtandyng of men: they myght be excuſed, neither ſhould they haue bene condemned. But they contended that the nature of God had ſo in very deede: wherfore juſtly and worthely are they accuſed. But what ſhall we anſwere to Paul, which of the ſeyng the nature of God in heauen, ſayth: We ſhall ſee him face to face, and by that meanes he ſemeth to graunt vnto our eyes and face the beholding of god, and after a ſorte to aſcribe vnto god himſelf a face: Auguſtine anſwereth that there is a face alſo of the mynde, when as Paul ſayth, that we nowe with a face vnderſtand do beholde thinges deuine, and not with a bayle put betwene, as the Jewes did when they talked with Moſes.

But theſe thinges beyng thus finiſhed and concluded, let vs in few wordes ſpeake of other kindes of the knowledge of God. In the everlaſtyng lyfe the bleſſed ſhall knowe the eſſence of God, not in deede by the ſenſes, but by the ſoule or mynde, ſo as muche as Iohn ſayeth: When he appeareth, we ſhall ſee hym as he is. Paul teſtifieth the ſame, nowe we ſee hym through a glaſſe and in a ſhadowe, but then ſhall we ſee hym face to face. The ſame thing is gathered by the wordes of Chriſt: Their angels alway beholde the face of the father, ſo in an other place he hath taught, & in the bleſſed reſurrection the juſt ſhall be like the angels of god. Wherof it ſolloweth, that we ſhall ſee god in like ſorte as the angels

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gels do: wherfoze if they see his face, that shall we also behold it. There is an other testimony also written by Paul to the Corinthians. Whan shall I know, euen as I am knowen. And god seeth vs thoroughly & essentially, no man doubteth. Wherfore let vs not thus persuade our selues, that the blessed shall wholly & euery way know the nature & substance of God, but so much only as we shall be able to receiue of things finite can not fully receiue that which is infinite: neither is that which is created able fully & perfectly to comprehend his creator. Wherfore Chrysostome in his 1. homely vpon Iohn, Ambrose in his first booke vpon Luke 1. chap, also Ierome (as Augustine in the place before alleged declareth) all these I say deny that the angels see god. But they can not simply & absolutely be vnderstand, whiche as other wise Chrysostome saith, that they see the face of the father which is in heaven. Wherfore it remaineth, that the same is to be vnderstand of that whole & perfect knowledge of his nature & substance. Wherfore in Iohn 6. chap. it is written: No man hath sene god, but he which is of god, he hath sene the father. Also: As the father knoweth me, so know I the father. Wherfore this is onely geuen to Christ which is god, perfectly & fully to know the effe of god. Other also shall see it, but yet so much as their capacity can comprehend. If thou aske, whether it shall be equally or no? I will not answer to that, at this present. For in another place, we shall haue occasion geuen vs to speake of the diuersity or equality of rewardes in the blessed life.

Whether in this lyfe we may in soule or minde knowe the essence of God, or no.

But what shall we affirme of the state of this lyfe? Shall our mynd while we liue here in knowing of god attayne to his effe? No verely, because it is written: No man hath sene me & lyue. No man hath sene God at any tyme. And Paul addeth: He can not be sene, because he dwelleth in the light that no man can come vnto. Wherfore these things are not to be vnderstand as touching all manner of knowledge: for also while we lyue here, it is geuen vnto vs after a sort to know god. Wherfore these sayings are to be vnderstand (to speake as the Scholemen do) of the substantiall & essentiall knowledge of God. Neither is this against it, in that it is written that Moses saw god face to face, which also befoze him Jacob spake, neither that which in another place is written of the same Moses, that god talked with him as a frend with his frend. For these things are not spake simply, but by comparison with other, because those excellēt me above other knew those things, which at that tyme were opened vnto me as touching god. For vnto the god would after an exquisite & vnaccustomed maner shewe himselfe, whiche he did not to others. And this to be the sense of these wordes. Augustine & Chrysostome hereby do gather, because after ward when Moses desired to see the face of god, it was denied hym.

The naturall knowledge as touching God, is tender and obscure.

Symonides.

Clement, Alexandrianus.

Where remaineth, to intreate of the knowledge of god, which while we liue here we may obtayne. First the same is naturall, & that very tender & obscure. Which thing Symonides knew right well, who (as Cicero writeth in his booke de Natura deorum) being demaunded of Hierone a tyranne of Sicilia; what God was, he alwayes deferred to answer, because he moze he thought as touching that thing, the moze obscure all waies it seemed vnto him. Wherfore Clement Alexandrianus in his 5. booke of Stromata, bringing a reason, why the knowledge of God is so hard, saith: It is not Genus, it is not Differēcia, it is not Accidēs, nor the subject of Accidēs, & therfore it can not be vnderstand of vs, which comprehend onely such things in our mind & reaso. The effectes, which the Philosophers vse by their vnderstanding to know god, are not equal to his dignity, power, & faculties. Wherfore they declared only certain comō & light things. But we geue vnto him Attributes or proprieties, & is, good, iust, faire, wise, & other such like: because we haue no excellenter things, nor nobler names, whiche can better be applyed, or agree to him. Neither yet are these things so in him, as we speake: for, for he is most simple, he is farre other wise good, iust, & wise, than men either are, or are called.

The knowledge of God by faith.

But besides this naturall knowledge of god, this knowledge also offereth it selfe vnto vs, which consisteth of faith, & is by the worde of god reueled vnto vs.

But

But faith is not of vs (as to the Ephesians it is sayd) but it is the gifte of God: for Christ also saith: No man can come vnto me except my father ordeine him. Faith therfore abundantly gathereth out of the holy scriptures & knowledge of god, as much as sufficeth to saluation, as much as this our lyfe is able to receaue. Wherby as Paul testifieth this knowledge also is imperfect. For now we know hym by a glasse in a shadowe & but partlye althoughe in this knowledge we prosecute, whylest we liue here, yet can we not atteyn to the knowledge of the essence of god. I know that Augustine thought as touching Paul & Moses, & sometyme, in minde whylest they were here, they saw the substance of God: but I can not easily agree vnto it, soasmuch as I iudge that those places of Iohn, of the lawe, & of Paul, which I before alledged, are most ensbte. Vnto which this may also be added, which is wrytten in the 6. chap. of Iohn: That any man hath sene the father: he which is of god, he seeth the father. And this is not to be passed ouer, & that which is here spoken of the father, is true also of the sonne, as touchyng his deuine nature. Bycause, as I haue aboue declared, both out of Chrysostome and out of Augustine, the nature as wel of the sonne, as of the Father is inuisible. And it skilleth not if thou say, as Augustine sayth, that they sawe the nature and substance of God, not vying the outwarde senses but in a certayne transfiguration, as beyng alienated from the vse of this lyfe. These thinges are not gathered out of the scriptures, yea contrarily we haue heard that Moses was deuyed the sight of the face of God. Wherfore by the knowledge of sayth we both knowe God and his good will towarde vs, as much as is sufficient to our true and perfect saluation.

The opinion of Augustine, of Paul and Apo

But among all those thinges, wherby out of the holy scriptures we knowe god, there is none more excellent than Christ himselfe. Wherfore Paul hath iustly sayd: without controuersie it is a great mystery, God is made manifest in the flesh, &c. The Lord also sayth: Philip, he which seeth me, seeth also the father. Paul also said that he knew nothing els, but Iesus Christ, and him crucified. And undoubtedly in Christ God may be sayd to be made visible: bycause he was layed together with man in the same selfe person. Wherfore they which sawe Christ, might say & they had sene God. And he which by faith beholdeth and acknowledgeth him, doth see far much more, than if he should behold the burning bush of Moses. Wherfore to the Collos. it is wrytten, that in him are put all the treasures of the wisdome & knowledge of god. And Iohn doth healthfully admonish vs in his Epistle the 3. chap. as he which hath a hope to see God as he is, let him prepare himselfe therunto, by purging himself, as he is pure & cleane. Thus much of the Question, now let vs retorne vnto the history.

In Christ god is sayd to be made visible.

23 And the Lord sayd vnto him: Peace be vnto thee, be not afraid, thou shalt not dye.

24 And Gideon built there an alter vnto the Lord, and called it Jehonab Shalum, euen vnto this day. It is yet in Ophrah & pertayneth to the Abiezrite.

When these thinges were spokn vnto Gideon, by & history it appeareth not, but I thinke it was & next night after & thinges already rehearsed, wherfore he was commaunded to build there an alter, where & meates which was set forth were consumed with fire, namely vpon & rocke, wherof is mention made a litle before. Gideon was vexed wth feare, supposing & bycause he had sen god, he should die. Wherfore god comforted him, & he being voyde of & feare, might & chearefuller prepare him selfe, vnto those thinges which wer commaunded him. That feare wonderfully letted his faith. For how could he beleeue, that he should set & Israelites at liberty, which euery houre suspected death to be at hand. Wherfore god in comforting him, removed away & feare, & he might persecute & worke, which lodged especially vnto faith. Thou shalt not die, sayth he Peace be vnto the. In & hebrewe phrase, peace signifieth tranquillity, good successe, & as & comon people say, prosperous fortune.

Why God appeared vnto Gideon the second tyme.

This word Shalish is derived of the verb Shala, which is to performe, to finish, & to accomplish. The latin word Pax also which is peace, agreeth wth the hebrewe significati-
 on. For if we may beleue Augustine, Pax is peace, in a tranquillity of order. And
 then we reckon all things to be peaceable, when they are right & quietly disposed.

And Gideon built there an altar. These wordes are spoken by the figure Pro-
 phetis: for he was in the night admonished of the Lord to builde this altar, for the
 holy scripture beth to set forth a thing summarily: then to declare the thing as
 it was done. When so god came vnto Gideon in his sleepe, comforted him, that
 he should not feare: and he should dye, commanded him to buye an altar, to take
 a bullocke, to do sacrifice, to cut downe the prophane groue, and to ouerthrowe the
 why the al-
 ters vnto al-
 ters.

Christe is our
 peace.

Why the al-
 ters vnto al-
 ters.

his hart to graue such a little, Christ is my Peace which this Paul also hath taught
 when he wrote to the Ephes. He is our Peace, which made both one.

25 And the same night, The Lord said vnto him, Take thy fathers
 yong bullock, & the other bullock of vii. yeares old, & Destroy the altar
 of Baal, that thy father hath, & cut downe the groue, that is by it.

26 And build an altar vnto the Lord thy god vpon the top of this
 rocke in a playne place, & take the second bullocke, & offer a burnt of-
 fering with the wood of the groue, whiche thou shalt cut downe.

What which before was in a sume spoke, is now particularly exprest. Some
 thinke the two bullockes are here mentioned, of which the one is called the first other
 by order of nativity, as they stood in order at the racke & manger. And that
 second, is specified, to be vii. yeares old, in at which time being made fat, at the length
 to be offered to Baal: this bullocke god would haue offered vnto himselfe for a burnt
 offering. And because there is no farther mention made of the first bullocke, neither
 did god commaunde what he would haue done with it, therefore I thinke we must
 vnderstand but one & the selfe same bullocke which before is put absolutely, & the by
 exposition repeated the he might be by some certaine tokens knowne from other bul-
 locks, wherof peradventure his father had many, so that it was vii. yeares fatted, &
 stood in the second stalle. And as touching the vii. yeares fatted there is no cause why

Apis the ore
 was long fatted

The hebreues
 vnto the super-
 stitions of the
 Egyptians.

we should meruaile at it, forasmuch as the ore called Apis or Serapis which was
 wont to be sacrificed, was fatted certain yeares before. And it is not hard to be-
 leue, but that this custome of the Egyptians was superstitiously kept among the
 idolatrous hebreues, for that they were not onely neighbours vnto Egypt, but
 also they came out of it into the land of Palestine.

God would haue an altar erected vnto him vpon a hard and stronge rocke, na-
 mely vpon the, wherout fire was stricken, to burne those things whiche Gideon
 brought, as though God by the miracle had appointed it for himselfe. He comma-
 neth an altar to be raised vp in a place apt, for the stone or rock, as it is to be suppo-
 sed, was great. Wherefore he willeth Gideon to chose one certain euen part of it
 aboue the rest, which was most fit to build an altar vpon. And this is chiefly to be
 noted, the god when he would deliuer the Israelites from the Madianites commaunded
 aboue all things, the idolatry should be ouerthrowne. For vntill as long as religio
 is not restored, nothing goeth forward well & luckily in the pub. wealth. For
 the more faith is the ground sele & foundation of actions to come. And yet it can not be had,
 where the worshipping of god is turned into superstition & impiety. Which thing
 if god in a manner in all expeditions doth obserue, let Magistrates thereby gather,
 what they ought aboue all things to do among the people vnto they gouerne. For
 mate me also by this example admonished, chiefly to frame piety in their minds.

Nothing goeth
 forward well
 in a pub. welch
 except religion
 be first restored

It is not sufficient to build an altar vnto the Lord, vnles the sacrilegious altare be cut downe: neither is it enough to ouerthrow that, vnles vnto the true god be his altare built. There are whiche fall from the Pope, but they so fall, that they will not follow the Gospell. And some there are whiche do in such sorte receaue the true doctrine, that for all that they will not depart from the pernicious masses, and other papistlicall impieties. God hath not so, not so (I saye) commaunded whiche sooner of these thou neglectest, thou breakest his commaundement.

That there were groues by the temples of the idoles, none, whiche hath red Boetes or hyssopes, doubteth. That was a certayne mutation of the Patriarches, which offered sacrifices vnder oaks, or in hilles, which they called high places. They delighted (as I thinke) in close places, wherby they mind, when they sacrificed, was more voyde of worldly cares and affayres. And for the most parte experience teacheth vs, that in darke places, & where high trees grow, a certain admiration commeth vnto the mindes, by which admiration they apply themselves the more to the meditation of thinges deuine. God commaundeth the groue to be cut downe, because it was together wth the altare dedicated vnto the god Baal, yet he commaundeth his wood, and the ore appoynted for him, to be transferred to his owne sacrifice, least any man should thinke that the true god is not lord of all thinges. For there is nothing so vnder the power of the deuill, but that it may be turned to the glory and honour of god. Yet the godlye oughte not by this example to cate thinges offered vnto idoles, when they know that they are such in dede. Not vndoubtedly, because the nature of that flesh is chaunged, or ceaseth to belonge vnto god, but because of the conscience of the weake ones, and leaste it shoulde seeme that we woulde be made partakers of the table of the deuilles. But such lawes God hath prescribed vnto vs, not vnto him selfe. Wherefore he maye vse thinges dedicated vnto idoles for his owne burnt offerings.

The groue, the altare, and the bullock are mentioned to belong vnto Ioas the father of Gideon: because he had the office of a Magistrate in Ophrath: whatsoever was the cause, it is to be thought that he mayntayned idolatry there. And sozasmuch as sacred places & sacrifices are appoynted to the possession of private men, therefore magistrates are wonte to haue the rule & disposition of them. Gideon is chiefly commaunded, to do these thinges that euery man might vnderstand, that in purging of religion, or amending any other sin, we must first begin at our owne samely, and at such as are next of kinne, least any man should seme to correcte other, and in the meane time leaue his owne neglected and vnamended.

27 Then Gideon tooke tenne men of his seruantes, and did as the Lord hadde him. But because he feared to doo it by daye, for by his fathers householde, and the menne of the Citie, he dydde it by nyghte,

The feare of Gideon resisteth nothyng agaynst his fayth. God will haue euery man to fulfil his vocatio, but yet he forbiddeth not to adde prudence. We must take place, time, and occasion, vnlesse God appoynt these thinges also. Howbeit we muste beware, that in adding these cautions we goe aboute nothyng that is agaynst the precepts of God: for that prudence is praysed which with thinges well done neglecteth no sinne. Hereby also we gather that Gideon was not of the basest sort, sozasmuch as out of his samely he could take out ten seruantes. He feared, and so feared that in the day time he durst not do that whiche the Lord had commaunded. For the worshippinge of Baal was nowe confirmed: and superstitions once established by takinge deepe rootes, are wonte to haue more

About idoles
were groues.

Superstitions
are more set by
of men, then
pure religion

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authoritie, than perfecte, pure and sincere worshipping of god can euer obtayne. Such vngodlines is there grafted in the hartes of men, that at this day, if a man in the papacy detest the masse, or deride a pece of bread, which the wicked sacrificers both worshippinge and cary about, he shalbe much moze cruellye punished and tormented, than if he should with horrible blasphemies defame the true God and our Lord Jesus Christ. So at that time he was counted as a most detestable heretike worthy to be killed, which had done any contumely vnto the holy seruices of Baal.

Whereunto
the feare of Gi-
deon tended

The name Ba-
all agreeth be-
ry well with
the true God,

But wherunto tended this policy of Gideon? That must needs be cutte of which was done, neither coulde the autho: of so greate an enterpryse be hidden. This is true but he iudged that in the mean time this danger was to be anoyded, lest in the day time in the acte doing he should be taken. For he should haue bene letted both by his fathers household, and also by the men of the cite, from executing the commaundementes of God, and peradventure in accomplishinge the worke should haue bene slaine. Thus Baal (as in an other I haue declared) had his beginninge of Bel the father of Minus. But as touching the name, we must know, that by it an excellent propriety of God is expessed. For Baal in hebrewe signifieth a Lord, a maister & a husband, al which things in deety dede agree with God. For he is Lord of all thinges, and the teacher of all true wisdom, & the onely husband of the churche. Wherefore these men erred not in iudging the proprieties of God. Neyther erred the Grecians whē they called him *Zeus*. For by that title they declared that God is the autho: of lyfe. The Romaynes also called God *Iupiter*, as though they should say *Iupiter* father. Wherefore these wordes are for god most worthy: and it may be, & the old mē which so spake, had a respect vnto the true god the chief of all. But that was utterly vngodly and detestable, which afterward was committed, namely to ascribe these proprieties as well to starres as to men, and also to brute beastes and idoles, whereby all thinges were filled with idolatry. Farthermoze the Hebrewes, although God had taught the his name, by which he would haue them call vpon him, and praye vnto him, yet they forsooke it, & vsed the names: holy seruices inuented by & Ethnikes, & neglecing the rites commended vnto the both by the law and also by their elders, they receaued prophane ceremonies. Wherefore they had an altare dedicated vnto an idole, a groue about it, and certayn peares they fed and fatted some certayn bullockes for the sacrifice. And at the length they became not the worshippers of the true god, but the true worshippers of Baal in all thinges.

Gideon in the night ouerthroweth the altare, cutteth down the groue, buildeth an altare vnto the Lord, & (as he was commaunded) offered a burnt offering. Al these things wer testimonies of his fayth, whereby he confessed, and that fro the hart that he detested idolatry, and perfectly beleued in the only lord the god of the Hebrewes and sacrificed vnto him. Some thynges are here mencionied, which were not done by an vniuersall law but by a certayne prerogative and priuelege. Gideon being of the tribe of Manasses sacrificeth, when as sacrificing belonged onely vnto the Levites. This if he had done of his own byapne, he should not haue wanted blame. Secondly a priuate man ouerthroweth the altare, and cutteth downe the groue: in whiche thinge he tooke vpon him the office of a magistrate. But in these things we must haue a regard to the word of god, by which he was peculiarly stirred vp to do these things. Wherefore they which to these works are not in like manner called, ought to kepe themselves vnder the common law. But as I haue in an other place admonished, idolatry is of all men to be taken away but yet of euery man, according to his state & condition. Let magistrates by outward violence, ministers by the word, and priuate men, by abasing and gainesaying, take away vngodlynes.

And

28 And when the men of city rose early in the morning, they saw the altar of Baal destroyed, & the grove, that was by it was cutte down, and the second bullocke offered vpon the altar that was made.

29 And they said one to an other, who hath done this thing: & when they enquired and asked, they said Gideon the sonne of Joas hath done this thinge.

30 Then said the men of the city vnto Joas, Bring out thy sonne that he may dye: because he hath destroyed the aultare of Baal, and hath also cut downe the grove that was by it.

31 Joas answered vnto all those that stood by: Will ye pleade Baals cause? Or will ye saue him? He that will pleade for him let him dye ere the morninge. If he be god, let him pleade for himselfe against him that hath cast downe his altar.

32 And he called him in the day Jerubbaal: saying: Let Baal pleade with him, because he hath broken down his altar.

They most grievously prosecute the matter against him which had insulted the sacred thinges of Baal, and yet they suffered the worshipping of the true god to be neglected and despised. It is the maner of humane wisdom, with earnest labour to defend theyr owne inventions: and obstinately to resist those thinges which god hath commanded. They will kill Gideon, as a sacrileger and most pernicious heretike, they behaue themselves sediciously against the Magistrate, they shew forth no lawes, but in a certayne blinde fury they iudge the crime committed to be vnto the worshipping of death, when as they themselves rather should haue bene condemned worshipping of death, because they had violated the worshipping not of an idole, but of the true God. What he was they shewed that Gideon did these thinges, the history expresteth not. God suffereth not such thinges to be hid: therefore he had means and ways in a maner infinite, whereby he would make them open. But to know what were the tokens of the thyngs done, it is no skill to vs, but let vs diligently marke the impotency of idolaters. They cannot by any meanes abide to haue wicked worshippings taken away. The Hebrewes sayd vnto Jeremy that they would utterly worshippinge the queene of heauen, that is the moone and other starres. The Ephesians being as it were in a rage, cried without meane or reason, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. The Romaines whilst Italy was wasted by the Gothes, Vandales, and Lombardes, neither cried nor desired any other thing, but that the alters and temples of idoles might be restored. What said they was the hed of euils, because the holy seruices of country were abolished. The like example do we no see in these men, they neither will nor can not abide, that Gideon should escape who they saw had cut downe theyr idolatry. Now is Gideon counted a seditious fellow, which hath committed such thinges as we at this day of the greatest part of christendome are accused of sedition, which haue disturbed false worshippings now being receaved. And we graunt indeede that seditions are to be avoided as much as may be, because civile peace is a good thinge which wise and quiet mindes ought to desire. But contrarily the truth is not to be suppressed, neither must we sin against the worshipping of God, and it is much better to defend the word of god than civile peace. Every godly man so rotheth when tranquillity of the publike wealth cannot be coupled with the obedience of the word of God. Wherefore so much as the one or the other is to be chosen, the whole and vncorrupted worshipping of God ought rather to be wished for, than the commodity of outward peace. For the end of cities and publike

Obedience to
the word of
god is to be preferred before
civile peace.

Cap. 6. A Commentarie vpon the

The godly are
not guilty of
the troubles
whych happen
for religious
sake.

wealthes is, to obey God, and rightly to worshi- pe god, that is by his word and prescribed rule. For to haue a city or publike wealth quiet and peaceable, is not by it self necessary, but to obey God, to beleue his word, and to worshi- pe him as he hath prescribed, is the summe and end of all humayne things, and therefore it is to be preferred aboue all good things. Neither is it anye newe or vnaccusto- med thing, that by true piety seditions are stirred vp. Christ of that thing hath admonished vs: I came not (sayth he) to send peace on the earth, but a sword. I came to kindle fire: what will I, but that it should burne? The time shall come sayth he, that for the Gospels sake, the father from the childe, the childe from the parentes, brethren from brethren, shall not onely be alienated, but which is moze cruell, they shall deliuer one another to the death. And yet these seditions & troubles are not to be ascribed vnto the godly: forasmuch as they whet they obey god, do not depart from their office, they do that which they should do: the fault consisteth in the vngodly and idolaters, they are to be accused, and condemned as guilty of those euils, because they can not abide the truth, neyther will they obey the word of god. Wherfore preachers of the gospel are to be absolved of this crime: for seditions spring not through the default which obey god, but through the puerlines of the world, which streyght rageth agaynst the word of god.

Ioas, like a wise and stoute Magistrate, at the beginning asswageth the people being in an vprore, shewing them how vniustly a thinge they doo, when they being private men, dare avenge the cause of Baal. Will ye pleade his cause? As though he should haue sayd. It is not your office, it pertayneth to me and the other magistrates. And then he maketh a proclamation agaynst the sedicious persons. He that will so stand in Baals cause, shal dye, and that this daye, or the morning. He shal not line till morning, for he shal be executed out of hand. If Baal be god, let him plead his own cause agaynst him, which hath cast down hys altar, and hath cut down his grove. If the matter be to be discussed without iudgements and ordinary action, Baal hath no neede of this your helpe: for seing he is god, he can right wel reuenge himself. The last part of this sentence is somewhat dark. He that wil plead: Lo, for him or agaynst him, let him dy this day before morning. Some expounde this word Lo, to signify, for him namely for Baal, as though the Pretor had put forth his decree after this maner: Whosoener goeth aboute to moue sedition, as though he would pleade for Baal, him will I straghtelwaye punish, as a troublesome citezen, which dareth to take vpon him moze then hys state may suffer. The other sense is to expound this word Lo, agaynst him, as though he should haue sayde: do not rage in this sorte, because he shal utterly dye, and that this day before morning, which agaynst Baal hath pleaded and contended. By the power of this god he shall not so escape. And this sentence seemeth to be confirmed by the words which follow: If he be god, let him plead his owne cause agaynst him, which hath done him iniurye. But I rather allowe the first sentence: because the holy scripture rather bseth this word Lo in that sense.

Gideon by his fathers answer was named Jerubbaal. He shal plead (saith Ioua) or let Baal plead agaynst him. These are words ether of them that praieseth, which would so speake in earnest or saynedly, or els of one that affirmeth as though he should affirm, that it should utterly so come to passe. The men which here these words, either because they meruayled that the father wished these things vnto his sonne, or els because they beleued that the earth would straghtelwaye swallow him vp, or the lightning would destroy him, or that god would by some exquisite punishment punish him, they waited (I say) to see what would happen. And therfore they called him Jerubbaal. And his surname was then of sacre moze estimation, when they saw that he escaped safe and sound, and contrarie to the hope of all men deliuered the Israelites from the power of the enemyes.

By this example Magistrates may know what they should doe, when Papistes stirre by sedition & tumult in their dominion, because papistes are abrogated, idolatry taken away, and the Popes holwen downe. They must valiantly stande by it, and must declare, that this charge pertaineth not vnto these, by violence to defend rites and superstitions: so much as they haue not the sword: they can should be this, to see that godlines be righte and orderly appointed. If so be that they desire any thing against lawes or right, and thinke that they haue the better cause, let them from God waite for the successe. He is of himselfe by nature both mighty and wise, and therefore if he allowe the Masse, the Pope and superstitions, hee will then take those things in hande himselfe. In the meane time they ought to compel their subiectes to obey iust and healthful decrees. By these things it appeareth as I suppose, that Ioa was not a Baallee from the hart, for he could not haue said: If he be God, let him pleade his own cause. Whiles thou wilt saie that he said, in time to come Baal shall pleade his owne cause; but what he before iudged of Baal, now he declareth, when he seeth the daunger of death that his forme is in for his sake.

The office of a stout Magistrate agaynst tumultes by cause of religio

33 Then all the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and the children of Kedem were gathered together, and pitched their tentes in the Dalley of Isreel.

34 And the spirit of the Lorde did put on Gideon, and he blew a trumpet, and Abiezer was gathered together after hym.

35 And he sent messengers through out al Manasseh, and he also was ioynd wth hym. And he sent messengers vnto Aser, and Zebulon, and to Naphthali, and they came vp to meete hym.

When the hye & seditions were pacified, which were stirred up for a thing godly done of Gideon, God promised that occasion shoulde be given, whereby he might by Gideon geue vnto the Israelites the victory against their enemies. That thereby at the last they might vnderstand with howe muche godlines and profit, the worshiping of Baal was taken away. In the coming of the enemies the spirit of the Lorde did put on Gideon, the spirit I say of strength, as the Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth. God had before appointed Gideon for a saviour of the Hebrewes, now when he should go forth vnto the battail, he suffreth him not to go unarmed, but endueth him with his spirit. The Metaphore of putting on is deriued of garmentes, which are put vpon the bodye. The spirit of the Lorde therefore is inwardly hidden in the outwarde man, and so woorketh by him, as though he had put him on. And this is a phrase of speche very muche vsed in the scripture, and especially in this booke. This did the Angel signify shoulde come to passe, when he said vnto Gideon: Go in this strength, and deliuer the Jewes from the Madianites. Nowe is it brought to passe that Gideon is endued wth the spirit of strength. For this was that power and myght of God, wherewith in the old time he deliuered the fathers. He blew a trumpet, and Abiezer followed him, which in dede was marvellous, so much as they were so angry for the overthrowing of Baal. But their myndes were by the inspiration of God chaunged. For when they saw that the Idole did to him no hurt, they began to haue a good opinion of him. The whole tribe of Manasse followed him, also Zebulon, Aser, Naphthali. Gideon alone was called, but yet he would not fight wth his enemies alone. For faith refuseth not humane helpe which iustly may be had: for godly men are not by sayth styrrd up to tempt God.

36 And Gideon sayde vnto God: If thou wilt saue Israel by my hande as thou hast sayde:

37 Behold I wyl put a fleese of wool in the thyshyng place, if the dew

also written in
the margin
of the text
of the text
of the text

Deu come vpon the fleese onely, & it be dry vpon all the earth, the shall
I be sure, that by my hand thou wilt saue Israel, as thou hast sayd.

38 And it was so: for he rose by earlie on the morrowe, and throught
the fleese together, and wynged the dewe out of the fleese, and fyl-
led the hyde with the water.

39 Againe Gideon sayde vnto God: Be not angry wth me, and I
wyl speake onely once more: Let me proue onely once, I pray thee
wth the fleese. Let it, I pray thee, be dry vpon the fleese onely, and
let the dewe be vpon all the ground.

40 And God dyd so the same night: for it was drye vpon the fleese
onely, and there was dewe on all the grounde.

mans imbecillity is diuers and manyfold, whereby it cometh to passe, that in
the promises of God we waue and doubt. Gideon was called by so playne and
manifest woozdes, that there was no occasion of doubting left. He had no comon
signe when the sacrifice was consumed with fire: he is nowe furnished wth an
host, & yet he now also waueeth, & needeth a new confirmation. We be not so
to do when we beleue men: for if there be but a bare promise, or a hand writing
made, we are content. But God must continually beate in into vs those things
which he promisseth, and seale them with miracles and sacramentes, and yet
euen then also we geue litle credit vnto them. And though we should endaunger
our selues for accomplishing of our owne lasses, or prosecuting our owne affairs,
there are we foute, there are we bolde, and nothing afearde, when as otherwile
few there are found which in God his cause, or for his woordes sake will put them
selues in daunger. In which thing neuertheless we ought to be most foute: for
God wyl not leaue vs destitute of his ayde. He addeth the spores of promises,
the confirmation of miracles, and to those which cease of, he threateneth verie
griseous punishments. And this persillence springeth of no other thing, but of
cause we trust to our owne sense and reason, more then is conuenient. And a-
gainst this euyl there is no remedy so present, as for them to prouoke our selues
to fayth and constancy in God.

Whence our
distrust cometh

Whither Gide-
on in requir-
ing these signes,
be to be con-
demned.

R. Leu ben Gerson thinketh that Gideon, when he required these signes, did
partly distrust, and partly beleue: whose opinion if it be receaued, then Gideon is
guilty of infidelity. And I iudge that we must not labour much, betterly to acquite
him of all faultes. For the Hebrewes his faith in deede is commended: but we thin-
keth that we must not deny but that it was waueing, before it was by diuers
meanes confirmed. And vndoubtedly it is a great matter, to confirme the hart
of man in the woozde of God. Although I am not ignozant, that they which be-
seid Gideon, do say that he doubted not, but that he was called of god to set at li-
berth the Israelites. But in requiring these signes, he onely asked counsell of
God: whither he should then obtaine the victory against the Madianites, when
now he had collected an host. And that in the old time with the captaynes of the
Israelites was a common custome. For Saul and Dauid, although they wer by
God chosen kinges, namely to saue the people, neither did they therof any thing
doubt, yet did they often times aske counsell of God, whither they should ascende
to any place, whither their enemies should be deliuered into their handes: or con-
trary, whither they should fall before their enemies, or bee deliuered into theyr
handes. So peradventure it might be sayd, that this captain, for that he had not
with him the Arke of the Lord, or a Prophet whom he might aske counsell of, as
touching the successe of the battail, by those signes did aske counsell of the Lord.
Augustine in his 63. question vpon Genesis in this maner excuseth Gideon, and
affirmeth that he by these petitions tempted not God, but asked counsell as tou-
ching the successe. And as concerning this thing, as he is wont, he agreeth with
Ambrose

Augustine,
Ambrose.

Ambrose, who in his first booke de spiritu sancto, and .l. chap. affirmeth that Gideon doubted not. And the Rabbines of the Hebrews think that these signes wer given vnto Gideon by the ministry of some prophet: but what he was, neyther the scripture declareth, neither can they tell. And there are some of them whiche suppose that al this thing was done in a vision. But of these things what neede we any more to argue: Forasmuch as there is nothing whiche letteth, but that Gideon might in very deede both demaund, and haue experience of these things. Forsooke, the thing teacheth that al these things happened in the summer time, for that there is mention made of dew.

I easily assent vnto Augustine, which saith that Gideon tempted not God, because I am perswaded, that by such signes he woulde haue his sayth confirmed, which other wise was waivering. It is synne in deede to doubt in saythe, but to strengthen the same, it is lawfull in time to require a signe. For in the Gospell the man cryed: Lord, I beleue, but helpe thou my incredulitye. And Gideon also in the selfe same thing had before tryal of consolation: wherefore it is no maruel if he againe desired the remedy, which he had had experience of. He requirerh contrary signes, because the first seemed not to be so great a wonder, that the rest of the earth should be drye, & the fleese moyst. Because such is the nature of wool, that by a certaine proper power it draweth moystnes vnto it selfe, as the Magne stone draweth yron, and Naphtha, fire. Wherefore the wool myght easilye drinke in the dewe, and that abouoantly, although the earth wer not yet moyst. But that about the fleese the earth should be moyst, and the wool drye, it was vnto the contrary against nature.

Augustine.
We maye require a signe to strengthen our sayth.

Why Gideon required contrary signes.

Naphtha a kinde of chalk.

What is the Allegorye of these signes, Augustine vpon the .71. Psalme teacheth, and also Ambrose in his first booke de spiritu sancto, in the Prohemie. The fleese they vnderstand to be the people of the Hebrews, who in the old time wer watered with the word of God, when as the whole earth, that is, all other nations, wanted the preaching of the word of God. Christ also was the minister of the circumcision, & in the first embassage he set his Apostles onely to y Jews. But after ward the thing was so altered, that the whole worlde, after the coming of the holy ghost vpon the Apostles, was watered wth the word of God, and the Jewes utterly wanted it, and as barren bowes were cut of from the fertile and fat Olive tree.

Augustine.
Ambrose.
The Allegorye of these signes.

Of Miracles.

In the ende of the chapter twoo thinges are to be enquired of. The first is of miracles: the other is, how much & in what sort it is lawfull to require them.

As touching the first, the Hebrew verbe is Pala, or Niphla, whiche is, it was hard, or marvellous: wherof ar deriued these names Niphlaoth or Miphlaoth. By which wordes are noted thinges seuered from other, for their dignitie or excellency, separated I say, and wonderful. The Grecians call it θαυμα, of the verbe θαυαζω, which is to maruaile. The Latines call them Miracula, that is miracles, because they are woorthy of admiration. They cal them also Prodigia monstra, and Portenta, that is wonders, monsters, and thinges seldom sene, that we should vnderstand that God by these thinges wyl shewe that some certayne thing shal come to passe or be done, contrary to the comon order of things aboue hope or expectation. Wherefore seing miracles ar done aboue the natural course of thynges, they bring with them admiration. And vndoubtedly there are verpe many miracles, which by writers are made famous, as the temple of Diana in Ephesus, the Loure of Artemisia Queene of Caria, the horrible great image of y Sonne at Rhodes, the walles of Babilon, & very many other of y sort. Wherefore Augustine against the Epistle of the Maniches, the .xvi. chap. prudently writeth, I call a miracle whatsoeuer appeareth harde or vnaccustomed, aboue

The Etymologie of y wordes.

Miracles bring muche reason.

Augustine.
A general description of miracles.

the hope or faculty of the wonderer. By which wordes, a certaine large description

Cap. 6. A Commentary vpon the

**Transubstanti-
ation is p^ro-
ved to be a my-
racle.**

tion of miracles may be had. And soasmuch as it said, that a miracle appeareth, they are wo^rthely reproued which do sayne Transubstantiation, and wyll haue it to be a miracle, which can neither be confirmed by the holy scriptures, and seing that it appeareth not, neither can it be sene, it cannot be called a miracle.

False miracles

After this very common and large description, ther is to be added, that of mi-
acles certaine are true, and certaine are false. For those are called false myra-
cles, which either are not that which they seeme to be, or els if they bee, they are
not done by anye power, which passeth nature, but by the powers of nature, al-
though it be secrete. For Angels either good or bad may do them, and that the
maner of wayes. For sometime they applye vnto matter the strengthes of na-
ture, which they perfectly know, of which coniunction of matter wyth efficient
causes, do follo^w effectes, & ar in dede in a maner vpon the sodaine, at the which
the beholders cannot but maruaile. The deuils know that of thinges putrified
are engendred Frogges, woozmes, or some certaine Serpentes, so that beate in
certaine degrees be added. Wherfore seing to them it is not hard to couple these
thinges together, they do it sometimes to deceaue men with al. And by this mea-
nes Augustine thinketh (as he wyrteth in his 3. booke de Trinitate) that the so-
cerers of Pharao did sometimes the same thinges which Moses dyd. Farther, the
monings of the spirites, of the blood and humours, doo verry much trouble the
bodies of men: whereby figures, images, and shap^s of thinges, whiche in them
are kept, are in the same motion brought befoze the phantasy or imagination, &
by that maner and order, that the troubler of the spirite knitteth them. Wherof
do spring sundry and manifold sightes, which we see doo sometimes happen in
suche as are in phrensie. And the thing may come so farre, that the soymes and
images which are inwardly kept, may be called backe euen vnto the outwarde
senses. Wherby, he which suffreth such thinges, weeneth that he verry seeth
and feeleth those thinges whiche are in his imagination or phansie, and in his
sense, when as in verry dede there is no suche thing outwardly done. Anothys
kinde of miracles ought rather to be referred to illusions, then to miracles.

Augustine.

It also cometh to passe, that sometimes these spirites by their own power,
either of the ayre, or els other elements do soyme certaine bodies, & they appeare
utterly like mens bodies, and vnder them they appeare to w^old soeuer they list.
So came they sometimes to Abraham, Lot, and other fathers. These thinges (if
we speake properly and simply) ar not true miracles, but in our reason & iudge-
ment ther is nothing letteth, but that they may so be called. Wea and commonly
Juglers are said to do miracles, when as for all that they deceaue by the nym-
bles of the handes, or by the powers of certaine thinges natural, do represent
thinges wonderful to the beholders.

**What true mi-
racles are.**

But this is the definition of true miracles. A miracle is a wooyke hard and
vnaccustomed, by the power of God, which passeth al faculty of nature created,
to this ende wrought, to cause the beholders to wonder, and to confirme faith
towards the wooyd of God. Wherfore the matter of miracles are wooyked
and the soyme is, that they be hard and vnaccustomed. The efficient cause, is the
power of God, which ouercommeth nature created. And the end of them is both
admiration and also confirmation of faith.

**Causes of my-
racles.**

And that we should not doubt of the efficient cause, this I thinke good to be
added: That that power of God which verryly is aboue the faculties of nature,
is to be vnderstande, sometimes to wooyke by it selfe, and other sometimes by
ther by Angels or by men, and that in such maner as wee shall afterwarde de-
clare. Farther, I wyll adde, that Augustine wyrteth in the place befoze alledged
against the Epistle of the Maniches, the. xxvi. chap. Miracles woulde not moone
except they were wonderfull, and they woulde not be wonderfull, if they shoulde
be accustomed thinges. As therfore they say that by admiration sprang Philos-
ophy, whych Plato thought to be the Kagnebolwe, and so that cause calleth the
daughter

Augustine.

daughter of Thaumans, so may we beleue that faith, which cometh of the woꝛde of God, although it do not utterly spring of miracles, yet by them it may be confirmed. And therefore Auguſtine in his. xii. booke of Confessions the. xxi. chap. ſaith: Ignorance is the mother of wondꝛing at ſignes: this is an entrance vnto faith to the ſonnes of Adam, which haue forgotten thee. By this ſentence he teacheth that men which haue forgotten God, haue by the admiration of miracles an entrance or coming vnto faith. And without doubt it is ſo. The will of God is hidden from vs: but he, as he is good, openeth the ſame to holy Propheets & Apoſtles: which that they may profitably declare vnto men, he giveth vnto them the gift of his holy woꝛd. But becauſe he knoweth that mortal men are contrary & againſt his woꝛd, he hath granted the power of working of miracles, that thoſe things might the eaſilier be beleued, which he would haue his meſſenger profitably to ſpeake. That confirmation of faith cometh by miracles, Marke testiſieth, who toward the end of his Goſpel ſaith: And they went forth, preaching euery where, the Loꝛd working with them, & confirming the woꝛd with ſignes which followed. And how apt this kinde of confirmation is, hereby it is manifeſt. The promiſes of God do of no other thing depend, then of his will & power. And the ſignes which we now intreate of, do teſtify the power of God, ſo much as they by al meanes overcome nature, and ſet forth the truth of his will: ſo by the inuocation of his name, & by his grace & ſpirit they are wrought. Wherefore Auguſtine in the place now alledged againſt the Epistle of Manicheus writeth, that miracles do bring authority vnto the woꝛd of God. For he, when he did theſe miracles, ſeemed to haue giuen an earnest peny of his promiſes. Neither at theſe woꝛdes to be paſſed ouer, which the ſame Auguſtine hath vpon Iohn, in the. 24. treatiſe. What miracles conſiſt not in the greatnes of woꝛkes: ſo otherwiſe it is a greater woꝛke to gouerne this vniuerſal compoſition of the woꝛld, then vnto a blinde man to reſtoꝛe light, which he is deſtitute of.

faith cometh
not of miracles
but is by them
confirmed.

Auguſtine:

Miracles conſiſt
not in the
greatnes of
woꝛkes.

Theſe thynges declared, there remaineth that by apt diſtinctions we deſcribute miracles into his partes. Some of them are to be wondꝛed at, by reaſon of the thing it ſelfe which is done, ſo that it is ſo vnaccuſtomed and great, that in the nature of things, we cannot finde the lyke of it. Suche was the ſlaying of the Sunne in the time of Ioluã, and the turning of that ſhadowe in the tyme of Ezechias, the conception and birth of the Virgin, the foode of Hanna in the deſerte, and ſuche lyke. But there are ſome which are miracles, not ſo the nature and greatnes of the thing, but bycauſe of the maner and waye whiche was vſed in bringing them to paſſe, as was the cloude and rayne of Helias, the budding of floures and fruites in the rod of Aaron, the thunders of Samuel, the turningge of water into wyne, and ſuche lyke: For ſuche things are done by nature, but they were then myſtacles, bycauſe of the maner whereby they were wrought, that is, not by naturall cauſes, but at the commaundement and will of Sayntes.

An other diſtinction of myſtacles.

There is an other deuſion of myſtacles, bycauſe ſome of them doo onely moue admiration, as lyghtenynge and thundꝛynge in mount Sina, the turning of the ſhadowe of the Sunne in the tyme of Ezechias, the tranſfiguration of the Loꝛde in the Mount. There are other, which beſides the admiration, doo bring a preſent commoditie vnto men, as when by the rodde, dꝛyncke was gotten out of the Rocke, Hanna from heauen, and when by the Loꝛd and the Apoſtles ſyche folkes were healed. And ſometimes they bring puniſhment and hurt vnto the guiltye. For by the woꝛdes of Peter perished Ananias and Saphira. Elimas the ſozcerer was made blynde by Paule: and ſome were by hym deliuered vnto Satan to be vexed.

An other deuſion of miracles.

By this alſo are miracles deuſed, becauſe ſome of them are obtained by praye. For ſo did Elias and Elizeus, namelye by praying, reſtoꝛe their deade to lyfe.

An other partition of miracles.

Ab. i.

Moses

Cap. 6. A Commentary vpon the

Moses also praying for Pharaoh, droue away Frogs and other plagues. And other some are wrought by commaundement and authoritie. Iosua commaunded the Sunne to stay his course. The Lord Jesus commaunded the windes, and Peter said vnto the lame man: In the name of Jesus Christ rise & walke. Ther are also other which are done neither by praylers, nor by commaundement, but of theirown wyll and accord, the saintes them selues doing some other thing. Euen as when the shadow of Peter as he walked, healed those that were sycke, and the napkin of Paul healed also folkes diseased.

Augustine.

In other diuisions of myracles.

Lastly, Augustine (as it is written in his. 83. booke of questions, question 79.) deniderth myracles, that some are done by publike iustice, that is, by the stable and firme will of God, which in the world is counted as a publike lawe. By it, God would that his ministers, that is, Apostles and Prophetes, shoulde in preaching woork like myracles. And there are other some which by the signes of this iustice are wrought, as when the vngodly in the name of God or of Jesus Christ do woork any miracle, which is not geuen but by the honour and reuerence which they vse towardes the name of God: not that God, or nature, or any thinges created desire to gratesfy them. As, when a man stealeth away a publike seale or handwryting, he may wrest many thinges, either from the men of the countrey, or from the Citizens which are not geuen vnto him, but vnto the seale which they know doth belong to the Magistrate and Prince: So he, which followed not Christ, did yet in his name cast out devils. Thirdly, are those myracles reckoned, which by some certayne priuate bargaine are wrought, wherby the Sorcerers do binde them selues vnto the Deuyl, and the deuyl likewise to them. But those are done neither by publike iustice, nor yet by the signes thereof, but come onely of a certayne priuate conuention. Howbeit wee must knowe, that myracles of the second and thirde sort are not firme, neither do they assuredly happen. For as much as we reade in the. xix. chap. of the Actes of the Apostles, that the sonnes of Sceua would haue drouen out Devils in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached, to whom the Deuyl said: Jesus in dede & Paul I know, but not you. Which when he had spoken, he invaded them. And the same thing doth the act of Ciprian testify of the thirde kinde, befoze he was conuerted vnto Christ. For by magical artes he assayed to perswade a godly virgin to his filthy pleasure: which thing at the last the Deuyl confessed that he could not perfozme vnto him.

Ciprian.

These be not myracles in dede which the Deuyl woorketh.

Augustine.

Why the signes of Antichrist are called lyes.

Howbeit we must marke, that these myracles which are by a priuate contract done, are not in very dede myracles, but pertaine onely to those which we made mention of befoze the definition: for although sometimes they bee that in very dede which they seme for, yet are they not true myracles. For who doubteth, but that it was true fyre, wherewith the Cattel of Iob were burnt: and a true blasse of winde, wherewith his house being thowen downe, his childezen were slayned? And Augustine contēdeth that the Serpents which the Sorcerers brought forth were not illusions, but true Serpentes in dede. For the history sayth, that when they came vnto the thirde signe, the Sorcerers sayde: This is the finger of God, and they testified that now their cunning failed them, & that they could no more do those thinges which Moses by the power of God did. And that is a token that they wrought not befoze by illusions, & that the Sorcerers euen tyll that time contended with Moses in thinges in dede, & not in illusions. But some will say: If the matter be thus, that the thinges which are done by the diuell & Sorcerers, be in very dede that which they seme for: why is it vnto the Thessalonians of Antichrist written, that by him very many shoulde be deceaued by false signes & wonders? We must say, y the lye ought not to be referred to y which is to be done, but vnto the miracle. For although the thinges which are done, shal sometimes be the same thinges in dede which they seme to be, yet shal they not be myracles, although they seme so, But Augustine answereth. Signes & wonders are called lyes, either because they appeare, & are not in dede, or els because they leade men

men to lyes. For Antechrist by those signes shall seeke nothing els, but to deceane and allure men to beleue false thinges. That is no newe or vnaccustomed thing, that he cause should by his effect obtain his name or propriety. But in that they appeare and are not, it may be two maner waies vnderstand: either bicause among true thinges some illusions are mingled: or els bicause they are set forth for miracles, when as they are no miracles in deede.

There is an other doubt to be dissolued, how that power of God, whiche passeth nature, vseth either Angels or me, as wel good as euil, to worke miracles. He vseth them as certayne instrumentes, & sometimes he doth miracles at their desire, prayers, and commaundement, without any of their outwarde worke. And sometimes he wyl haue them, to adde some worke or maiesty of theirs. For Moses smote the sea, and the rock with his rod. Christ touched the leprous, and anointed the eyes of the blinde. But we must vnderstande that there is two kindes of instrumentes. Some are so ordained, that althoughe they are not the principal causes efficient, yet do they very much profite, for the bringing forth of the effect, as is yron to cut hard thinges, and medicines to heale, when as for all that they are instrumentes of the worke. But God in working miracles vseth an other kinde of instrument, namely, which of their own nature haue no strength to bring forth the effect. For what good could the rod do to open the sea? What could the shadow of Peter helpe to heale the sicke? Undoubtedly no thing, if thou looke vpon nature it selfe. The instrumentes therefore which god vseth in these miracles, do of their own nature either nothing helpe vnto them, or rather sometimes let them, as the beholding of the brazen Serpent, the salt of Helizeus, the water of Elias, which he poured on the burnt offering, and the clay which Christ put to the eyes of the blinde. Wherefore, when miracles are done by instrumentes of this kinde which nothing helpe, yea rather do let the might and power of God, is much moze apparantly illustrated.

What strength
instrumentes of
God haue in do-
ing hys mira-
cles.

Christ also to teache that natural strength seemeth nothing hereunto, at the marriage sayd vnto his mother: What haue I to doo with thee O woman? Not that he woulde in that thing derogate the authoritie of his mother, but that it might manifestly appeare, that the nature which hee tooke of her, was by hys own power, nothing able to worke miracles. Wherefore, soasmuche as God for the working of miracles vseth men and Angels, and those as well good as euil, and sometimes those miracles are benefites, and sometimes punishments, wherewith men are either punished or holpen, we must not doubt whether God do sometimes punish by good Angels. For it is very manifest that Sodome was ouerthrowne by Angels, the host of Senacherib slayne by an Angell, and Dauid saw the Angel which was the minister of the pestilence of the Israelites.

God vseth both
good and euill,
aswel me as an-
gels, to worke
miracles.

But Augustine vpon the. 78. Psalme doubteth whither God by euill Angels hath wrought miracles, whereby men wer immediatly endued with some benefite. And he saith, that he hath not red it in the holy scriptures: neither undoubtedly haue I red it. Unless we wyl say, that at the length it profited Paule, that he was bered by the angel of Sathan. And that for that cause some wer by him deliuered vnto Sathan, that their spirite in the day of the Lord might be saved. But the question of Augustine tendeth not to this, but whither perfect and manifest benefites, as restorings to health, prophecies, gistes of tonges, foode, deliuerie, and suche like, are of God sometimes by the Denill geuen vnto holie men by some certayne miracle: I thinke herein as Augustine thincketh, that the same is nowhere testified in the holy scriptures. But that by euill Angels, as wel the godly as the vngodly are tempted, punished & bered, it is euident. But after a diuers sorte, bicause (as Augustine in the same place affirmeth) there are after a sorte two flockes of men, namely one of the wicked, and an other of the good. The good are the flocke of God: euen as the wicked are the flocke of the Denill: wherefore to wardes them he worketh moze frely as toward his own,

Whither God
doth by angels
directly helpe.

Augustine.

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he bereth, mocketh, and handleth them yll, as by his owne ryght. And yet towarde them can he not do any thing beyonde the measure prescribed of God. But against the flocke of God he dareth do thing, but so much as God himselfe wyll somtyme permit him, as we reade was done of Iob. God somtyme suffereth the sayntes to be greuously afflicted of Satan, to the ende his grace towarde them may most manifestly be declared.

Whither the
plagues of the
Egyptians were
done by good
Angels or by
euyl.

But when Augustine expoundeth these wordes of the Psalm: namelye, the sending out of euyl Angels, he doubteth whither the plagues of the Egyptians were done by a good Angel or by the Deuyl. And at the length he sheweth, that the plague and destruction of the first begotten maye be ascribed vnto the ministry of the Deuyl: but the other plagues are to be attributed vnto good angels, that the sentence both of the booke of Exodus and of the Psalm may stand fast. Howbeit, as touching that plague of the first begotten, in Exodus it is written vnder the name of God: I will this night passe through Egypt, and will smite. By these wordes that destruction semeth to be ascribed, eyther vnto god, or to a good Angel, and not vnto the Deuyl. But that moueth me not much, because although it were done by the ministry of the Deuyl, yet maye it be ascribed vnto the Lorde. For Iob, when by the woorkes of the Deuyl he was bereft bothe of goodes and childe, said neuerthelesse: The Lorde hath geuen, and the Lorde hath taken away, and that (sayd he) was done by the Lorde, which was done by the Deuyl. But some object: If we assigne these things vnto the Deuyl, then shal he seme to haue fought against himselfe. For the Sozcerers, by the help of deuils, withstoode Moses, when they did the same thinges that he dyd. And if plagues were by euyl Angels sent against the Egyptians, and the Sozcerers went about to withstand them, then Satan seemed to resist Satan. Neither could the Sozcerers haue trulye sayde that they sayled, and testified that it was the fynger of God whych wrought. But these reasons in my iudgement are not strong, because the thinges done by the Sozcerers, were done by the power of Satan, which is vnto him naturall. For by it he is able to applye the seedes of thynges and woorking causes to his matter prepared, and to woork wonders as touching the sight of man. But those thinges, wherewith God afflicted the Egyptians, were by his most mighty power wrought by the instrument of the Deuyl. Wherefore it is no maruail if the Sozcerers failed, and felt the most excellent power of the fynger of God.

The place of
Exodus and of
the Psalm is
conciliated.

Howbeit the booke of wysdome the. xlii. chap. semeth utterly to ascribe these plagues vnto God, wher he saith: while al thinges were still, and when the night was in the myddest of her course, thy almighty word. &c. And in the. xlii. chap. it is written, that the Egyptians being among those plagues, especially when they were oppressed with darknes, were with horrible berations of minde, and sights very terrible so bered, as though most doleful spirites had perpetually bene before their eyes, and about their phantasie: which vndoubtedly might be done by the sending of euyl Angels, as the Psalm doth mencion. Their hart also was hardened, and their mindes were dayly made much moze obstinate againste the Israelites. And that semeth to haue pertained to the sending downe of euyl angels. Wherefore these two places may easily be made to agree, in ascribing the plagues which are mencioned in Exodus to good Angels, and the terrible sights and hardning of the hartes to the sending of euyl Angels vpon them, of whych the Psalm now alledged maketh mencion.

The power to
woork miracles
maketh not me
better or woork
ser.

But so much as God (as it is declared) for the woorking of miracles, vseth both euil & good, angels & men, the godly men ought not therfore to be greued, because oftentimes he geueth not vnto them this faculty. For they are not for y cause of any woyle condition, then are they to whom God graunteth to woork miracles. For the Lorde said vnto his Disciples, when they returned from theyr embassage: Reioyce not in this, because spirites are subiect vnto you: reioyce ye rather

rather for this, because your names are written in heauen. There are some which are so desirous of such thinges, that to obtayne signes, they are not afraid to vse euen the help of the deuill: and vnder this pretence they excuse themselves, because god himselfe to worke signes vsed Sathan, in following of whome they do well, so farre as they of that they can be condemned guilty of any crime. They say also that Paul deliuered some to the deuill to be bered: and therfore they also may vse his ministratione. But what manner of men are they, whiche wil affirme that it is lawfull for them to do as muche as is lawfull vnto god? God is the author of all creatures, wherfore it is no maruelle if he vse them all. But vnto vs it is by the law of god prescribed that we should not do it. And the imitation of god is so farforth commended vnto vs, as by his law it is commaunded vs and no otherwise. For he reuengeth his owne iniuries. And who will saye, that pious men may do the same? God adioyned vnto his owne burnt offering the bullocke appointed for Baal (as we haue haue now hard) with the wood also dedicated vnto the same idole: Shall enerye one of vs therfore eate thinges dedicated vnto idoles? The rule of our actions, is the word of God. Wherfore we ought not to be drawn to imitate him, but so muche as the lawe suffereth. What lawe hath he made, not for himselfe, but for men, that they should frame theyr life after it. Wherfore it was to him lawfull to require of Abraham the immolation of his sonne, which thing none of vs can require of our friend. Paule and other Apostles had euill spirites subiect vnto them, and by them it was sometimes lawfull vnto them, to punish the guilty for theyr saluation: Wherfore those to whome such a gift is not graunted ought to abstayne from exercising the same.

Wherfore the vse of the power of euill spirites is of two sortes, wherof one is with authority, and that belongeth chiesely vnto god, also to the Apostles, and to the sayntes of the primitive church. The other by compact & obedience which is utterly forbidden man. For what participatiō can ther be of the light with darkness, & of god with Belial? And for that cause the sorcerers which beleue the, can not be excused, yet they are by the lawe condemned guilty of superstition & idolatry. And it is not to be thought, but that god vpon very iust causes, and to vs most profitable hath forbidden these thinges to be done. For he prouideth that we should not be deceived, and that by those meanes we should not be throughte to belonge into destruction. For thereto at the length cometh the fellowshippinge with Sathan. For the deuill is a liar, & the father of lyars, and he is also a murtherer, euen from the beginning, as Christ hath taught. Wherfore let this be a firm sentence, which the scholemen also in the 2. booke of Sentences. Dist. 8. among them Thomas especially, so that not only the old fathers haue ratified, that if there be any thing to be desired, which is aboue the faculty of man, the same ought to be desired onely of God, which thing they which do not, they fall into Apostacy from faith, worshipping creatures in steede of god. I would to god both the olde fathers and the scholemen, would haue abidden constant in it, who afterwarde (forgettinge themselves I cannot tell how) consented to the inuocations of sayntes, beyng now dead, and haue instituted exorcistes or cunlurers to the bodies & reliques of sayntes, which being adorned with no peculier gift of miracles, do with most seuer theatninges, and very imperiously abuse deuils: desiringe of the sayntes, which are now dead, to drive out euill spirites out of those that be possessed.

But those spirytes if sometymes they gooe oute, as they are bidden they doo not that agaynst theyr wyll, but they dyssemble obedience, therewith to establishe idolatrye. And it is no lesse pleasaunte to them to possesse soules, then to bere bodies. Augustine in his 1. booke de ciuitate dei, the. xi. chapt. telleth that Porphyrius wrote vnto Anebantes, that certayne sorcerers were so accustomed with theatninges to feare deuils, that they said: That if they would not do those thinges which they were commaunded to do, they would break down heauen & earth, and so presse and punish them. Who seeth not here the subtelties of the deuill, which saith that he feareth such folish and ridiculous cunlurations, as they call them. But of this we haue spoken very largely

To worke signes we must not vse the help of the deuill.

It is not lawfull to imitate God in all thinges.

Why God forbade men to vse the helpe of the deuill to worke myracles.

The inconstancy of certayne fathers and especially of scholemen.

Augustine.

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I thinke it good now to retorne to examine the laste parte of our definition, wherein it was sayd, that miracles are therfore done to establishe sayth. And that seemeth to be very much against this particke, that we ought not lightly to geue credite vnto miracles, soasmuch as they may shew occasion of erring. And therence is deriued no sure kind of argument, but an argument very dangerous. And that is proued by manye places. First the Lorde sayth in the 24. chapter of Math. that the false prophetes in the latter time shall by signes so deceiue men, that if it were possible euen the very eleme should be deceiued, which selfe same sentence Paul to y^e Thessal. more amply prosecuted. By the booke of Exodus also we learne that we may not beleue signes. For the sozerers of Pharao did for a little space worke the same signes which Moses did. In Deutr. also it is commaunded that we must not beleue a prophet, although he worke signes, if he moue vs to idolatry. Wherfore seing miracles may be wrought, aswel for the defending of false doctrine, as for true, they ought not to be counted mete to confirm faith: yea and Augustine in his 10. booke de ciuitate dei the. 16. chap. writeth: If angels require sacrifices to be offered vnto them, and worke signes: and contrarywise, if other shall testify that we must sacrifice onely vnto God, and yet working no miracles: we must beleue them and not the other. The same Augustine contra Faustum de Manichæis sayth: Signes ye worke none, wherby we should beleue you, yea and although ye shoulde worke them, yet shoulde wee not beleue you. Wherfore we must know that miracles in very deede are not sufficient to confirm sayth: for it is before all thinges nedefull to iudge of that doctrine, whiche is brought: and that by the testimony of the holy scriptures, wherewith if it do agree, we must beleue it euen without signes. But if miracles be added, the beleuers are still the more establishe: and they whiche yet haue not beleued, are made at the least more attentife, and the way to beleue is opened vnto them.

Augustine.

Miracles are not sufficient to confirm faith.

Miracles and sacramentes are after a sort like

Why the lorde sometimes forbade that his miracles should be published.

Miracles also are after a sort like vnto sacramentes: for both of them are added as certayne seales vnto promises. And euen as miracles profite not, vnlesse firste there be a respect had vnto the doctrine: so also the sacramentes bring no commodity but much hurt, vnlesse they be receiued with a pure sayth. Both of them serue to confirme sayth, but neither of them are sufficient by themselves. For they are blessed, and to be prayesed in dede, which beleue without the helpe of miracles. Our Lorde sayth: Blessed are they which haue not sene, and haue beleued. And yet for all that the confirmation of signes is not to be contemned. Paraventure thou wilt say: Seing they are so profitable to confirme sayth, why did the Lorde in Math. the. 9. and. 11. and in manye other places forbidde that they shoulde be published? There were many causes thereof, he woulde firste haue his doctrine preached, and afterward miracles shoulde followe. But if he had permitted certayne whome he healed, straght waye to haue published abroade that which he had done, then shoulde not doctrine haue bene toynded with that spreading abroade of the miracle, soasmuch as they were not yet instructed in godlynes. He did it also, least he shoulde seeme to be infected with vayne desyre of worldly glory. Wherfore he would by his own example withdraw vs from the same. Farther none knew better then himself, what they wer whome he healed. And he woulde not suffer euerye one to publishe and preache his miracles. Wherfore he prohibited diuers, that they shoulde not do it. Moreover he saw that by the vayne and naked preachinge of miracles, it woulde come to passe, that the light and sickle vulgare people shoulde not be led vnto the sincere sayth, but rather to appoynte vnto him worldly honours, which he coueted not. And this to be true the. 6. chap. of John declareth, where it is written, that the people because they receiued breade of him, woulde haue made him a kinge. Lastly, he would not stirre by agaynst himself the enuy and woodnes of the high priestes, scribes, and pharises more then oportunitie of time woulde suffer.

Wher

Wherefore in Luke the. 9. chap. when in his transfiguration he had shewed vnto his Apostles a shew of his glory, he commaunded the, that they should not at that time publishe abroad that which they had seene. The same thinge also he commaunded, when demanding what men sayd of himself, he had bypooing from Peter the true confession, wherein he affirmed that he was the sonne of God, he commaunded I say that they should not tel vnto other that Iesus was the Christ. For they were not then so confirmed, that if they had spread such things abroad, they could in disputing haue confirmed the same by apt testimonies. Wherefore he thought meete that they should tary till they were moze fully instructed. He would not haue the truth utterly to be vnspoken of, but yet to the openinge of the same, he chose a time conuenient. Wherefore it is not thereby rightly gathered that myracles are of no force to confirme sayth, because Christ sometimes forbade that they should be published, sozasmuch as that commaundement of the Lord belonged onely for the taking of better occasions, and not perpetually to keepe silence. Lastlye there is an other thinge, whiche seemeth to be agaynst that article of the definicion: For it seemeth that sayth cannot be confirmed by miracles, when as they require it, and will haue it to goe before them. For in Math. the. 13. chapter it is written, that Christe, because of the incredulitye of his owne citizens, wroughte in a manner no miracles. And Marke addeth, that he could not. Wherefore it shuld seme that it is rather to be said, that miracles are constituted and stablished by sayth, when as if it be not present (as the Euangelistes say) miracles can not be done. I answer, that they which by prayers will obtayn miracles, must after an accustomed & iust maner be endewd with faith: forayne are those prayers counted which leane not vnto sayth. But if a miracle be geuen, there is nothing letteth, but that sayth whiche is begon, maye by it be stirred vp & confirmed. Farther this is soz assured, that god is not letteth, but that he can also geue miracles vnto the vnbeleuers, yea he hath oftentimes geue miracles vnto them. Undoubtedly Pharao and the Egiptians were infidels. And who knoweth not but that there were vnto them very many miracles wrought by Moses: Christ likewise did then shew the miracle of his resurrection, when all men in a manner dyspayred of his doctrine and truth. Wherefore nothing letteth but that faith may by miracles be confirmed. And soz that cause as we haue said, they which contend by prayers to obteyne signes, do labour in vayne, except they beleue. Because prayers without sayth are of no value wpth God, which Christ hath manifestly taught in Math. the. 17. For when his disciples could not heale the lunatike child, when the cause thereof was demanded, he sayd, that it came of theyr incredulity: whose answer openly declareth, what we muste iudge of those cunners, which at the sepulchers of saints and at reliques, go about to expell deuils. All thinges are there saynedly done. Deade men are without sayth called vpon, and the deuill playeth to gether with idolaters, and saith that he beleueth, so the end that pernicious wo:shippynge may be retayned: whiche is hereby manifest, because those Croziciffes are both men mozte vnpure, and also they do all thinges there without sayth.

Origene vpon the. 17. chapt. of Mathew hath very wel written agaynst this abuse. If at any time (sayth he) we must be by these holpe, we must not speak with the spirite, eyther in aduising hym, or commaunding hym, as though he hearde vs, but onely let vs perseuere in geuinge our selues to prayers and fastinges. These wordes spake he, euen then when the inuocation of the dead, and wo:shipping of reliques were not bled in the church. What would he at thys day say if he should se the madnes of our times? But to return vnto the hed of the doubt, I iudge that sayth goeth before miracles, as touching those whych by prayers obtayne them, but not as concerning those whych stand by, and haue not yet beleued the preaching which they haue heard.

Whither sayth
goeth before mi
racles or con
firmeth after.

God sometime
geueth mira
cles vnto the
vnbeleuers.

Agaynst the con
futations which
are made at the
sepulchres or
graves of the
deade.

Origene

Ab. liii.

But

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With what
faith euill men
are endued,
by whome god
worketh mira-
cles.

Three kindes
of faith.

Miracles are
not alwayes
wrought at the
prayers of wic-
ked men.

Chrysostome.

Whither it be
lawfull for god-
ly men to desire
miracles.

But let vs see by what meanes miracles may sometimes be done by wicked men. For some shall say in the latter time: Lord, haue not we cast out devils in thy name, haue not we prophesied &c. Vnto whome shall be answered: Verily I say vnto you, I know you not. They vndoubtedly in working miracles, as it seemeth credible, added prayers, when as for all that they wanted faith, neyther were they iustified, neyther pertayned they to the kingdome of God. Wherefore that seemeth not to be firme, that prayers poured out without faith are not heard. But we must note y^e ill men which by prayers obtained miracles, were not better by without faith. For there are three kinds of faith found. For there is a faith which consisteth of humane opinion and perswasion, whereby those things which are written in the holy scriptures are beleued to be no lesse true then the histories of Liui, Suetonius, & those things which are now written of the new Ilandes. This kinde of faith, as touching many things, is common to the Turks & the Iewes. There is an other faith, whereby we being stirred by the heauenly inspiration, do liuely & with efficacy cleane to the promise of the mercy of God. By this faith certaynelye is attayned iustification. Lastly the thirde faith is called the faith of miracles, whereby we are neither chaunged, nor made the better, even by a heare: soasmuch as it is the mouinge of the spirite of God, where with men are stirred by to desire miracles, utterly beleuing that it is the will of God, that they should be done, and that which is required, should haue successe. Wherefore whilst they leane vnto this faith, sometimes they obteyne, that which they desire: which I therefore speake because not alwayes they doo so, neither are they alwayes illustrate with that inspiration.

If so be that thou wilt demaund, how this kind of faith can be proued, let Chrysostome aunswere, which vpon the .17. chapter of Mathew maketh mention of it. There Christ sayd: If you haue faith as much as is a grain of mustard seede, you shall say vnto this mountayne: thow thy self into the sea, and it shall do it. In expounding these wordes, this father sayth: because at this day these things are not done in the church, shall we therefore say that Christians are destitute of faith? God forbid, that we should iudge so euill of the people of God. The faith which iustifieth, is present, but that which is called the faith of miracles, hath now ceased. This kind of faith also is shewed by the wordes of y^e apostle in the .1. epistle to the Corinthians, where he sayth: Although I haue all faith, so that I can remoue mountaynes, and haue not charitee, I am nothinge. Neyther let that trouble vs, in that he sayth Al. For that distribution is to be giuen vnto the faith of miracles. But that is moze manifestly perceaued by the same epistle, where the Apostle maketh mencioⁿ of free gracions gifts, saying: to some is geueⁿ the word of wisdom, to other the word of knowledge, to some the power to heale, and to other some faith in the same spirite &c. That faith can not in this place be vnderstand, whereby we are iustified. For it is not rekened among giftes, which are particularly distributed to some, but is commoⁿ to all true Christians. Now as I thinke it appeareth, by what meanes they which are not iustified by thei^r prayers, doo sometimes obtayne miracles, namely because they are not destitute of enery kind of faith. But now we haue sufficiently spoken of this first question.

Now must we see, whither it be lawfull for godlye menne to desire miracles. These reasons they vse to alledg which seme to be against it. First because god in that thing should be tempted: and that doth the law of god utterly forbid. Yea & our sauour with this aunswere reproued the deuill: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And the Hebrewes are reprehended for this by name, because they tempted god in the wilderness. The son of god also, when the Pharisees sayde, mayster, we will see a signe of thee, sayd: This froward and adulous nation seeketh a sign and a sign shall not be geuen them &c. And Achab other wyse a wicked king, pretended a shew of righteousness, saying that he would not tempt God, and therefore he detracted to desyre a sygne.

Vnto

Unto the question I answered: That after a sort it is lawfull to desire signes, and the same also after a sorte is unlawfull. The first parte of the sentence is thus proued: When holy men desire, as touching any vnaccustomed vocation to be made moze assured of the will of God, & are afrayd, least peradventure they should be deceaued (so) as concerning it they haue nothing so certayn in the holy scriptures and we must not lightly beleue men and angels in those thinges: for euil angels vse sometimes to be transformed into angels of light) when I say they are troubled with such doubt, & the will is ready, yea desirous to obey the commaundement of the Lord, if than they desire to be confirmed by some signe, these godly men can not be accused of tempting of god, or of rashnes. For who soeuer in those cases desireth those thinges, whiche god vseth to offer, he departeth not from the right way. No man is ignorant, but that to Achab was offered a signe, that he might be confirmed of the promises offered him by Esay. Wherefore to desire those thinges whiche god sometimes giveth and freely offereth, ought not to be prohibited as unlawfull. The thing wanteth no examples. Moses when he had neede of the helpe of god, oftentimes in the desert obteyned miracles for the people of god. And to confirme the doctrine of truth, both Helias and Helizeus, desired of god that life might be restored vnto the childe of their hostes. And to the same end Christ sayd: But that ye should know that the sonne of man hath power to forgive sinnes, he turned to the man sicke of the palsey and sayd: Take up thy bed, rise and walke. Wherefore miracles are desired of holy men, and that iustly, either that they may be made the moze assured of their vocation, or to helpe a great and vrgent necessity, or els to beare witness vnto sound doctrine. And alwayes, when they desire miracles to these endes, let them desire the same not of any creatures, but of god onely, and in asking them let them vse a meane: for they declare that they will desire nothing, but that whiche is agreeable vnto the will of god.

Nowe on the contrary parte let vs consider after what manner miracles are desired. In two: help and vnjustly desired. First there are some, whiche therfore desire miracles, because they are not wel persuaded of the power, goodnesse and prouidence of god, neither seeke they any thing els, but to haue a trial of those thinges. Neither are they contented with the doctrine of the holy scriptures, which manifestly and amply teache all these thinges. Wherefore iustly are they to be reproved, for as much as they be ready rather to beleue miracles, than the word of god. Wherefore Abraham answered vnto that riche man whiche was tormented in flames of fire, when he desired that Lazarus might be sent vnto his brethren, that they also should not be thrust downe into the same punishmentes: They haue Moses and the Prophetes. By which wordes is manifestly declared, that we must rather beleue the holy scriptures, than miracles. Whereat other also, which for this cause desire miracles, that they may liue moze pleasantly as touching the flesh, and to satisfie their wicked lustes. Of which faulte the Hebrewes are accused, because in the desert, when very great abundance of Manna was ministered vnto them, they desired flesh, that they might liue the moze pleasantly in that wilderness. Lastly, some desire miracles for this intent, to satisfie theyr vayne curiosity. For (as Plinius hath sayd) the nature of man is most greedy of new thinges. Wherefore they seme to desire miracles as playes and pastetymes to spozte the selues withal. In that maner looked Herode for miracles of Christ: for when he was brought vnto him, he desired to fede and delite his curiosity with miracles. Nowe I suppose it is manifest, how it is forbidden to desire signes, and howe it is lawfull sometimes to desire them.

Nowe must we dissolve these thinges, which seemed to be agaynst those thinges that we haue spoken. They which by the waye and maner already described do desire miracles, do not without doubt tempt God: so much as that is nothing els, than of an vnbeleuing minde, and of rashnesse, to desire a trial of his will and

For what cause
less godly men
may desire mi-
racles.

Cautions in de-
siring of mira-
cles.

When it is not
lawfull to de-
sire miracles.

Plinius

An answer to
objections.
What it is to
tempt god.

and power, whiche vice certainly is in the holy Scriptures iustly and woorthily repponed. Wherefore, the Lord Jesus Christ, did not without iust cause reppose the deuill, when he would haue led him to haue throwen himselfe downe from the temple, wherby he myght be made the more assured of the beneuolence of God towarde him, when that by arte there was a playne way to disceide by. The same sonne of god also did not vnwoorthily repprehend the Jewes as a frowarde and adulterous generation, vnto whom he therfore denied a signe, bycause they had already sene very many, yet they spoke euill of them al, and mocked Christ, in such sorte that they desired not euery kinde of miracle, but one from heauen, as though they would not also deride signes from heauen: undoubtedly they purpose tended to no other end, but to alienate the people from the Lord, although he had wrought wonderfull miracles. And as touching Achaz the wicked king, I shall not neede to stande long about him: for he sayned that when he was called of the Prophet, he did very faithfully beleue, as though he needed no miracle, wher as for all that he was altogether vnbeleuing, whiche the 2. booke of kinges manifestly declareth: for he sent vnto Tiglathphalasar the king of the Assirians, to deliuer him from the siege, so farre was he of from putting confidence in the Lord. And when God was not ignoraunt of his discease, he offered vnto hym the remedy of a miracle, and gaue him his choise, whiche for all that he of hypocrisse refused. If Achaz had in very dede beleued god, he would not haue refused to obey, for as much as obedience is reckened among the principall frutes of faith.

Obedience is
the principall
frute of faith.

Let vs (I pray you) with this wicked kyng conferre his most holy sonne Ezechias. For he did not so, but to the end he myght be made the more assured of recouering health, he very modestly required a signe: vnto whome when Esay the Prophet graunted his desire, willing him to chuse whether he would haue the shadow of the sunne to be remoued forward, or turned backward, he tooke his choise, neither did he frowardly like his father whosoever the miracle offered him by god. But wicked Achaz added hypocrisse vnto infidelitie. For he considering that miracles are for two causes refused, either for that a man beleueth fully in god, neither hath neede of the ayde of miracles, or els for that he utterly contemneth god, and passeth nothing at al of his aide, he would hide the latter disease wherof he was sicke, namely the contempt of god: he dissembled vertue, wherof he was cleane voyde, namely a singular faith, as though he durst not tempt God. But for as much as God most perfectly knoweth the hart and the raynes, he repponed hym by the Prophet according to his deserte. What other thing is it to refuse a miracle offered of God, than to repell the succor of the spirituall infirmities: As he that is hunger stricken is to be accused if he refuse bread: so was he to be repponed, which refused a medicine offered hym by god, wher as he knoweth, what euery one of vs needeth, far better than we our selues can see. This is now sufficient as touching these things, whiche at the beginning of the question seemed altogether to forbide the asking of miracles.

Augustine.

I know in dede there are some whiche thinke that miracles are utterly not to be desired: but onely not to be refused when God offereth them. And they thinke that Augustine maketh with them, whom (in his 4. booke de Consensu Euangelist. and in his questions super Genesim. Questio 63) seemeth to affirme this thing. But if thou wilt object, that very many godly & holy men did it, and especially our Gideon: they answer, that they were moued by the spirite of God to desire miracles: and therfore it was all one, as if God had freely offered signes vnto them, and they of obedience shoulde haue receaued the miracles whiche were offered. But these things ought nothing to trouble vs, bycause Augustine in the places alledged, doth not absolutly and simply prohibet to desire miracles, except they be desired to tempte god withall, or vpon some noughty occasion. And in the 63. question vpon Genesis he sayth: When this is not rightly done, it pertaineth to the tempting of god. Let vs heare him rather in his 10. booke of Confessions the 35. chap:

chap. where he sayeth: In religion also is temptyng of god, when signes and miracles are desired, to take a triall: Whiche thyng I also a litle before haue wil- led to be taken heere of. And I will easely grant that the Sainctes required not miracles by the instint of the fleshe, or prouokynge of humane reason: other wise their prayers had ben voyde and of none effect, for that (as Paul testifieth) it becometh, that þe spirite do with vnspeakable groning pray for vs. But I thinke I haue now sufficiently spoken of the questions proposed.

The vii. Chapter.

In the vii. Chapter. 1 Then Jerubbab (who is Gideon) rose by early, and al the people that were with him, and pitched beside the well of Harod, so that the host of the Madianites was on þe north side of the in the valley by the hil of Mozeh.

2 And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon: The people that are with thee, are to many for me to geue the Madianites into theyr handes, least Israell make theyr vaunt agaynst me, and say: myne owne hand hath saued me.

3 Now therfore prouocyme in the eares of the people, and say: Who is timorous and fearefull: Let him retorne, and departe early from mount Gilead. And there returned of the people 22.000. & so 10000. remayned.

4 And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon: The people are yet too many: Bying them vnto the water, and I will try them for thee there. For of whom I say vnto thee: This man shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee: and of whomsoever I say vnto thee: This man shall not go with thee, the same shall not go.

5 So he brought the people to the water. And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon, As many as lappe the water with theyr tongue, as a dogge lappeth them put by themselves: & every one that shall bowe down bys knees to drinke, put a part.

6 And the number of them that lapped by putting their handes to their mouth were 300. me: but all the rest of þe people kneeled downe vpon their knees to drinke water.

7 And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon, By these 300. men that lapped, will I saue you, and deliuer the Madianites into thine hand: and let all the other people go every man to his place.

8 So the people tooke bitayles in theyr handes, and theyr trompettes, and he sent all the rest of the Israelites every man vnto bys tente, and retayned the 300. men. And the host of Madian was be- neath him in the valley.

As much as we can gather by the history, the host of Gideon consisted of 32000. souldiers: whiche number although it may seme great, yet in comparisson of the enemies it was but small. For they had 13500. men in campe, but of the 32000. souldiers of Gideons, god chose onely 300, by whom he would geue the victory vnto the Israelites. This is a very smal number, that of every thousand he took only. x. But so god wrought. For there ar few good, said he. If in Sodome there had ben onely x. men iust, the whole Citie had ben saued. The number of good men, though it be small, yet it is of such force, that God for their sakes spareth the rest. Wherefore most true are the oracles, wherein it is sayd: Many are called, but few are chosen, and the remnauntes onely shalbe saued. But although God allowed

Cap. 7. A Commentarie vpon the

allowed not so great a number, yet the acte of Gideon is not to be condemned, which gathered it vnto himselfe: for he vsed that prudence, which was not contrary to the worde of god: yea if he had not collected an host, he might haue seemed to tempt god, as he which had refused helpes prepared, and those iust helpes. Let vs remember that in humane actions there are two notable daungers: One is of rashnesse, when we will not vse meanes and helpes set before vs. Which which euill the Anabaptistes are greuously infected: for they will vse no weapons, and they abhorre from the offices of Magistrates. The other daunger is, least we attribute to much vnto humane and naturall aydes, which they do that trust to much in their workes. Of these two daungers the one Gideon by himselfe auoydeth in collecting a sufficient great army: for in his enterpryse he would not neglect an ordinary ayde of souldiers. And God prouideth that he should not fall into the other daunger: for from the multitude of those souldiers he withdoeth the greatest parte. And why he did it, this reason he bringeth, because men do gladly vsurpe glory vnto themselves, neither will they graunt any of it euen vnto God, as it is mete they should. Therefore he sayth that his will is, that euen as the victory should be geuen by hym, so also it should euidently appeare, to be graunted by hym.

Two verie
great daungers
in humane ac-
tions.

Why God re-
moued so many
from the hoste
of Gideon.

Euen then al-
so when by ma-
ny souldiers
we overcome,
god geueth the
victory.

That which is
here comman-
ded it is also
maunded in
Deut.

The cause of
their feare
which wer dis-
missed.

Euen then also when many souldiers get the vpper hande, God geueth the victory: but that is not so manifest, as when with a litle host we overcome our enemies. God also sebeth vs, euen then when all thinges are abundant and good cheape: but that is not so well perceaued, as when a great multitude is refreshed with foure or fise loaves. And vndoubtedlye it is the power of God, when the gospel is defended and spread abroad by men very well learned and princes most stout. But it is not then so euident as when it is solued by idioles & power men, and that with great fruite, & incredible felicitie. Therefore Paul sayd: Brethren see to your vocation: not many noble men, not many mighty men, not many wise men are called, but god hath chosen the foolish, weake, and contemned thinges of the world, because he would not haue the Crosse of Christ and the power thereof abrogated, but manifestly to appeare, that euen as Jeremy commaunded, the strong man should not glory in his strength, nor the riche man in his riches, neither the wise man in his wisdom. God doth very wel agree with the Prophet, where he sayth to Gideon, Least Israel boast against me. Who soeuer is proude because of the prosperity which he hath obteyned, & same man boasteth against god, and his doing is all one, as if he should chuse vnto himselfe an other god. God commaundeth a decree to be proclaimed, that they which were feareful, should returne home. No new thing is commaunded, for asmuch as that precept is found in Deut. the 20. chap: where preceptes of warlike affaires are very well set forth. First, the Israelites are commaunded, not to be asfeard, when they see the weapons, horses, chariotes and multitude of their enemies, because the Lord standeth on their side. When it is ordained, that the Priest should come forth amongest them, with a sermon, confirming the hartes of the souldiers, that they are the people of god, and therefore ought not they to feare their enemies. Farther it is commaunded, that they should be dismissed, which in that yeare had built an house, which had planted a vineard, and which had married a wife. First, least if they should fall in the battaille, they should dye without tasting the fruite of their owne labours. Secondly (as I suppose) because such men haue a great affection vnto those thinges which they haue lately obteyned, and therefore they do litle good in the campes, when as their minde is at home. Lastly, that is also ordained which the Lord nowe commaundeth, that as many as are not of a valiant courage, but feareful, should returne home, least by their feare they should daunt the courages of others. For oftentimes it happeneth, that by the feare of a fewe, which begyn to geue place vnto their enemies, the rest of the camp, which otherwise are strong and valiant, do turne themselves to flight. Great is the num-
ber

der of those whiche God refused, when as 22000. departed: But yet because God will haue men to acknowledge those things to be iust which he doth: therefore he maketh it euident, that al they which departed, were iustly dismissed, namely by cause they were fearefull. And R. Levi Gerichon affirmeth that they were also guilt men, for as muche as their feare proceeded not of a sound and perfect conscience. They feared peradventure, that the vengeance and wrath of God towards them was now at hand.

R. Levi bene Gerichon.

The profession also of Christian religion requirerh strenght, and that no com-
mon strenght. And therefore the Lord sayd, that we must imitate Dym, whiche
would build a towre. For first he counteth with himselfe the charges, least af-
terward not being able to finishe the worke whiche he began, he be compelled

In professio of
Christian reli-
gion we haue
nede of great
strenght.

to leane it unfinished. Also we must followe a kynge goyng on warfarre, whiche
diligently weygheth with himselfe, with howe many thousand souldiers he
may mete his enemyes. Neither is he mete for the kyngdome of heauen, whiche
straght waye plucketh his hande from the ploughe. And howe great a strenght
we haue nede in professing of Christ, the wordes of Paul do manifestly declare,
wherein he sayth: All they whiche will lyue godlyly in Christ Iesu, must suffer
persecution. The same thyng also testifieth he, saying: Our battayle is not a-
gaynst fleshe and blood, but agaynst wicked spirites whiche dwell in the ayre.

Therefore we are not called vnto idleness, but to a most sharpe battayle, and
therefore we haue nede of stout and valiaunt courages. Neither is it sufficient
for good souldiers to cast awaye feare out of theyr myndes, vnlesse also they be
prompt and industrious. Therefore the seconde tyme they are brought vnto the
water, where yet the Anggils are separated, which will not drinke, but bowing
themselves on their knees. Those are they whiche pamper themselves, they can
abide no soeue, and they are quickly overcome. There were onely 300. whiche
dianke with reaching their hande vnto their mouth, & they alone were turned
vnto Gideon. Here may we see, how god with Dym fro Gideon his captayne hu-
manes aydes, not vndoubtedly to betray him, but thereby to geue him a more no-
ble victory.

What the bow-
ing of knees
signifieth.

Therefore when helpes of nature are taken away, then must strenght
of sayth remaine, wherewith we muste no lesse followe our vocation, then if
they were present. Whiche thyng very many doo not, whiche straght waye
as soone as they see themselves destitute of humane helpes, they byd al pure doc-
trine farewell: when as for all that they ought to remember, that the power of
God, wherby the blinde are made to see, the dead made a liue, and the poore,
blessed, nothing dependeth of worldly helpes.

Concerning the wordes of the hystorie two thynges are to be noted. The
first is, that the fearefull are commaunded to retorne vnto Gilead, whiche sea-
meth not to be agreeable vnto the place where they were. For they were not on
this syde Iordane, where mount Gilead laye in the tribe of Manasses, in the sa-
me I saye of Machir, but they were come into the lande of Chanaan beyonde
Iordane. Therefore we muste saye, that either there were two mountes so cal-
led: or that that whiche is written of mounte Gilead, is to be referred vnto the
begynnyng of those whiche departed awaye: as though it should haue ben sayd,
that they were sent awaye, whiche were borne in mounte Gilead. These thynges
doo certayne interpreters write, whiche whether they be true or false, it is not
certayne. For we are ignorant whether Gideon with his host passed ouer Ior-
dane or no. Farther we must note that thys worde Tserath signifieth to purget
whereby the hystorie sheweth, that the hoste shoulde be purged of the sould-
iers that were dismissed, because (as I aboue mencioned) there were none re-
moued from that multitude of souldiers, but suche as were vnwoorthy.
Therefore they coulde not iustly complayne of the iustice of God. I very much
meruaile of Iosephus, whiche affirmeth that God woulde haue none to go forth

Iosephus.

Et. i.

with

with Gideon, but such as were fearefull, that thereby the victorie might be the more noble, and referred to be receaued onely of God. And he sayth, that they which bowed their knees and thanks, were valiant men, and trusted to much in their owne strength. And so that they nothing passed vpon their enemies, they kneeled downe without any feare and thanks: but they which stood and reached theyr handes to theyr mouth and lapped water out of them, those sayth he were of a cowardly minde, as they which for feare of their enemies durst not freely euen drinke. But this sayned thing very much disagreeth with the history, by cause God commaunded to be proclaimed by expresse wordes, that the fearefull should depart, and he would haue bys precept obserued which he gaue in Deut. Therefore it seemeth not that he would adioyne timorous folk vnto Gideon. But Iosephus in his narration mitteth the commaundement that the fearefull should be dismissed, either because it was out of his memory, or els for what other cause I can not tell.

In Allegory.

Here might be annexed diuers Allegories concerning the distinguishing of the waters. For by these some vnderstande pleasures, and some afflictions. And undoubtedly they are not apte for the kingdome of God, which study to fill themselves with pleasures and delights of this world. Neither are they commended, which suffer themselves altogether to be troubled with aduersities. For as they are praysed which vse this world, as though they vied it not so also are they commended, which in their minde do not so greedily take sojournes and aduersities as the Church does which haue no hope, and are destitute of a perfect consolation of faith.

Augustine.

The history mentioneth that the men which Gideon tooke vnto him, namely the 300. had trumpettes, which ought not to be maruelous. For the summe of the souldiers at the beginning was 30000. Therefore there might be among every thousand souldiers .x. trumpeters. And therefore it was easy to find 300. trumpettes there. Augustine vpon this place writeth, that Abraham (as it is read in the booke of Genesis) armed 38. of his bondemen, against the thre kings which had led Lot a way prisoner, and thereby he gathereth that he had yet more apd then Gideon. Which is so much the truer, because besides seruantes and bondmen, Abraham had Abner, Mambré, and Elcholi to helpe him.

9 And the same night the Lord sayd vnto him: Arise, get thee down into the host: for I haue deliuered it into thine hande.

10 But if thou feare to go downe, then go thou and Purah thy lad downe to the host.

11 And thou shalt hearken what they say, and afterward shall thine handes be strong, and thou shalt go downe to the hoste. Then went he downe, and Purah his lad vnto the out side of the souldiers, that were in the host.

12 And Madian, & Amalek, and all the childre of Kedem, lay in the valley, like grasshoppers in multitude, & their camels were without number: as the sande which is by the sea side for multitude.

13 Gideon & Iay came, and beholde, a man tolde a dreame vnto his neighbour, and sayd: Behold I dreamed a dreame. And lo a cake of barley bread tumbled from aboue into the hoste of Madian, & came euen to a tente, and smote it, that it fell: it ouerturned it. I saye, and the tente fell downe.

14 And his neighbour answered and sayde: This is nothyng els save the sword of Gideon the sonne of Joas a man of Issaell: God hath geuen into his handes Madian and all the host.

when

15 When Gideon heard the dreame tolde, and the interpretation of the same, he worshipped. And he returned vnto the hoste of Israell and sayde: Up, for the Lorde hath Delivered into your handes the host of Madian.

Gideon is also confirmed by the wordes of his aduersaries: he had withstood from hym humane aydes, and therfore least he should be smitten with feare, he prepared a confirmation for him after a certayne wonderfull sorte. God, whiche made vs knoweth right well the nature of mans fleshe and reason. We often tyme bragge that we put no confidence in prosperous things, when they are present: but when we are destitute of them, we wonderfully waile colde, and there we see how we deceaue our selues and other. We deserue assuredly for our inconstancy (I will not say infidelity) utterly to be abjected: but the heauenly father, as he is good, breaketh not a bused reede, and quencheth not smoking flare, which we now see in Gideon. He sendeth him to the host of his enemies to be confirmed, and he bleth the Madianites, the enemies of the Israelites for an oracle. And it is not maruelous: for if in the old time he used wood & gold in the tabernacle, at the arke, I say, & mercy seate, to geue answers, what should let but that he may vse men also vnto that office? And without doubt the beginning of the victory was, to manifest vnto Gideon the feare of his enemies. For in warfare nothing more profiteth, then to know the feare of the enemies: and to knowe the same at the length for assured, very much pertayneth to warlike pollicies.

The beginning of a victory, is to knowe the feare of the enemies.

And in manifestyng of it, God obserueth his olde accustomed manner. Longe before that by Rahab of Iericho he shewed vnto Iosuah, that the hearts of the enemies were exceedingly smitten with feare, & now eue by the Madianites themselves he teacheth Gideon how fearefull they were. Neither among other testimonies (as the Rhetoricians say) are there any of more strength, then the testimonies of the enemies. Therefore when Gideon heard euen of his enemies how they were affected, he doubted not of the successe of the battayle. Here is set forth a notable example of obedience. For Gideon was deadly hated of the Madianites, because he had now collected an host agaynst them, and yet being commaunded to go to their tentes he obeyed. And if he had ben asfayde, there was no other companion graunted him, then Purah his lad. Therefore seying he durst take vpon hym so great a thing, it is to be thought that he was illustrate with no small sayth. Neither can he iustly be repproued of banity, as though he tooke hold of dreames, for as much as he obeyed the worde of God.

A notable example of obedience.

Hereby also may we learne, that dreames of prophesying are by God geuen vnto enemies of godlynesse, and to that nation, which afflicted the holy people & the Church: and this is not the first tyme. For vnto an Ethnike kyng, namely vnto Pharaon were fatte and leane kine, full and empty eares of corne, shewed by God in dreames. Vnto the baker also and butler, were shewed thinges which should come to passe, & after ward, Nebuchad-nezar, whiche led away the Israelites captiues, saw twise dreames which had significations. But this is more meruelous, the dreame which is here declared, nedeth no Ioseph or Daniel for an interpreter. For which the souldier by the inspiratiō of god dreamed, his fellow souldier expounded. Therefore god gaue vnto vngodly men, both a true dreame & also a faithful interpretatiō therof. And which confirmeth, these giftes of grace are comon both to the godly & to the vngodly, wherfore it is not mete for any should boast of the. For they testify not the holynesse of men, but onely the liberall bountifullnesse of God.

Vnto the wicked sometimes are geuen true dreames and the interpretations of them.

By it also is declared the wisdom of god, & his incōprehensible power, that he can to the saluatiō of his vse not only the enemies, but also al maner of thing, yea the vilest. For what is bayne & of lesse reputation than dreames: & yet for the saluation of the elect, they serue the wil of god. Nothing seemed vnto the Ethnikes more ridiculous the circūcisiō: wherfore the Iewes were enery where called of the Apell

God can by the most vilest thinges to the saluatiō of his children.

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lites & Recubites, & yet neuerthelesse by it God confirmed his couenant with the fathers. These elements also, bread, wyne, & water, are very comon things if they be considered by themselves, in which things for al that Christ hath comended vnto vs Sacramentes of most great value. Let vs reioyse therfore that we haue such a God, that can conuert all kinde of things to the saluation of his children. And agayne let vs counte the vngodly (as they are in very dede) for most unhappy, when as of their owne they receaue damage, so that not onely of their enemyes, and they are wonderfully hurte euen of every thing most vile.

Augustine.

Josephus.
In Allegorye.

Why Gideon
was more con-
firmed by the
dreme then by
by miracles.

As touching the Hebreu wordes, they translate Tsalil for noyse, and sound: for it is deriued of this verbe Tsalal which is to sound, to make a noyse, or to ryng, as mettall doeth. Farther Tsalath signifieth to roste. For the barley loafe, which is now entreated of, seemed to be baked vpon the coales, out of whiche came a wonderfull noyse: & therfore this word Tsalil is transferred hither. But I meruaile, wherfore Augustine, writing vpon this place, maketh mention that there was a table: I thinke it was false in the translation which he used. But the Allegory Josephus manifestly expoundeth. In generall (sayeth he) barley bread is vile and despised. And in all Asia no people are of lesse estimation than the Hebrues, whiche now begin to sound & to make a noyse, because they had now raised an host against them, and made Gideon theyr capitaine. In that this loafe by his tombling seemed with great violence to ouerthrow their tentes, it manifestly foreshewed that the hoste of the Madianites and Amalekites should be deliuered vnto Gideon and to the Hebrues. This is the Allegory of the dreme, and a most true interpretation therof. Gideon being thus confirmed, departed. But in that he was more confirmed by this dreme, then he was by the former miracles, it is not to be counted for absurd, because neither miracles, nor dreames by themselves can confirme doubtfull myndes, but they do it onely then, when God by his spirite maketh them of efficacy, whiche he bestoweth sometymes to these, & sometymes to other, according to his will. Wherfore it cometh to passe, that they whiche sometymes by miracles are not perswaded, may by dreames be dawning: and agayne they whiche by dreames beleue not, may with miracles be conuerted. For God can freely geue power and efficacy vnto those outward things, according to his will.

Of Dreames.

Ethnike an-
thors.
The opinion of
the Peripate-
tikes.

Aristotle thin-
keth not that
dreames are
sent of God.

But now must we intreate of dreames: and first we will see what may be affirmed of them by naturall reason: and afterwarde howe much we must attribute vnto them by the worde of God. As touching the firste, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galene, also other famous Philosophers haue written many things, and amongst them Aristotle in his litle booke de Diuinatione per Somnium (if so it be his booke, althoughe we can not doubt but that it is wytty and learned) sayeth first, that this kynde of diuination seemeth not vnto be abiection, because of the common sort very much is attributed vnto it: and those thynges whiche are commonly receaued of all men, can not vniuersally be false. Hereunto he addeth, that there are very many dreames, of whiche an apte and mete reason may be geuen: whiche (as experience teacheth) deceaue not men, but haue their successe. Therefore it is not mete that we should despise all manner of diuination by dreames. Howbeit we must receaue it warily, for that it is very hard to geue causes thereof, because nature in this parte woorketh very obscurely. And Aristotle thinketh not that dreames are sent of God. For if (sayeth he) they should be sent of hym, he would geue them to good and wyse men. But it is not so. For foolish and euill men for the most parte obteyne this faculty: beastes also do dreme: And who will contende that God geueth diuination vnto they? Neither dreames which are occupied about the phantasie of

eye of such as slepe are to this end geuen, that thereby they should foretell things to come. Farther if god should geue dreames, he would geue them rather in the day time, that men might the diligentlier behold them. Neyther can we easely see why he should choose the night vnto him for that purpose. And lastly soasmuch as god is not enuious, he would not so obscurely admonishe them, whome he would instruct of things to come, but he would shewe them manifestly and openly. But dreames are so obscure, that for the interpretation of them we muste go vnto prophetes, and soothsayers. These things are in a maner gathered all out of Aristotle, wherby he utterly transferreth the thinge from god vnto nature, as though the reasons of dreames should from thence be sought for. But I wyl in treat of that afterward when I come to the doctrine of the scripture. Nowe will I declare his opinion as touching this thinge.

Dreames sayth he ar either signes or causes, or els compared vnto those things whych are signified rashely or by chaunce. Every one of these thre members is thus expounded, dreames he sayth are signes sometimes of the affections of the body or mind. For by those very often are declared, which humors do beare rule in the body, abounde, and offend. For accordinge to the quality of nature, and tempering of humors preuayling in the body, are formes & images moued. Where choler aboundeth, are sene flambes, fires, burning coles, lightnings, brawlings, and other of that sorte. If melancholy get the upper hand, smokes, deepe darkness, all things almost blacke, filthy thinges, dead bodyes, & such like do offer themselves. But fleume stirreth by images of showes, raynes, riuers, waters, hayl, ice, and such things as haue abundant moistnes soynd with coldnes. By blood ar moued sights that ar sayre, bright, white, pleasaunt, and are like vnto the common purenes and vsuall forme or face of things. Neyther do the phisicians contemne these things, yea rather (as Galene and Hipocrates teach) they enquire very diligently of the sick, of the bycause thereby they may vnderstand the temperance of those humors which lye inwardly hidden. But the cause why they which are on slepe, & not they which are waking, do by sight se the nature of these motions, is this: because at the beginning they are little, & when we ar waking, the sense of them flieth fro vs. For by stronger motions of outward things, which appear befoze our eyes, we ar drawn an other way, but being on slepe we cesse fro outward labours, & ar voyd from the course of grosse sensible things. Wherefoze the sightes and images, which are by the humors continually moued, are better comprehended of the fanasy when we are on sleepe, then when we are waking. And that wher we slepe we far better se small things, then we do being waking: hereby it appeareth, bycause we thinke that noyses, be they neuer so small, are great thunders. And if any swete sleame sticke peradventure vnto the tounge or roose of the mouth, it semeth to vs that we taste hony, sugar, sweete wines, and pleasant meates, yea sometimes we thinke that we largely eate, and abundant lye drinke. Wherefoze those motions of humors which are small, are in slepe the more to be as it were wonderfull greates: for whiche cause Physicions do hereby know very many beginniges of diseases.

Dreames also are certayn signes of the affections of the minde, as of conetousnes, hope, ioy, and mirth, and also of qualities. Wherefoze fearfull persons do se other maner of things then they do, which ar bold: so do they which ar conetous se other things, then they whych are in hope: also the learned are wont to haue faire contrary dreames, to the dreames of the rude people or artificers. For the mynd also when we slepe, is occupied aboute those thynges, wherein when we are waking, we are either daylye, or els very often busied. There is an other thyng also diligently to be obserued (as Galene dooth very well admonyshe) that there are certayne kyndes of meates, whyche beyng naturallie cholerike, melancholike, or fleumatik, do by theyr quality, or about the phantasy

The Peripatetikes explication of dreames.

Formes ar moued accordinge to the diuersity of the humors.

Why formes ar more sene sleeping then waking.

Dreames ar also signes of the affections of the minde.

Galene.

of the sleepers more images and formes, which are agreeable with those humors, although the temperature of bodies of them which sleep dooe not of themselves offend in these humors. Which thing also the physician ought to obserue concerning dreames, namely to see what meat the sick man did vse. Which also (as Aristotle teacheth) beinge immoderatlye dronke, both in dreames engender misformed Images.

When a dreame is a sign it is referred vnto a cause, namely vnto the humor abounding, which humor it signifieth. It maye also be called a signe of some event to come, bycause from the same cause, that is, from the humor which is signified, may be caused eyther sickness or health. Wherefore a dreame, as it is a signe of an humor, so also is it a token of an effect, which is produced of it. For from the self same cause, namely from the humor, springeth both a dreame, and also a disease. Howbeit they are not conuerted, for sickness or health are not signes of dreames.

Dreames are
sometimes causes
of things
which we do.

But now let vs see, how dreames may sometimes be called the causes. That is then, when any man by his dreame is perswaded, eyther to do, or to trye any thing, as if a man be made whole of the sickness of the spleen, so that that he was let blood in the backward side of his head, so was he taught to do in his dreame. And now and then it happeneth vnto the learned, y they find those things where of they are in doubt in the same books, where in they dreame they thought they had found or red them.

Dreames some
time by chance
resemble
those things
which happen.

But now let vs consider the third member of the distinction which we brought, namely when dreames do rashly or by chance signify those things which afterward do happen. That taketh place in those things, whose cause is not in vs, but rather distant, and far off, as if a man should see a victory, or a murder to happen in hostes far distant from him, or any man that is absent exalted to very great dignity. These things say the Peripatitikes are ioyned together by chance: neither canne they be conferred together, eyther as causes, or as signes. Euen as if when we are talking of any body, the same man peraduenture come in the mean while, we say Lupus est in fabula, where as yet the same mention making of him, was neyther the cause, nor signe of his coming. So therefore these things are sayd to be ioyned together rashly, bycause both they come by chance, and also they seldome haue successe: for this is the nature of things coming by chance, to happen seldome.

Who they be
which naturally
often times
let true dreames

Farther, Aristotle hath taught, who they be, which aboue other sozetell many things in dreames. And the same he chiefly attributeth vnto idle persons: such as are euer prattling, & the to such as are melancholike & phantike, which are deperied both of senses and minde. He seemeth also to ascribe somewhat vnto kinde folkes and friends. For these kind of men haue very many dreames when they slepe. For prattlers and idle persons are wholly boyde of cogitations, wherefore they are inwardly fylled with images and formes. The melancholike also by reason of the power and nature of melancholy, do dreame very many things. Farther, they are very much geuen vnto cogitations. The phantike also, because their mind is void both of the knowledge of the outward senses, and also of the vse of reason: therefore they are vtterly geuen to imaginations. Lastly, friends do so that cause se many things of their friends in they dreames, because they are very much careful and pensive for them. Al these men now rehearsed, are wont by dreames to sozetell many things, bycause in diuerse dreames and in a manner infinite, it is not possible, but that some true things happen sometymes. They whyche the whole day exercise themselves in shootynge, do much oftener hit the mark, then they which do very seldom shoot. And they which play at the day at dyse or tables, do much oftener throw good castes, then they which litle or seldome vse that kinde of play.

Howbeit we must vnderstand y those signes, which are attributed to dreames,

as touching the first kinde already declared, are not necessary, forasmuch as they may be letted. And yet this hindreth not but that they may be signs. For this is so also in the clouds, which undoubtedly arsignes of rain, when as for al y some tymes they are dissipatid by the wind befoze it rayn. And byme haib tokens ei ther of sicknes or helth, when yet the effect may be letted by bechmenter causes, & the same also happeneth of the pulses. yea and those counsels, which we haue appoynted, and which with great deliberation decrees to do, very oftentimes are not accomplished, bycause some other thinges happen betwene, wherby we can go no farther: which self same thinges if it happen in dreames, it is no maruayle, forasmuche as they are signes of thinges not perfecte, but rather of the begin ninges of thinges, and those weake and feable mouinges of humors may yet be easely letted of many other causes.

Of dreames which ar signs there is no ne cessity of the ef fectes to be gas thered.

Democritus thus expoundeth those dreames, which resemble thinges coming by chaunce, and farre distante: Where are alwayes (saythe he) deuiactions from thinges themselves, which ar caried to the bodiēs of those that slepe, and do affect them with the quality and symilitude which they bying with them. And y same he affirmeth to be for two causes moze felt sleeping then waking. First, because y ayre by night is easlyer moued, as we see done; when the water is smitten with a little stone, both many circles ar with that stroke multiplied and diuē a great way, vnlesse some other contrary motion resiste it. But in the nighte the ayre is moze quiet, then in the day time, bycause it is not diuē into sundry parts by the course of creators which moue themselves. An other cause is, because they which slepe do easlyer receaue light mouinges. And lastly the same authoꝝ also referreth not the causes of dreames to god.

Democritus.

Galene also in his little booke whiche he wrote de presagiis in somniorum, a boue other thinges maketh mentiō of this, whē in dreames we se those thinges, which when we were waking, we neither did nor thought, they ought not to be referred neyther to artes, neyther to qualittes, by custome of those thinges, which happened when we wer waking, but vnto humors. This rule seemeth to tende to thys end, that we might vnderstand of what thinges dreames are to be coun ted signs. And he graunteth that these thinges are better knownen in the night, then in the day, bycause then the soul withdroweth it self into the inward parts wher it easlyer seeth those thinges which ar ther. And he maketh mention of one who thought in his dreame he had a thigh of stone, which many thought to per tayne to his seruants; but wā a few dayes after that, his legge fel into a palsey. An other thought that he was ty to the throte in a cesterne full of bloude, out of which he coulde by no means escape. And that declared that much bloud aboun ded in hym, and that he had very great neede to be let bloud. He maketh mention also of another, which in his dreame thought that on his critical or iudiciall day he was washed in a bath with great abundance of water, who after ward fell into a great sweat. Farther sayth he they which slepe do thinke sometimes that they are greuously laden, so that they ar not able to beare the wayght: & some times so light and nimble, that they run, & in a manner fly. Al these things sayth he, are tokens of excesse or defeccon of humors.

Galene.

An history of a certayn dream.

Hippocrates also of these thigs in a maner writeth the same namely that y mind in the day time, distributeth his powers into the senses & other faculties: And in the night it droweth the to y inward parts, & therfoze it doth the better know them. Howbeit he maketh mention that there are certayn dreames which come by god, wherby calamities are foreshewed to come vnto cities, people, and other certayne greate men, for the expounding of which dreames, some do profess cer tayne artes. Vnto which neuerthelesse he semeth to geue but very small credite. When by dreames it is noted that y humors do offend, he sayth that they which are in daunger, must be holpen by diete, exorcist, and medicine. And whither the dreames be good or euil, he will haue prayers added. When helth is by dreames

Hippocrates.

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signified, we must pray sayth he vnto the Sunne, vnto Iupiter celestiall, Iupiter possessor, to Minerva, rich Mercury, and to Apollo. But if the dreames be vniuersall, we must pray vnto the goddess sayth he which turne alway ill, namely vnto the goddesses of the earthe, and to the Heroicall men, &c. Wherfore epyther Hippocrates was superstitious, or els he would seme so. But to me, as touching sincere goodlines, that I mislike not: for it is very much commended; that if at any time wee be vexed with troublesome and terrible dreames, we muste praye vnto god, that it would please him to turne alway those euils, if there be anye whiche hang over our heddes.

What is the outward cause of dreames.

There is an other kinde of dreames, whiche procedeth of an outward cause, namely from the power of heauen, or (as it is commonly called) the influence, which altereth the ayre. For this ayre touching our bodies, affecteth them with a new quality: Wherby sundrye images and dreames are stirred vp vnto those which are on sleepe. Wherfore there are many effectes wrought of heauen, of which it bringeth forth some in the phantasy, and power or faculty of imagination: and other some in deede. And that may easely be shewed by an example. In deede in the ayre or clondes there are raine: and in the imagination of the Crow there is such an alteration befoze the rayne, that he beginneth to croke. Wherfore the effects in the phantasy of those which are on sleepe, and also in deede, come vndoubtedly of the self same cause: yet haue they great diuersity by reason of the subiectes in which they are made. And it is not to be doubted, but that there is a certayne slender and hidden similitude betweene these effectes. But it is verye hard to vnderstand the reason of this proportion or analogy. And if we say, that the starres are the cause of such effectes or affections, who can refer these signes vnto his own proper cause, that is, to some certayne starres more then to other, Assuredly I suppose that there are very few (I will not say none) whiche can do it. Farther if they shuld also be referred vnto proper starres, what can we iudge to come to passe by them, especially as touching things comming by happe, whiche as iudiciall Astrology is euermore counted moste vncertaine: In syne, images & similitudes which are sayd to portend things to come, are so doubtful, vncertain & ambiguous, that we can asseyne nothing for certayn of the. Wherfore this is to be added, that soasmuch as dreames cannot be brought to passe of one only cause, but of many (as we haue declared) we shall easely fall into an error, if we of those many causes chuse onely one certayne cause. Wherfore let vs hold this, that is, not easely to sozetel any thing by dreames, for that they may easlier be iudged by the euentes, then the euentes can by them be sozetold. Wherfore there remaineth of dreames but onely a certayne suspition, whiche also of necessity is verye slender.

Why diuination by dreames is hard and vncertaine.

As to the gate of hope & a gate of puerie.

The gate of hope & a gate of puerie.

Of dreames sent either of god or of the deuill.

To fore shew any thing by visions or dreames two things are required.

The two most noble Poetes, Homere (I say) and Virgill, made two gates of dreames, the one of hope, the other of puerie. That of hope (as they say) pertaineth vnto the true dreames, and that of puerie, to false: and they say that the greatest part passeth through the gate of puerie, and not through that of hope. Wherfore in iudging naturall dreames, let vs not passe the measure of suspition, nor stick to much in dreames: soasmuch as it is not the duty of a christia man to cleane more then is conueniente vnto perillous and vncertaine coniectures, because whilest they so busily apply them selves to those things, they neglect other things which are of greater wayght. And the deuill very often times minglet himself with those things to this entent, eyther to cal vs back from good actions, or els to drawe vs to actions that are euell. Nowe let vs see, what we oughte to asseyne of dreames sente of God, or moued by the deuill. When any thing by the woork of god or of angels is in dreames foretold, two things are required. The firste is that certayne notes or images of things which are shewed, do inform or imprint the phantasy or imagination.

Secunde

Secondly must be adioyned iudgement, to vnderstand what those things at the last do portend. As touching the first, we must know, that these notes and images are sometimes offered vnto the senses, because of those things which God maketh outwardly to appeare, as when Balthazar the successor of Nebuchad-Nazzar saw in the wall the fyngers of a hande which wrote, as it appeareth in Daniel. And sometimes without any outward sight are images and formes described in the imagination or phantasy: which happeneth two manner of waies. For either the formes or images which are kept in the minde, are called backe to such vse as God hath entended, as when to Jeremy was shewed a seething pot tourned to the North: Or els newe formes are shewed, whiche by the senses were neuer seene, as if formes of coulours and images shoulde bee shewed vnto one blynde from bys byt.

And in this kinde of prophesying, images or formes are in steede of letters. For as they are ordered and disposed, so sundry oracles are shewed. Euen as in the diuers chaunging of letters, orations and sentences are made diuers. Teachers which instruct their scholers, may by their study and industry of teaching fashion manifold images in the mindes of the hearers: although they be not able to geue the iudgement and right vnderstanding. But God ministreth both, not in dede alwaies together: for to some sometimes he sheweth onely the formes, as to Pharao, and to his Butler and Baker, & also to the king of Babilon, al which men needed an Interpreter (namely Ioseph & Daniel) to expound their dreames. And vndoubtedly those, vnto whom are shewed onely the images of thinges to come, are not truely and plainly counted Prophets, soasmuch as they haue but onely a certayne degree, beginning, and in a manner a step of prophesie: euen as Caiphas also the high Priest is not to be counted a Prophet, when as he spake those thinges which he knew not.

But why God would sometimes by dreames manifest vnto Kinges & Princes thinges to come, as now he doth, there are two causes: The one is, because he had a regarde vnto the people and Nations whom they gouerned. For if the penury which was at hand, had not ben shewed vnto Pharao, Egypt had vtterly bene destroyed by famine. Secondly, it was the counsel of the Lorde, by these expositions of dreames, to manifest vnto the world his Prophetes and holy men, which before were hidde, which thing the holy scriptures testifie happened in Ioseph and Daniel. The Ethnike Historiographers also do write verie many thinges of dreames, which Princes sometimes saw. Psea, and Tertulian in his booke de Anima, maketh mencion of certayn of those dreames, as the dreame of Astyages of his daughter Mandane, also of Philip of Macedonia, and of Iulius Octavius, whom M. Cicero being yet a boy, thought he saw him in his dreame, and being awake as soone as he met him, he straightway knew him. And the same man telleth of certayne other also of this kinde.

But omitting these, let vs by testimonies of the holy scriptures (which shall easily be done) confirm, that certain dreames are sent by God. Mathew testifieth that Ioseph the housbande of Mary, was in dreames thus admonished by the Angel. The wyfe also of Pilate had knowledge by a dreame, and sent woode to her housband, that he should not condemne Christ being an innocent. Peter in the Actes of the Apostles the x. chap. saw a sheete let downe from heauen. And in the xvi. chap. a man of Macedonia appeared vnto Paule, and moued him to go into Macedonia. And the Lorde commaunded the same Paule in a dreame, that he should not depart from Corinthe, because he had a wonderfull great number of people in that City. I might rehearse a great many other places, both out of the old Testament, and out of the newe, but that I wil not be tedious. Philo a Jew (as Ierome in his booke de viris illustribus saith) wrote fyue bookes of Dreames, which are sent by God. Ciprian also telleth, that in his tyme wer certain thinges sene by dreames, which serued for the edification of the Church: & he doth geue

Formes or images are like letters.

God sometimes geueth not vnto one & to the selfe same man formes, and the vnderstanding of them.

They which haue onely images, are not simply prophetes.

Tertulian.

Philo a Jewe.

Ciprian.

not

Cap. 7. A Commentary vpon the

*Augustine.
The kinds of
dreames.*

not a litle, but very much authoritie vnto them. And Augustine in his. xii. booke de Genesi ad litteram, the. 3. chap. sayth: That there are thyes kindes of dreames. The first (saith he) pertaine vnto the outward senses, which he calleth corporal. Againe, other some he calleth Spirituall, which consist of images, & haue place about the phantasy, or power of imagination. The last he nameth Intellectual, bicause they are comprehended onely by reason and iudgement of the mynde. And those which consist by imagination, namely those that are put in the second place (as we haue a litle before taught) saith he, make not Prophets, & affirmeth that Ioseph was much more truly a Prophet, then Pharao. And bicause we wyl not go from our history, we may affirme the same thing of the soldour, which in the hearing of Gideon expounded the dream of his fellow soldour, namely, that he rather was a Prophet, then he which had the vision. But in this order or degree of Prophetes, Daniel excelleth the rest. For he dyd not onely interpretate the dreames of the king: but when he had forgotten those thinges which he saw in his sleepe, he could reuoke them into his memory againe. Farther, he did not onely interpretate the dreames of other men, but also he was by God instructed of his owne visions.

*Oracles answere
red sometimes
by dreames and
visions.*

By the Deuil also are dreames sometimes moued, for Augustine in the place already alledged de Genesi ad litteram writeth, that one possessed wth a Deuil, by dreames declared in what houre a priest would come vnto him, & through what places he would passe. And we are not ignorant that the Ethnikes had oracles, where men were at night to obtayne visions and dreames. Suche a one was the oracle of Amphiaraus, Amphilocheus, Trophonius, and of Esculapius. In those places, the Deuil shewed vnto those which slept, remedies and medicines to heale suche as were sycke: and therewithal also he gaue answer of other matters. And to obtayne such visions and dreames, there were commaunded vnto those which came to enquire of any thing, I cannot tel what choise of meates, and separate lodgings, and certain pure and chaste daies. It is said also that the Scholers of Pythagorians. Pythagoras eschewed beanes, bicause they make troublesome dreames. But our God, to declare that he is not bounde to those thynges, shewed vnto Daniel the kinges dream, when he and his fellows by prayers had vehemently desired it of him. And it is not to be doubted but that the deuil can mingle him selfe with dreames, when as through his diligence there haue bene and also are now many false Prophetes, wherefore Augustine in his booke before alledged the. xii. chap. If an euyl spirite (saith he) possesse men, he maketh them either diuinely, or mad, or els false prophetes. And contrarywise a good spirit maketh faithful prophetes, speaking misteries to the edification of other.

Augustine.

*Augustine.
Howe dreames
are to be knowe
whiche are of a
good spirit, and
whiche are of an
euyl.*

He also demaundeth in the same booke, the. xi. chap. by what meanes the reuelations of euyl and good spirites may be discerned one from an other. And he answereth: That that can not be done, except a man haue the gifte of discerning of spirites. But he addeth that an euyl spirite doth alwaies at the last leade me to wicked opinions and pervers maners: althoughe at the beginning the difference can not be knowne with out the gifte of the holye ghost. In his Epistle to Euodius, which is the. 100. epistle, inquiring of the same matter, he sayth: I would to God I could discern betwene dreames, which are geuen to errour, and those which are to saluation, neuerthelesse we ought to bee of good courage, bycause God suffereth his children sometimes to be tempted, but not to perishe.

Aristotle.

*Why God som
times vseth euyl
Prophetes
and pnyfle.*

But what shal we answer vnto Aristotle, who denieth that dreames are sent of God, and that for this cause in special, bicause God would geue this faculty of diuination to wyse and good men, and not to the foolish and wicked? The answer, that for the most part it is true, that true Prophetes, which are by God illustrated with dreames and visions, are both good and godlye. Howbeit, leaste it should be thought that the power of God is bound vnto the wysedome or maners of men, God wyl sometimes vse the wooke of euyl men in those thinges: to declare

declare and shew forth the great and wonderful power of his providence, as one
 which can use all kinde of instrumentes. Further, as Tertulian writeth in his
 booke de Anima, seeing that he distributeth his grante and rayne both to the iust
 and to the vniust, it ought not to be marvellous, if he bestowe also these gyftes,
 which set us especially to the instruction of men, both to the good and to the euill.
 And that we should not be ignorant of his doing, the holy history declareth that
 the Children were by God verie oftentimes admonished and corrected in theyr
 sleepe. So Pharaos king of Egypt was commaunded to restore vnto Abraham his
 wife, and Abimelech king of Gerar was in like maner admonished. And Tertu-
 lian saith moreover, that euen as God, when hee instructed the wycked in theyr
 sleepe, both so that they might become good, so contrariwise the Deuill inuadeth
 the goodly when they are a sleepe, by dreames to seduce them oute of the ryghte
 way. Aristotle thought that God in distributing his gyftes, ought to haue a regard
 to wise men, and especially to Philosophers: when as Christ hath taughte alto-
 gether other wise. I thanke thee (saith he) O heauynlye father, that thou hydyng
 these thynges from the learned and wise, hast revealed them to lyttle ones. &c.
 Paul also saith, that the vocation of God chiefly pertayneth to the vnnoble, vn-
 learned, and weak.

An other argument was, that beastes also when they sleepe do dreame, when
 yet no man will say that God minnstreth and disposeth their dreames. That Phi-
 losopher is deceaued, because he suppoeth that if God do send some dreames vn-
 to men, he ought therefore to be made authoꝝ of al dreames, which vndoubtedly
 is farre fro our meaning. For we referre not vnto God himselfe, al those thynges
 which are natural, as certain peculliar effectes, by which immediatly (as to speake
 with Scholmen) men should be instructed of thynges to come. We haue suffici-
 ently before declared of what causes dreames come in creatures. And to en-
 treace Logike: There is no firme connexion from a pꝛuate or peculliar pꝛopo-
 sition to an vniuersal. Therefore, though God do minister some dreames, we
 may not thereby gather, that all dreames, whether they be in beastes or men, are
 sent by hym. Beastes otherwys haue the power to heare, neither want they
 eares: and yet, because God sendeth not sometimes Prophets vnto them to speake
 and shew them thynges to come, we cannot conclude that God doth not some-
 times sende holy men vnto men, by whom they maye bee both admonished, and
 instructed.

He saith moreover, that if God were the authoꝝ of dreames, he woulde cause
 them to be done as wel in the day time, as in the night. But I affirme, that it is
 free for God to vse epyther time as he wil, so much as he is Lord as well of the
 day as of the night, and as wel of sleeping as of waking. And that he sometimes
 did in very deepe shew visions vnto prophets in their sleepe, & sometimes when
 they wer waking, as it seemed best vnto him, the holy scriptures do testify.

Further, what absurdity is it, if he oftentimes vse the comouity of the nyght
 and sleepe, when as the Philosophers and Physicians them selues doo confesse,
 that men are at such time moze apt to receaue motions very light: Shall this co-
 mouity serue the Physicians turne to know the humors of the bodye, & can it not
 serue God, for the saluation of soules? In the booke of Iob the 33. chap. there is a
 goodly and apt place written after this maner: when slepe fallerh vpon men, and
 they sleepe vpon their beds, then God openeth the eare, and sealeth corrections.

Lastly was objected, that God if he would admonish men, he woulde do it open-
 ly and manifestly, & not obscurely, or by rydles. I answer, that the true prophets
 and such as were inspired by God, did very wel vnderstand the thynges whiche
 God told them in such dreames: wherefoze they needed no expositors. And if hee
 sometimes sent dreames vnto Ethniike Princes (as he did vnto Pharaos and Ne-
 buchad. Nesar) he therfoze did it, to make his Prophetes that wer hidden (name-
 ly Ioseph and Daniel) to be notable. Otherwys he gaue vnto his Prophetes
 Iudges.

Tertulian

God revealeth
 mysteries ra-
 ther vnto the li-
 ttle ones, then
 to the wyle.

God, though he
 sometime sendeth
 dreames, yet se-
 deth he not all.

God bleth both
 times, as well
 the daye as the
 nyght.

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A Commentarie vpon the

iudgement, & a cleare vnderstanding of such visions which be ministered vnto the.

Why Aristotle
sreth.

But Aristotle is herein deceaued, because he had a respect onely to deceauers, which prophessed such kindes of prophecies, and bewitched men, as though they could expound al sortes of dreames, and shew what they portended. But we vnderstand not those things which we haue now alledged, of al kinde of dreames, neither of al manner of prophetes. For they pertain onely to those, which God in dede sendeth: wherefore the conjectures of deceauers and floutheaters haue nothing here to doo. But the authority of so great a Philosopher doth not much moue vs: because although that Epicurus saoureth that sentence which he doth, who to disburden his Gods from the labour of regarding of dreames, teacheth that they as al other things, do come rashly and by chaunce. Yet contrarywise

Epicurus.

Plato.

The Stoikes.

Augustine.

Whether the
Soule of it self
haue power to
foreknow things
to come.

Plato geneth muche to dreames sent of God: and the Stoikes pronounced that dreames in the night, are as it were a familiar and domestical oracle, by which the God doth prouide for humane kinde. This will I not ouerpasse, that Augustine in the place before alledged vpon Genesis ad litteram, the. xii. booke, and. x. chap. doth demaund whither the Soule of it selfe haue power to foreknow things to come, and that by his own nature. And he denieth that it hath: because (saith he) if it had, it would vse it, when as al men do so earnestly desyre to knowe things to come. Wherefore visions and dreames of Prophets attaine to their truth, not by nature, but by God.

I regarde of
dreames is not
forbidden.

But now must we see, how the consideration of dreames shoulde be prohibited, seeing they are suggested by God and his Angels: for if the matter be so, then are not dreames to be contemned, but with diligence to be obserued. I answer thereto, that al regard of dreames is not forbidden, but that onely which is procured by euill and bayne artes, and which is accustomed to be obtained by whipping of Devils. Otherwise ther is nothing which letteth, but by dreames we may iudge of humors, or if they be of God, or by any meanes perceived to bee of him, to obey them. This is also forbidden, that wee extende not naturall dreames farther then their nature may suffer. And that doo they which apply dreames vnto euentes coming by chaunce, wherein they haue no respect, neyther to the cause, nor to the effect.

The Romane
lawes punished
Interpretours
of dreames.

And superstitious diuination by dreames, is not condemned by Christians onely, but also is extremely forbidden by the Romane lawes. For in the. 9. booke of the Code de maleficiis, & Mathematicis: In the law Et si excepta: It is ordained that such diuiners shoulde be very greuously punished, so that although they were in any place of dignity, yea and longed to Cesar him selfe, yet myght they be punished: which otherwise was not lawfull to do, to men of nobilitie. And by these wordes are they expressed: Aut narrandis somniis, occultam artem aliquam diuinandi, &c. And this difference which we here put for the lawfull and vnlawfull

A lawfull obser-
uation of dreames,
and an vnlawful.

full obseruation of dreames, is verie well sette forth in Ieremy the. 23. chapter. For there god by his Prophet detesteth vaine and sond dreames, but commendeth suche as are true and of god. In Dent. the. xviii. chap. obseruers of dreames seme generally to be reprobated. But we must know, that according to the truth of the Hebrew, there is no mention made of them. In deede other superstitions and idolatries are they condemned, but of dreames ther is nothing at al spoken, although in other places the wicked obseruation of them is reprobated. Wherefore

It is lawfull to
praye that wee
may be admoni-
shed, euen by
dreames.

the good & lawfull obseruation of them is not to be forbidden: yea, it is sometimes lawfull for holy men to pray, that they may be admonished euen in theyr dreames, of those things especially which they iudge meete, & cannot by them selues attaine vnto. Monica the mother of Augustine, being desirous to haue her sonne married, for the auoyding of fornication, desired god that he would reueale vnto her somewhat of that thing, euen in her sleepe: and she affirmed that god granted her a certaine taste, whereby she discerned those things which of her self she saw in her sleepe, from those things which were shewed her by the suggestion

Monica & mo-
ther of Augu-
stine.

of God. And this doth Augustine write in his. vi. booke of Confessions, the. iiii. chap. And leaving him, we knowe assuredly that Daniel prayed to come to the knowledge of the dreame of Nebuchad. Nezar. And this is to bee holden for certain, that it is the duty of godly men, to praye vnto God, that euen then also when we sleepe, we may be kept chaste and cleane, as touching the body and spirite. For which thing Augustine prayed in his booke of Confessions, the. i. booke and. 30. chap. For visions which come by night, wherewith either the mynde is troubled, or the body defiled, are punishmentes of synne, especiall of originall synne. For it should not haue bene so in Paradise, if Adam had abidde in that truth, wherin he was created, as Augustine writeth in his. v. booke against Iulianus, the. viii. chap. Now wil we retorne againe vnto the history.

16 And he deuided the. 300. men into thre bandes, and gaue euery man a trumpet in hys hand, wyth empty pytchers, and lampes wythin the pytchers.

17 And he sayd vnto them: Looke on me, and doo lyke wyse. For be hold I wil come to the syde of the host, & then euen as I do, so do ye.

18 For I wil blow wyth a trumpet, and al they that are wyth me: Then blow ye also wyth trumpets, on euery syde of the hoste, and ye shal say: For the Lord, and for Gideon.

19 So Gideon, and the hundreth men that were with hym, came vnto the outsyde of the hoste, in the beginning of the mydle watche, and they rayled by the watchmen, and they blew wyth their trumpets, and brake the pitchers, which they had in their handes.

Gideons industry or pollecy is here set forth, and the fauour wherewith God prospered his successes and enterpryses. He deuiderh his thre hundreth men into thre bandes, that he might on sundry partes inuade the Madianites, and by a sodaine feare trouble their hoste on euery syde. He vsed also another pollece concerning the time, for he set vpon them in the night. For when they were in a maner in a dead sleepe, they wer the easiler by a great hurly burly astonished wyth feare. Farther, he chused the mosse commodious part in all the night, for suche a purpose: for he assailed the Madianites about the beginning of the second watche or garde. Wherfore it is called Rosch Haticonath, that is, the heade or beginning of the middle watche or garde. This woord Toch signifieth wythin: and therof is deriued Ticonah, which is a mydle. Augustine in his Sermon De verbis domini, the. 14. Diction, sayth, that the Elders deuiderh the night into. 4. partes, of which euery one contained. 3. houres, which he confirmeth also by the testimonies of the holy scriptures. For it is said that the Lord came vnto the Apostles in the. 4. watch of the night, when they labored so vehemently in the sea, that their shyp was very neare soonke. The same father writeth the lyke thyng vpon the. 79. Psalme. The Glose also in the Decrees. 1. question, the. 1. Superueniente Pascha, maketh mencion of the names of those partes of the night, Contincium, Intempestum, Gallicinium, & Antelucanum, that is, the bed time, & dead part of the night, the Cocke crowing, and the dawning of the day.

Many pollices of Gideon.

Augustine. Ther are foure watches of the night, wherof euery one containeth thre houres.

And Isidorus in hys. v. booke of Etimologies, maketh. vii. partes of the nyght, for he addeth these thre, Vesperum, Crepusculum, and Matutinum, that is, the euentide, the twilight, & the morning. The second watch may be vnderstand the mydle watch, as touching our history. For ther are. 2. watches betwene the first and the last: wherfore howsoeuer it be, the second must needes occupy the mydle place. But the inuenter of these gardes or watches in hostes (as Plini writeth in his. 7. booke & 56. chap.) was Palamedes, which by this place we see cannot be so, forasmuch as the actes of the Iudges are of farre more antiquitye, then was Palamedes, vnles peraduenture he spake onely of the watches of the Grecians.

The inuention of nyght watches. Plinius.

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Watchmen for to geue warning of fyres. The vse of watches floozished in the olde tyme, not onely in hostes, but they were had in vse also, for the safe custody of manye other thinges. For at Rome there were watchmen, which in the night time went vp and downe the Citie, to geue warning of fyres, and therfore both in the Digest, and in the Code, the title is: De officio præfecti vigiliæ. This industrie also was translated vnto Shepheardes, which we may see euen by the Gospel: For in Luke the. ii. chap. the Angels, when Christ was bozne came vnto the Shepheardes, which kept watche ouer their flocke. We reade also, that both Ethnikes and Christians vsed watches in holy seruices. At Rome there were holy seruices vnto the Goddesse Bona, which were done in the night season. And in the old Testament we reade, that godly women abode all night at the tabernacle, for doing injury vnto whom, the children of Ely were accused.

Philo. Philo a Jewe (as Eusebius Cesariensis in his first booke rehearseth) affirmeth, that the Christians which were in the Apostles time, amongst other they laudable institutions, did most chassely watche, in geuing thanks vnto God, applying them selues vnto prayers, doctrines, and praylinges of God. **Tertulian.** Tertulian in his Apologie writeth, that the Christians supped oftentimes and moderately together, because they knew they should worshipping God in the night tyme. In the Actes Paul continued his sermon and disputation til after midnight, so that Eutichus a yong man being oppressed with sleepe, fel downe from a high loft. Peter, and Christ also, abode all night vpon the mountaine praying: and he reprehended the Apostles, which could not watch euen one houre with him, and exhorted them to watche and praye, that they might not be oppressed wyth temptation. **Ierome.** Ierome vpon the. 25. chap. of Mathew writeth, that the Jewes had a tradition, that the Messias would come at midnight, in which houre in dede the first boyn of Egypt were slayne. Wherfore he writeth, that he supposeth that that tradition came from the Apostles, that the Priestes in the holpe night of Easter shoulde not send away the people, so that if peradventure the Lord appeare, he may finde them watching. But this is not at this daye obserued: for the watches are not kept on the night of Easter, but on the night of the Fastiuitie.

Consilium Carthaginense. In the Counsell of Carthage the. 4. chap. 49. it is ordayned that a Priest, which without any necessity of his bodie, ceased from keeping night watches, should both be depriued of his degree, and also put out of his benefice. But in the Counsel of Eliberinum, chap. 35. watchings in Church yardes are prohibited, where they were wont to watch, hauing waxe candles lighted: which I suppose was inuented, not that by that obseruation they might deliuer the soules of the dead from purgatorie, but rather in honour of them. For as euerye man helde deare his friendes which were deade, that the memozy of them shoulde not bee forgotten, they watched at the place where they were buryed, one daye in the yeare, which we manifestly perceauie in the life of Hilarion, written by Ierome, where he telleth that a certaine Deacon sayd, that he should watch at the tombe of blessed Antony, within a day or two, because now a yeare, or certayne yeares were passed since he died. The Elders watched also at the Sepulchres of Martyrs, thereby to shew vnto them honoz, applying themselves to doctrine, exhortations, geuing of thanks, & prayers, especially in these perillous times, whē they might not easily in the day time assemble together. Farther, peradventure piety was by y meanes the better obserued. For in the day time men wer occupied w sundry labours & woakes. Wherfore, y the worshipping of God might not lye utterly neglected, they appointed certayne houres in the night for it.

Ierome against Vigilantius, maruelously comendeth the institutiō of y church for watching, & he thinketh y we shuld not cease fro this obseruation, although by occasion of these watches, some filthy thinges wer committed. For (saith he) the errors of yong men, and light women, which can synne also in an other place, and play filthy partes at home, ought not to reuoke vs from so holpe a custome.

But

But we see that at this day contrary to the sentence of Ierome, watches are abolished, not onely of Partics, but also those which were done in the honour of the Lord, as it manifestly appeareth in the Counsell of Antisiodorensis, chap. the. v. *Consilium Antisiodorensis.* although in some places there remaine some remnants of watches, as at Mantua upon the feast of Bartlemew, and at Versellison the night of Saint Eusebius. But al men know, how unreasonably and immoderately men be haue themselves in those watches. Wherefore they haue converted the obseruation of watchings into fastings. But what maner of fastings I pray you? Suche which they vse now adayes in abstayning from eating of fleshe. But whatsoeuer it be, the sentence of the Apostle is firme and constant, that the exercises of the body haue no great utility, but piety is of force to al thinges. We must in dede fast and watch, as much as reason requirerh, and strength of the body wil beare. And I doo not thinke that in this thing we ought with to much zeale to imitate Basilus, Nazianzenus and such like, which with outward obseruations so brake their bodies, that at the length they became vnprofitable, both to them selues, and also to others. The golden mediocritie is to be kept, wherein wee must keepe the laudable measure of frugalitie and temperaunce. And thus muche by the waye of watches.

Watches turned into fastings.

20 And the three bandes blew with trumpets, when they had broken their pitchers, and they tooke their lampes in their left handes: and the trumpets in their right hand, to blow withal, and they cryed: the sword of the Lord, and of Gideon.

21 And they stood euery man in his place, rounde about the host, and al the host brake theyr aray, and cryed, and fled.

The blowing of the trumpets, with the wonderful great cry of men, on euery syde, and the sodaine light, which the burning firebandes gaue, when the pitchers were broken, did not onely astonish the Madianites, but they being yet oppressed with sleepe, were so troubled, that they could not tel what to do. Wherefore they supposed that there were many and sundry hostes there, and had nowe inuaded their host, and God filled them with such a certaine dislines & madness, that they counted their fellow soldours in stead of enemies, and miserably slew one another. This warlike policie was not found out and inuented by Gideon himself onely, but, as it is to be beleued, he did it by the suggestion of y^e holy gost. And how God fauoured his enterprises, the holy hystory declareth, whereby we might learne, that God must prosper our enterprises, otherwise they are easily made bayne and of no force. For trumpets, firebandes, and empty pitchers, of their own disposition and nature, haue smal force to obtaine a victorie, especially if euery one of the be taken a part, & although being ioyned together, they seme that they can do somewhat, yet if God had not added his power, they wold haue bene but laughed at. And they cryed: The sword of God, and of Gideon. God is mentioned as the true & principall efficient cause, & Gideon is added vnto him, as a fellow worker and instrument appointed to this worke. And it is not therfore so written, because the victorie should after a sort be parted, and the one halfe geuen vnto God, & the other part to Gideon, whereby thing also we must obserue as touching eternal saluatio. For we must count the obtaining of it, to be wholly receaued of God, and not by free wyl, as the Pelagians do. Not vndoubtedlye to the ende we should lyue wholly, or cease fro good workes, when as Paul to the Philip. expessedly commaunderh, that we should worke our own saluatio: but that we might vnderstand that all that we do, is of him, enē as in the same place it is added: For it is he which worketh in vs, both to wil & to perform, according to his good pleasure. Of this victorie the. 83. Psalm maketh mencion: Doo vnto them as thou diddest vnto Madian, as vnto Horeb, & Zeb, & Zebah, & Zalmona.

The holy ghost suggested this warlike policie

The victorie must not be parted betwene God & Gideon

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Which sheweth vnto vs that the order of this history is diligentlpe to be kept in remembrance of vs, that wee maye hope for the like, by prayers desire, thein of God, and haue a confidence to obtaine them. And not onely David maketh mention of this narration, but also Esay in his. i. chap. where he entreateth of Sennacherib. God (saith he) will raise vp a whip, like the destruction of Madian. And in very dede it so happened, as the Prophet prophesied: for the whole hoste of that king was by God destroyed, as was this host of the Madianites.

The names of the Captaynes of the Madianites do expresse the nature of tyrannies.

And as touching the names of these Captaines, they doo verpe well signifie their tyranny. Aareb is a waster, Zaab is a woulfe, Sabchah is killing, and Salmona is prohibiting shadowe and refreshing. So do tyrannes behaue themselves, they wast and rauen all thinges, they kil lyke woulues, and take awaye all refreshing and commoditie from their subiectes: when as yet if they were Princes in dede, they should do farre other wise. But God so punisheth them, that he will haue their wicked affectiōs of their myndes, manifested not onely in dedes, but also in their names. Wea, and they them selues, as though they wer not sufficiently described and expresse in the holy scriptures, haue framed vnto themselves certayne armes, tending verpe muche to this purpose. None of them in a maner doo in their armes cary vertues, but Lions, Woulues, Tigers, Beares, Eagles and such lyke, whereby they rather set forth their cruelty, then vertue and goodnesse.

22 And when the. 300. men blew with trumpets, the Lord set euery mans swoord vpon hys neyghbour, and vpon all the hoste. So the host fled vnto Beth-Nasitah in Zereth, and to the border of Abel meolah vnto Tabath.

23 Then the men of Israel were gathered together out of Naphthali, and out of Aser, and out of al the tribe of Manasses, and pursued after Madian.

This counsell or act of God is no new or vnaccustomed thing. For so dyd he when Ionathas with his armour bearer came vnto the host of the Philistians, as we reade in the first booke of Samuel. And that is not vnlike whiche in the second booke of Paralip. the. ii. chap. is written, of the battaile, which in the time of Iehosaphat the king, was fought with the Moabites and Ammonites. For in those battailes also the enemies of the Israelites wounded one another. And Goliath was by David slayne with his own swoord. And we also in these daies haue many times experience of the like benefites. For when our aduersaries haue decreed by violence and force bitterly to oppresse vs, by a wonderfull prouidence they haue turned their force against themselves, and being letted by manye slaughters and warres, they haue ceased from their enterprises most cruel.

24 And Gideon sent messengers vnto al mount Ephraim, saying: Come downe agaynste the Madianites, and take before them the waters, euen vnto Beth-Bara, and Iordan. Then all the men of Ephraim gathered together, and tooke the waters vnto Beth Bara and Iordan.

25 And they tooke twoo Princes of Madian, Hozeb, and Zeb, and slewe Hozeb vpon the rocke of Hozeb, and slewe Zeb at the wyne presse of Zeb. And they pursued the Madianites. And they brought the heades of Hozeb and Zeb vnto Gideon beyonde Iordan.

Now were other of the Israelites gathered together, as Aser, Naphthali, and Manasses. Gideon also sent vnto the Ephraites, that the victorie which he had gotten

ten might on euery syde haue a lucky ende. He enuieyth not to haue a companion of his glory, when as yet he with a few put himselfe in great danger. I would to God we were so consigned in the Church, that when wee haue begone any good and profitable institution, we woulde for the performance of the same, desire other to helpe vs: but, which is to be lamented, as our sinnes do deserue, we oftentimes let one another.

Come down against the Madianites, & take before them the waters. As touching these waters, the Interpreters do varye. Kimhi thinketh that it is not Iordane, his reason is, because it is added, euen vnto Iordane, R. Semoloh vnderstandeth that of those waters which descendeth Palestine, or the lande of Chanaan, from Siria, and among those waters he reckoneth Iordane. But the place of Beth-Bara is to be noted, because of the first chap. of Iohn, where our translation hath Bethania, which in dede lyeth farre distant from Iordane, neither did Iohn there baptise those that came vnto hym. But the Greeke text hath Bethabara. Wherefore it is thought that this place, whereof we now entreate, is ther ment. He commaundeth that the waters should straghtway be prevented from those which fled, whilst yet they were troubled with feare, before they shoulde recover strength vnto them againe. For he knew that it was very much hurtfull for Capitaines, slowlye and softlye to pursue the victoꝝ. Wherefore he addeth all speede, least his enemies might haue space geuen them to vnderstande theyr rout, and to renewe their power again. And therfore he commaundeth that with speede they should meete them, that the victoꝝ begone, myght at the lengthe haue a full ende.

We must not slowlye followe the victoꝝ.

And they tooke twoo Princes. The Ephraites accomplished that which Gideon commaunded, in preventing those that fled, and they slew the Captains of the Madianites: Horeb they slew at the rocke, which was afterwarde called by his name, and Zeb in the wynepresse, which Kimhi expoundeth, as though there were there a playne countrey. Those forme or figure was lyke a wynepresse. The Ephraites brought the heades of the twoo Princes vnto Gideon beyond Iordane. This is supposed to be now put in by the figure Prolepsis: for it is thought that it was not done tyll suche time as Gideon had returned fro the victoꝝ being finished. In the meane time let vs consider the ignominy that god put those tyrannes vnto, bringing their most proude heades vnder the power of the Israelites, whom they counted for people very abiet, and wonderfullie oppressed them with their cruelty. It is thought that the head of Pompeius which was offered vnto Cesar, dyd much encrease the calamity of that man. It is also declared that the heade of Cicero was brought vnto Anthonius, as a thing most miserable.

But now in felwe woordes we must touche the Allegoꝝ of this act, not undoubtedly a bayne Allegoꝝ, but which is drawn out of the fountaines of the holy scriptures. Esay in the. lx. chap. intreating of the redemption by Christ, writeth in this maner: The yoke of his burthen, the staffe of his shoulder, and the rod of his oppressor, hast thou overcome, as in the days of Madian. By whiche woordes is shewed, that this victoꝝ is to be referred vnto that deliuerie from synne, which by Christ we haue obtayned. Next ther doo these trumpets portend any other thing then the preaching of the Gospel, now spread abroade throughout the whole worlde. For God geueth saluation vnto the worlde, by the ministry and doctrine of the Church, not as though this were sufficient, but the pillars being broken, burning spechandres are shewed forth, because by the death of Christ vpon the crosse, the lyght of the holpe ghost shyneth in the hartes of men, and the cries of prayers are adioyned, from whence saluation cometh vnto the true Israelite.

An Allegoꝝ taken out of the holy scriptures

The. viii. Chapter.

1. **W**hen the me of Ephraim said vnto him: why hast thou done thys vnto vs, that thou calledst vs not, whē thou wētest to fight with the Madianites? And they chode with him sharply.

2. To whom he answered: what haue I nowe done in comparison of you? Is not the gleanng of grapes of Ephraim better, then the vintage of Abiezer?

3. God hath deliuered into your handes the Princes of Madian, Horeb, and Zeeb: and what was I able to do, in comparisō of you? And when hee had thus spoken, then their spiritēs abated towarde hym.

The Ephraites
nobler thē they
of Manasse.

The Ephraites enuied Gideon, bicause great glozpe rebounded vnto hym by this battaille. That Tribe was much moze noble then the Tribe of Manasses. For Iacob when he blessed the sonnes of Ioseph, stretching out his hands preferred Ephraim which was the yonger, before Manasses, whiche otherwyse was the first bozne. Wherefoze it is no maruail, if they now tooke it hainouslye, that they of Manasses carped away the victoꝝ without their conduct.

Is not the gleanng of grapes of Ephraim. Gideon aunswereth verys wittely, and by gentle wooꝝdes allwaged the spiritēs of the Ephraites. By the name of spirite I vnderstand violence, which proceeded of arrogancy and haughtyness of mynde, as we reade in the Gospel: Blessed are the poore in spirite. Heres by it appeareth that a gentle answer breaketh anger. That which sprang of enuy, he so semeth to haue taken it, as though they had bene styꝝed by by a certain honest emulation, and desired that they also might be authors of the libertye of the Israelites. They which be enuious, are wont to be soꝝy for this, bicause they want some good thing, which they see other haue alreadye obtayned. Gideon sheweth them, that the matter is not so as they thinke so: when as the greater part of this victoꝝ rebounded vnto them. V What haue I done (sayth he) that may be compared wyth your acte? I beganne the warre in deede, but ye haue slayne Horeb and Zeeb, which was the principallest thing in this battayle. The gleanng of your grapes, are better then my wynepresse. For the two Princes, whom ye haue both taken and killed, are of much moze price then the rest of the multitude, which I haue vanquished. And if a regard should be had vnto the Tribe or family, the least part of the tribe of Ephraim is better, and stronger, then all the power and ability of the Abiezerites. Gideon telleth them not that he was peculiarly chosen of God vnto this office: for that woulde moze haue prouoked them to anger. Wherefoze he thought to geue place to the despye of glozpe, wherewith they burned, and to their enuiousnes. And yet in the mean time he lieth not: for asmuch as the tribe of Ephraim was most strong. Neither could Gideon by himselfe, or by his own power perfoꝝme those thinges which they did, althoughe by the fauour and helpe of God he dyd greater thinges.

Of the affections of enuy and emulation.

But I thinke it good some what to speake of the affections, namely of Enuy & Emulation, & such like. Affections (as it is wel known) pertain vnto the general woꝝd of quality, & are contayned in that soꝝme, which is cōmonly called Palsio, & passibilis qualitas. And amongst those ther are two moze grosse & very cōmon, Delectation (I say) & Dolor. Their chief place is in the synowes, which are dispersed in a maner thꝝoughout the whole body. Vnto which, when either agreeable thinges to nature, or thinges contrary are applied, then either we haue a delectatiō, or els a grief. Farther, ther are other affectiōs which solow knowlege, by

four principal
affections
whych followe
knowledge.

by whiche as their nature is, the heart altereth by motion by mouing the pulse either bywarde or downeward, accoꝝdyng as knowledge doth receaue good or euill, & that either present or els nye at hand. For when we see that good is present, the heart therewith is ioconde, and is affected pleasantly. And this affectio is called Gladnesse. But if we perceaue that the good is not present, but not far from vs, yea at hand and very nyghe to be obteyned, then are we stirred by hope to attayne it, and the heart is in like sorte pleasantly moued. But when we see that euill is present, the heart stirreth alway with a heauy motion, for it is contracted, it abhorred it, and is vexed: and this affection is wont to be called both payne, and grief, in Greeke it is called *λύπη*, so called as the Stoikes thinke, as though it were *λύσις*: that is consumption: for euen as the body of him that is sicke wasteth away by sicknesse, so the mynde semeth in a maner to weare away with sorow. There is also an other knowledge of euill, not now beyng present, but whiche already is at hand. The heart styeth from that also, and by hys mouyng very manifestly declineth from it: and such an affection is called Feare.

Of those foure principall affections, these are now to be entreated of, whiche haue their begynnyng of Penynesse, or Grief. And they also are reckened to be foure. Mercy, Nemelus, Enuy, and Emulation, of whiche Aristotle in his Rethorikes hath wrytten many goodly thynges.

But befoze we entreate particularly of them, one thing is to be enquired of: Whether Affections are to be counted good or euill. The Stoikes affirme that they are euill, and they haue vniuersally condemned affections, this reason lea- dyng them thereunto, bycause by them the mynde, iudgement, and sound Counsell is troubled. For they so distract and shake the mynde or reason, that it can not at pleasure and quietly haue the contēplatio of thynges naturall and diuine, neither orderly and rightly determine of thynges to be done. Farther, because by their wayght they oftentymes bryue men to perpetrate filthy and vnjust thynges: yea and they hurte the body also, when they are very vehement. These in a maner are the reasons of the Stoikes. The Peripatetians teache muche otherwise, that is, that those thynges are not true, which the Stoikes affirme, but when affections are not chastised & kept vnder by reason, then are they suffered immoderately to runne at randon. For eue þ affections, if they be kept in with certain bondes, are both good and profitable, as beyng the matter of vertues, and whiche are by nature appoynted for their whetstones. For anger bryngeth no small helpe vnto strength, and mercy is set vnder the vertue of clemency. And in the same maner it may be sayd of many other.

But this sentence wherin the Philosophers do so disagree, must be decided by the iudgement of the holy scriptures. They wryte, þ man both as touching soule and as touching body was created of God. And they adde, that all thynges were good, what soeuer God created. Wherfoze for as much as he planted affections in man, but not euill and corrupt, as now we haue them, but right and sound, which should obey and serue reason, they must of necessity be good. Farther the lawe of God both every where commend vnto vs mercy, and preacheth repentance, whiche can not consist without payne and grief of the mynde. Dauid also wryteth, and Paul repeteth it, be ye angry, but sinne not. Yea and whiche more is, affections are ascribed euen vnto God, as Anger, Mercy, Grief, Repentance, &c. which thynges althoughe they are not properly spokē of him, yet this must we marke, that in the holy scriptures that is neuer attributed vnto God, whiche in a man is of it selfe vice, or of his owne nature sinne. This so discussed, let vs now entreate of mercy.

Of Mercy.

Mercy is a grief of the mynde, which we take for the aduersity of other men, as Cicero saith) a grief takē for an others mā misery. Aristotle teacheth, that

Laticia.

Spes.

Dolor vel

Aegritudo.

λύπη.

Metus.

The foure affections whiche haue their begynnyng of Grief & payne. *Misericordia.*

Nemesis.

Inuidia.

Emulatio.

Whether affections be good or euill.

The Stoikes.

The Peripatetians.

What the holy scriptures affirme of affections

Cicero.

Aristotle.

Do. llll.

that

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that Mercy is stirred vp, if we see any suffer greuous things which they haue not deserued. For if wicked men be iustly punished, Mercy is not therfore stirred vp. Farther he thinketh, that those cases whiche we pitye, should be terrible, otherwise if they be but light, we are by them litle or nothing moued. Lastly that they are touched with mercy, which do thinke that such things may sometymes happen either vnto themselves or to some of their friends. Which is the cause, that Aristotle supposeth, that they which are in prosperity, and do iudge themselves happy, are not prone vnto mercy, yea they are wont to scoffe & mocke those which are in misery, as they which thinke nothing can hurte them. Likewise he remoueth this affection from such as are desperate and in a most miserable state, because they are not afraid that any worse thing can happen vnto them, then that whiche they haue already. Wherefore they seme in that desperate fortune to haue become men without senses. But if this were true, a man might doubt, by what meanes mercy can be ascribed vnto God, for asmuch as he without controuersy is most blessed, and nothing can hurt hym. But to this might be answered, that mercy is not properly attributed vnto god, but by a metaphoze taken of man, because he doth those things, which mercifull men are wont to do. For they helpe the afflicted, which self same thing god also doeth. But in this thing I agree not vnto Aristotle, whiche will not haue mercy to be shewed vnto those whiche are iustly punished. For Samuel mourned long time for Saul, who God reiected not vnwoorthily, but most iustly. Christ also wept over the destruction of Ierusalem which was at hand vnto that City, not vndoubtedly without deserte, but iustly. Neither thinke I this true, that sinnes, which some men commit, do not stirre vp mercy, but onely calamities & aduersities do stirre vp mercy. For holy men are no lesse grieved for other mens causes, when they fall into greuous sinnes, then they are when they be oppressed with euil fortune, yea they are so much the more grieved, as that euil is more pernicious, and lesse able to be cured. Wherefore we can not deny, but that mercy is a good affection, for as much as it obeyeth the worde of God and reason, especially seying the Lord by his own mouth hath pronounced, that the mercifull are blessed, because they also shall obtayne mercy.

Mercy is also
to be shewed
vnto those
which iustly are
punished.

Nemesis.

Holy men often
cymes at sicke
of Nemesis.

Plutarke.

How mercy &
Nemesis agree
and differ.

The other affection which hath his beginning of Heuinesse or Grief, is called Nemesis: the same hath no Latine worde, although of some it be called Indignatio, that is Indignation, which yet by that worde do not expresse all that affection: for Indignation extendeth farther than Nemesis. But leauing the worde, let vs thus define the thing. Nemesis is a grief, which is taken for prosperity of wicked men, because they seme vnwoorthy of that fortune. Just and holy men are sicke oftentimes of this affection. Dauid when he saw the vngodly flourishing, said: My sete were almost moued. Abacuk also, was grieved that the vngodly were of such force, that they could oppresse the saintes, and deuoure the iust. And Iob seemeth in a maner to complayne vnto his friends for the same thing. Farther Plutarke in the lyfe of Homere praiseth this affection, and by occasion thereof he preferreth the Peripatetians in disputing of Affections before the Stoikes, & especially by the iudgement of Homere, who affirmeth that God at the length will angerly punish, after that the wicked haue a certayne while flourished. Howbeit this is to be obserued, that men are not grieved with this affection, for that they shall suffer any losse, by reason of the prosperous successe of the wicked, or because that they by their power can hurt them. For if they were in this maner grieved, they should not be troubled with Nemesis, but rather with feare. But Nemesis is then, when a man for the lucky successe of the wicked, is moued with astonishment & hatred of the vnwoorthinesse of the person.

This affection in two things communicateth with Mercy: first because either of them is a Heuinesse: farther, because eche of the is stirred vp by the vnwoorthinesse of the thing. Mercy, because good men are grieved and oppressed, and Nemesis, because wicked men lyue happily. But in this afterwarde they differ, by cause

cause Nemesis hath a respect vnto prosperous fortune, & Mercy vnto sharpe fortune. Wherefore Nemesis is in a maner a meane affection betwene Enuy & Mercy, for of either it seemeth to take some what of mercy it taketh vnto worthinesse: of Enuy prosperity, which it hath a respect vnto. Furthermoze Aristotle teacheth y none are affected with Nemesis for other mens vertues: for if otherwise they of vicious and corrupt men, become iust, moderate, strong, and temperate men, we are not then angry, bycause when they are adorned with vertues, they are no longer counted wicked men. But then at the last we are affected with Nemesis, when those good things come vnto wicked men, with which we thinke y good men ought to be rewarded, as are riches, honours, power, fauor, & such like. But godly men must wisely deale with this affection, that when their myndes are affected with it, bycause of the felicity of the vngodly, let them haue a regarde vnto God, which is the true gouerner and distributor of all good things. Wherefore if men should bestow these outward goods vpon the vnworthy, their vniustice might iustly be repproued. But such a reprehension hath no place in God, bycause he doth all things most iustly. This thing Dauid when he did not diligently consider, sayd: My sete were almost moued. As though he should haue sayd: By reason of this Nemesis I had almost grievously fallen. Wherefore we must seldome geue place to this affection, least we seme to reprehende the Providence of God.

Aristotle.

We must seldom geue place to Nemesis.

Inuidia.

Inuidencia.

Cicero.

How enuy and enuidence differ.

The definition of Enue.

Now must we speake of enuy. Cicero thinketh that it should rather be called Enuidence, for they among Latine men are sayd to be sicke with Enuy, which are enated. But Enuidence pertayneth to them, which consume away with this disease. And therfore he thinketh that Enuy or Enuidence is therfore so called, bycause that they which are enuous, do to much looke vpon other mens fortune. Enuy therfore is a grief which is take for an other mans prosperity, especially of those which are equal & like vnto vs. For a poore man enueth not a king, neither do beggers enuy noble men. We enuy those that are like & equall vnto vs. And the likenesse is to be vnderstand, as touching kintred, riches, beauty, age, witte, dignity, and such like. The cause of Enuidence is not, bycause we feare that some hurte is at hand of those whom we enuy: for that should be feare. But of a certayne hatred and stomacke we can not abide the prosperity of other men, especially of our matches and like. And therof Enuy is the cause.

Enuy is euermoze counted euill, and it is by the holy scriptures grievously repproued. For it is most manifestly against Charity. For the Apostle said vnto the Corinth: the 1. chap. Charity enueth not. For Paul taketh not properly there y worde ζηλον which is turned enuy. But to the Galathians he moze playnly for: biideth enuy, writing: Be not ye made desirous of vayne glory, prouoking one an other, and enuieng one an other: Where not only Enuy is repproued, but the mother of it is also shewed, namely desire of glory. As also we may in this history perceaue. For the Ephraites enuied Gideon, bycause the glory of so great a victory seemed to rebound vnto him. And this affectio is of force in all those things, wherein we desire to excell. Neither absteyneth it also from vertues: for y enuous persons would not that his matches and like should excell him in any ornament of vertues. But the cause why enuy is conuersant among like, is this, bycause although the prosperous fortune of like or matches, doth take away none of our goods, neither maketh vs lesser then we are, yet the Enuous person so thinketh of the good things of other men, as though by them his honor & dignity, gayne, and other ornamentes were darkened. And this is not to be left vnspoken of, y every enuous person is one that reioyseth in an other mans hurte: for he reioyseth in the aduersity of his equall. Yet are not these to be counted for one and the selfe same vice, seying they pertayne vnto contrary motions of the mynde. For Enuidence is a grief or sorrow, when he that reioyseth in an other mans hurte is affected with ioy. Yet are these vices, although they be diuerse, other wise so joined together, that there is no enuous man which is not moued with the reioy

Charitye & ζηλον.

Desire of glory is the mother of Enuy.

Of επιχαρις κακια.

Every enuous manne is επιχαριστικος that is one that reioyseth at another mans hurte.

spng

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ling in the hurt of an other. And hereby it manifestly appeareth that Enuidence plainly is contrary vnto Mercy. For it lamenteth an other mans misery, but the enuious man reioyseth therein, because of the disease of reioysing in the hurt of an other wherewith he is sicke. They that are affected with Nemesis want not also this motion of the mynde. For he which is soz for his prosperous successe of wicked men, the same man is also affected with pleasure, when he seeth them oppressed and veyed. The Latines haue no worde to expresse this kynde of ioye, wherewith both the enuious man, and he that hath Nemesis is affected, in beholding an others mans prosperity.

Nemesis is ioyed also with
καταπικαρία

Of emulation.

Lastly we must entreate of Emulation, which is a grief of the minde, whiche we conceane for good things whiche happen vnto other, whiche we want, whiche we thinke should beautify vs, & would gladly attayne vnto them. By this motion of the minde we desire not, that other men should be depriued of their ornaments, but that grieve us, because we our selues are destitute of the. And it is a point of a good nature, in this maner to be affected: therfore Emulation is numbred among laudable Affections. Cicero in his Tusculan questions, defineth it to be a grief, which proceedeth of that, that an other enioyeth that good thing whiche we desire. The same writer obserueth also, that Emulation is sometymes so taken, that it nothing differeth from Enuidence: wherfore it is sometymes reprobued.

Emulation is counted among laudable affections.

But if the definition thereof be receaued, as it is now alledged, it is an affection laudable, because it maketh men better: for it bisseth to bring forth the imitation of good things. But we must take hede, whiche vndoubtedly is easely done, that it degenerate not into Enuy, and Emulation proceede not so farre, that we should wish that men fortunate and noble, and also wise men, might be spoiled of their ornaments & good things. Wherfore Cicero sayd, that that Emulation is laudable, which is not like vnto riuallity. For this is the nature of those that be Riuales, so to enioy their delightes, that they utterly exclude all other. But adding these cautions, Emulation is both good and holy. Wherfore Paul exhorted the Corinthians to emulate Charity, and the chiefest giftes. This affection is chiefly occupied about vertues, and all thinges which are had in honour and admiraciō. For that which a man contemneth and dispyseth, he bisseth not to emulate. Emulation hath hope continually ioynd with it, of obteyning that which it desireth. For if a man should dispayre, it is not possible that he should emulate. And thus much of these affections.

We must beware that Emulation degenerate not into enuy.

Cicero.

Riuallity is the enuy betwene two louing one woman.

The matter wherin Emulation is occupied.

Emulation hath hope ioynd with it.

The Ephraimites were like of Enuy, and not of Emulation.

Wherfore we gather that the Ephraimites were moued with enuy against Gideon, because they would haue him depriued of the glory whiche he had gotten. Neither contended they so, because they studied to do the like, although peradventure they made that their pretence. But Gideon maketh not mentiō vnto them of his vocation, labour, industry, loue of his countrey, his good acte, & such other thinges, which might haue serued to the amplifieng of his deserts towarde the people, and of his dignity. For by that meanes he should the moze haue moued them to enuy: but after a sort he gaue place vnto them, & interpreteth their affection, as though it were an honest emulation. And teacheth them, that they haue now the fruit of this affectiō, because they had not only imitated him, but they had done moze then he had accomplished. But now let vs returne vnto the History.

4 And Gideon came vnto Iorden to passe ouer, he and the 300. me that were with him, weary, yet pursuing them.

5 And he sayd vnto the men of Succoth: Geue, I pray you, morsels of bread vnto this people that are at my fete, for they are weary: & I will follow after Zebah and Zalmonah Kinges of Madian.

6 And one of the princes of Succoth sayd: Are the handes of Zebah, and Zalmonah now in thine hande, that we should geue bread vnto

unto thine army?

7 Gideon then sayd: Therfore, when the Lorde hath deliuered Zebah, & Zalmonah into myne hand, then I will beate in peeces your fleſhe with thornes of the wilderneſſe and with briars.

8 And he went vp thence vnto Penuel, and ſpake vnto them lyke wiſe, and the men of Penuel aunſwered hym: as the men of Succoth aunſwered.

9 And he ſayd alſo vnto the men of Penuel: when I come agayn in peace, I will breake downe this Tower.

10 Nowe Zebah and Zalmonah were in Karkoz, & their hoſtes with the, about fiſten thouſand, al ſ were left of all the hoſtes of the childre of Kedem: & they which wer ſlayne, were an hundred & twenty thouſand men that dre w ſwordes.

11 And Gideon went thorough them that dwelt in tabernacle, on the Eaſt ſide of Nobah, Jogbehah, and ſmote the hoſte, for the hoſt was careleſſe.

12 And when zebah and zalmonah fled, he followed after them, and tooke the two kynges of Madian, zebah and zalmonah, and diſcofited all the hoſt.

13 So Gideon the ſonne of Joas returned from the battayle, befoze the ſunne roſe vp.

After a long parentheſis the hiſtory returneth vnto the laſt order of ſ thing that was done, and declareth in what ſorte the ende of the battayle was. When the Madianites and they of the Caſte had wounded themſelues one an other, and a few of them whiche remayned, fled away: Gideon purſued after them, & paſſed ouer Iordane. And bycauſe he had laboured all the night, and ſawe that his thre hundred men were weary, he would ſomewhat reſreſh them. Therfore he requi red meat of ſ city of Succoth for his fellow ſouldiers. And Succoth lyeth beyond Iordane in the tribe of Gad, Iacob builded it, when he departed from ſaluting his brother Eſau. Whiche I therfore ſpeake, bycauſe there is an other place which is likewiſe called Succoth, but it belongeth vnto Egypt, and is numbred among the firſt mention places of the children of Iſraell.

Two ſuites
coths.

Gideon deſireth that he might haue geuen him Kichroth, that is round peces of bread for his weary ſouldiers. Undoubtedly, if he had required great plenty of bread or meat generally, they of Succoth might after a ſorte haue ben excuſed. But by name he deſired onely bread. Therfore they whiche would not do that, can not but be condemned of great inhumanite. He bringeth two cauſes of his request: my fellow ſouldiers, ſaith he, are weary, namely bycauſe for the publique health they haue laboured all night: wherby he ſignified that they were not vnworthy of their reſward. Farther we purſue the Madianites, puttyng our ſelues agayn in daunger for the health of the Hebrewes. Either of theſe cauſe were ſufficient ynoughe to allure their beneuolence.

He bringeth
two cauſes of
his request.

The princes of Succoth aunſwere, namely one for them all, and therfore it is ſayd in the ſingular number, Vainomer, and he ſayd. Wherby is ſignified that onely the princes and ſenators of this city were in the faulte, and therfore they were at the length (as after ward ſhalbe declared) puniſhed by Gideon, and he threatned them only, as it is here wrytten. They do not onely reſuſe to geue bread, but alſo they ſcozne the man. Are, ſaith they, the handes of zebah and zalmonah in thy power? Thou ſpeakeſt vnto vs with ſo greate a ſtouteneſſe, and ſo deſireſt bread, as though thou haſdeſt already taken them. Gideon was grievouſly angry with theſe mockes for ſo vnworthy a contempt, and he freely and playnely ſpake,

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spake, what he would do agaynst them.

If these vngodly and rude men had bene wise, they would haue sorned them selues vnto him, to assiste his endeuor in fighting for the common health. But this they do not impudently deny bread which men vse to geue vnto suche as are weary and hungry, although they be strangers. A wonderfull diuersity vndoubtedly of things: The Madianites which were strangers, were afrayd and fled: but those which were Israelites, mocke Gideon the conquerer. If thou wilt saye they were ignorant of his vocation: we may aunswere, that they could not deny, but that his worke was good. But graunt that they doubted of the vocation and principality of Gideon, what excuse at the laste can they moste wanton derision haue? For so did Nabal the Carmelite behaue hymselfe towarde Dauid, when he required some meate of hym for his souldiers, making mention of his sayth, and the fidelitie of his men, in safegardying his thynges. But he dyd not onely deny vnto hym that humanity, but sent away the messengers laden with contumelies. The thynges which Gideon required,

Stipendes and victuals are due vnto an hoste which goeth on warfare.

were iuste and honest. For stipendes and vittalles are due vnto the Magistrates, for as muche as he laboureth for the publique vtility. Wherefore Paul sayeth: Wherefore ye geue vnto hym tribute, because he is the Minister of God, namely in defendyng the innocent, and punishyng the guilty. Wherefore they of Succoth were bounde to geue those thynges which were desired, by the duety of iustice. For the same Apostle writeth, render vnto euery man that which is due: to whome tribute belongeth, tribute, to whom custome is due, custome, &c. The Ethnikes also saw this, whē as there are many ciuile lawes extāt, which doo both weyghtely and moste iust prouide, that souldiers should haue vittalles founde them, when they goo on warfare. And howe muche they synned in mockyng so greate a man, we may gather by the wordes of Christ, who sayeth: If a man saye vnto an other man foole, or Racha, he shalbe guilty of iudgement and Counsell: how muche moze shall he be condemned, which wantonly scoffeth and mocketh his Magistrate? Some prynces dyd seuerely punish those which with contumelies reproched euen theyr images: what ought this man to doo with those, which so mocked hym to his face? These thynges I therfore speake, that we shoulde not thinke that Gideon did vnjustly threaten them. It is not for priuate men to reuenge theyr owne iniuries: But it is the office of the Magistrate to reuenge both his owne iniuries and other mennes, and in reuengyng his owne, he reuengeth also other mennes iniuries. For what soeuer contumely is committed agaynst a prince, it redoundeth vnto the publique wealth and all princes. Gideon at this present dyd onely threaten, yet he stayed not there, least by occasion of reuengyng of his owne injury, the commodity of the victorie, wherunto he was called by God, shoulde be bindyd. He differed therfore that which belonged vnto hymselfe: but with speede he prosecuteth that, which chiefly pertayned to the deliuey of the publique wealth. But princes at this daye do otherwise, who rather make warre amonge themselves, and that for very lyght causes, then they will take in hande a common cause and defence agaynst the Turke. Yea and there are some, and those of the Cardinales, which write that they will (if they can) call backe Cesar himselfe from that course of victorie, wherewith he might obteyne agayne euen the City of Constantinople, and to punish the Germaines and Englishemen, and other which fell from the Church of Rome.

Furthermoze, Gideon is for this thyng to be praysed, namely because, although meate wanted, and he was despyed of the Hebrewes, yet he desisted not from that vocation, wherein he was constituted by God. But now both princes and ministers of the Church will not abyde in theyr office, vnlesse thynges necessary for theyr luyng be moste abundantly ministred vnto them. He threateneth thornes and briars vnto the princes of Succoth. For that little which

whiche the Ethnikes call Trogloditis, had a desert in the circuite therof, wher
in grewe many thornes and bzars. Penuel is of Strabo called the face of God: <sup>Why he threat
nerh thornes &
bzars.</sup> in which place Iacob wrestled with þe aungell, and sayd at the last: I haue sene
the Lord face to face, and my soule hath escaped safe. The menne of Penuel ^{Pennel.}
in mockyng Gideon imitated them of Succoth, and bycause they puttyng theyr
confidence in the Tower whiche they had, did so scoffe at Gideon, therfore he
threatened to ouerthrowe it after hys victoꝛye. But howe thys Capitayne of
G D got meate, it is not wrytten: and peraduenture G D so strengthened
him and hys holle, that without meate he perfectly obtayned the victoꝛye whiche
he had begon.

He spyndeth hys enemyes luyng in securite: it was nyght when he passed
ouer Iordane: and they had but euen now escaped out of the borders of the Isra-
elites, and they thought þe Gideon would be in quiet at the least for that nyght.
These were the causes, that they so securely rested themselves. There were fift-
tene thousand souldiers together, as certayne small remnautes: for at the be-
gynnyng there came one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, which
flooded in the bzunte, and boze weapons. Whereby we may easely gather what
a greate number there were of boyes, scullions, and vnprofitable men, whiche
vse to folowe hostes. When the two kynges were taken, Gideon returned,
when the Sunne was eleuated, that is, after his rysing: by whiche kynde of spea-
kyng, we manifestly know, that this warre, as it was begon in the night tyme,
so also was it finished by nyght.

14 And he tooke a seruaunte of the men of Succoth: and enquired
of him: and he wroote to him the princes of Succoth, and the Elders
therof euen seuentye and seven men.

15 And he came vnto the men of Succoth, and said: Behold Zebah
and Zalmonah by whom ye vpbayded me, saying: Are the hands of
Zebah and Zalmonah now in thy hande, that thou desirest, that we
should geue bread vnto thy weary men?

16 Then he tooke the Elders of the City, and thornes of the desert
and bzars and brake with them the men of Succoth.

17 Also he brake downe the Tower of Penuel, and slew the men
of the City.

Gideon requyred of this fellowe beyng either a younge man or a seruaunte,
to describe vnto hym the names of the princes or Senatoꝛs of Succoth. He tru-
steth not his memoꝛy, but will haue their names wrytten, and studyeth for this
thyng onely, not to commit any thyng by anger with a furious minde. And ther-
fore with mature deliberation he would punish onely the guilty, and not destroy
the vnguilt together with the guilty. He sawe that onely the heades of the Ci-
ty resisted him, wherfore he determined to punish them alone. Theodosius, an
Emperoꝛ otherwise most worthy of prayse, fell greivously, bycause in the City
of Thessalonica, for the kyllynge of one souldier, whiche bare rule vnder him, he
commaunded a great number of Citezens to be slayn without any choise, wherby
both the guilty, and the innocent were killed. Wherefore he was corrected by
the authoꝛyte of Ambrosius beyng Bishoppe, and compelled to publique re-
pentance: and by the commaundement of the same man of G D he made a
lawe, whiche is yet in the Code, that the sentence of death beyng pronounced
agaynst any man, should be stayed the space of thirtie dayes, before he should
be put to execution. But nowe a dayes it oftentimes cometh to passe, that
some publique wealth is moste greivously oppressed, if two, thre, or foure Cite-
zens thereof haue offended: all priuileges, liberty, and other ornaments are in

A fall of The-
odosius.

The Emperoꝛ
corrected of the
Bishop.

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Why he saued
the kinges of
Madian on
lyue.

Thornes are
vnlucky plants.

a moment taken awayne. Farther we muste consider, that Gideon did rashely saue one lyue Zebah and Zalmonah whome he had taken: for he woulde shewe them vnto the menne of Succoth and Citizens Penuel, that **G D D** had deliuered them vnto hym. He bered the princes both with thornes and bysars, as he threathened, that by theyr euill they myght learne, howe muche and what they had offended. Iodeach is in this place not onely to instruct, but (as I suppose) it signifieth in Lattin animaduertere whiche is to punishe. Thornes are counted euen of the Ethnikes among vnlucky plantes: and therfore it is no meruayle, if they be occupied in punishmentes. But whether he slew them, or onely chastised them, by the wordes of the Hystory it appeareth not. But of Penuel it is manifest ynough, both that the towne was ouerthrowne and the Citizens slayne, because either they scoffed moze wantonly than the menne of Succoth did, or els trustyng to the fence of the place they resisted Gideon, wherefore when they came to the battayle they were slayne: or els let vs graunt that they of Succoth also perished with thornes and bysars.

18 Then said he vnto Zebah and Zalmonah, what manner of men were they, whom ye slew at Thabor: and they answered: As thou art, so were they: euery one was like the children of a kyng.

19 And he sayde, they were my brethren euen my mothers children. As the Lorde lyueth, if ye had saued theyr lyues, I would not slaye you.

20 Then he sayde vnto Jether his firste borne sonne, Up and slaye them. But the boye drew not hys sword: for he feared, because he was yet a childe.

21 And Zebah and Zalmonah sayde, Rise thou, and fall vpon vs, for as the man is, so is his strength. And Gideon arose, and slew zebah and zalmonah, and tooke awayne the ornamentes, that were on the camels neckes.

Gideon was
exceeding beautifull.

Nowe is set forth the punishment of these two kynges of Madian, whiche Gideon had therefore saued on lyue, to shewe them vnto those Israelites, whom he had determined to punishe, when he had obtayned the victorie. Firste he asketh them, what manner of men they were, whom they slew in mount Thabor. They answered that they were like hym, and so comely and beautiful, that they myght appeare to be the chyldren of a kyng. And that maye also be vnderstande of one of them, when as it is sayde Echad: we maye also vnderstande it of euery one of them. There are some also which thynke that those that were slayne were in semblance and beauty lykened vnto the chyldren of Gideon, whome therefore they called a kyng, because they sawe hym beare dominion in the hoste. Hereby is gathered that Gideon was exceeding beautifull. But when hys brethren were kyled, we can not finde by the holy Hystory. But it myght be, that they committed this acte nowe when they came to make this warre, or els before when euery yere they inuaded the lande of the Israelites in the tyme of haruest. Of mount Thabor we haue before spoken, when we entreated of the victorie of Barak and Deborah.

It was not
lawfull to saue
these kynges on
lyue.

As the Lorde lyueth, if ye had saued their lyues, Gideon mought haue saued these kynges lyues, if they had not slayne hys brethren: but because they had slayne them it was not lawfull. For in the booke of Numbers there is a lawe, wherein it is ordayned, that the nexte of kynne muste not suffer the bloude of hym that is dead unpunished, not that a private man shoulde kyll a murderer, but he must be brought vnto the Judge that there the cause beyng knowe he myght be punished. And therefore Gideon beyng a Magistrate ought by that lawe

lawe to punish them. Otherwys he myght haue let them goo, for as muche as they were not Chananites, whom **G D** had commaunded, that they shoulde not spare. Wherefore Gideon sweareth nothyng contrarie to the woorde of **G D**. And he sayde vnto Iether. He commaundeth hys firste borne sonne, beyng then a younge manne, to slaye them, but he feared, neyther durste he drawe hys sworde: The two kynges disdayne, & would not be kylled with the hande of a chyld, euen as Abimelech would be slayne of hys Armo^r bearer, least he shoulde seeme to be kylled of a woman. Farther, they easely sawe, that they shoulde bee longe in payne or they were dead, when as the chyld by reason of want of strength coulde not rid them out of they^r lyfe quickly. And Gideon peraduenture dyd for thys cause commaunde hys sonne to doo thys thyng, to inflame hys hearte, euen from hys tender yea^res agaynst the enemyes of the peopl of **G D**, as it is wrytten of Hannibal, who from a chyld vowed hymselfe agaynst the Romaynes: Or elles he dyd it to learne hym from hys tender age to obey the lawe of **G D**, wherein was commaunded that the bloud of the next of kynne beyng shed, shoulde be reuenged.

Why Gideon
willed his sone
to kill 7 kyngs.

But might not he haue committed that office vnto a hangeman? why would he so byge hys sonne? To thys maye be answered two wayes. Firste that in the olde tyme it was not vncomely to slay the guilty. Farther, that it is not sene that the Heb^rues had hangemen. And vndoubtedly, that thys was no offence amonge the Heb^rues, this testifieth, because in the lawe it is wrytten, that a blasphem^r beyng taken, was so stoned to death, that the hande of the wytnesses dyd thowse the firste stone agaynst hym: neyther was the putting to death of any body committed to any peculiar hangeman. And there are many exam^ples whiche testifie that it was not ignominious to slay the guilty. Saul when he would haue the Pryestes slayne, called not hangemen to doo it, but turned to the noble men whiche were with hym, and commaunded them to inuade the Pryestes: who reuerensyng they^r ministry and dignite, durst not obey. Onely Doeg the Edomite durst execute so greute a wycked acte, who was not of least estimation with the kyng. Samuell also with hys owne hande slewe kyng Agag the prysoner. Ioab in lyke manner when he had cougth holde of the borne of the altar, was slayne of Banaia the chiefe Capitaⁿe of the hoste. Wherefore it seemeth that the Heb^rues in that auncient tyme hadde no hangemen.

The Heb^rues
had no hangemen.

But as muche as maye be gathered by the Lyctores of the Ethnikes, Lyctores began at Rome vnder Romulus, who (as Plutarke wryteth in hys lyfe) were called so eyther of ligando, that is of byndyng, or because the Grecians call them λιτοδ^ς, or λιτρυ^ς, because they executed a publique office. Romulus gaue them Roddes bounde together to cary, and to them was an are toynd. They had also cordes to bynde the Citezins withall, that beyng bounde, they myght eyther beate them with rodde, or strike them with the are. But the men of moze auncient tyme wanted thys office: every man executed it without any infamy, as it was by the Magistrat^e commaunded hym. And in verry dede that woorde of punishyng malefactor^s, hath in it no dishonestye or vncomelynesse, For if it be honest, for a iudge or prynce to geue sentence of death agaynst euill doers, why then shall it not be iuste and honest to execute the same sentence? yea and **G D** hymselfe in punishyng, blet not onely euill spirites, but good spirites.

Lyctores, were
ministers ap-
pointed to exe-
cute corporall
punishment.
Plutarke.

But thou wilt saye, why are Lyctores and hangemen commonly so euill spoken of? Firste, because the common people are afrayde of them, neither would any manne be punished for hys wycked actes: hereby it cometh that the syght of the hangman driueth into them a certayn horro^r. And that the people were so affected, y^e maner of y^e publike wealth of Rome declareth, where wh^o ambitious

Why Lyctores
and hangmen
are of the com-
moⁿ people euill
spoken of.

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The Romaynes
were not a
hangman for
their Citizens.

Portia lex &
Sempronia.

The irregulari-
ty of the Cano-
nists.

Bloud shed
iustly & right-
ly, restraineth
not from the ho-
ly ministry.

Aristotle.

men flattered the people more then was meete, they sent away the hangman out of the market place, and iudgement house of Rome, as euen the Orator of Cicero for Rabirius testifieth. The Citizens of Rome were not beaten with roddes, nor put to death. Theyr extremest punishment was banishment, they were caried into plandes, & at the length condemned to the working of Pettalles. But the latter Romayne lawes, whiche are in the digestes, blotted out that exemption: for in very dede it was vnjust. For a faulte worthy of death ought not to be winked at, although a Citizen of Rome were the author of it. And there were two principall lawes whereby the backe and head of the Citizens were provided for, the lawe I saye Portia, and Sempronia, whose power and defence neuertheless Paul (as we rede in the Actes) vsed, and so escaped both roddes and bondes. This is one cause why Liſtores and hangmen are so hated.

2 An other cause hereof in the Papistickall opinion of irregularity, whiche as the Canonistes wyll haue it, is contracted of euery murther. These men thinke that a man can not so iustly kyll any man, that he may be promoted to the holy Ministry: when as yet the Inquistours of the hereticall prauity (as they terme it) doo dayly cause an infinite number, and those innocentes, to be kyled. The Popes Legates also in gouernynge of Cityes, and Prouinces, and makynge warres, although they be Cardinales and Bishoppes, doo still continually cause bloud to be shed. But in the meane tyme, with greate hypocrisie they take hede, that the sentence be geuen by a laye Judge (as they call hym) and so they wappe themselves out of that irregularity. But the holy Scriptures do not so teache. Moses sayde vnto the Leuites, whiche with hym had kyled so many, ye haue consecrated your handes: so farre was it of that they shoulde be depriued of the holy Ministry. But the Pope saith, that Dauid for shedding of bloud, was in the olde tyme prohibited to builde the Temple. But in this place we muste marke the mistery wherin Salomon shadowed Christ, the peacable king. For he was by hym expresse, whiche hath gathered together the Church, the true Temple of God without weapons, vnto the true and euerlastynge peace. But bloude beynge iustly and ryghtly shed, restrayneth not from the holy ministry. For Pinhas who was hygh Priest, thrust thorough two moske vnpure whoremongers. Elyas, a man of the stocke of the Leuites, slew with his owne hande the Prophete of Baal. And Samuell, a man of the same tribe, dyd hymselfe kyll Agag the king, & yet neither of them both were reſcated fro theyr office. Neither do I therfore speake these thyngs, to commend the promotynge of murderers vnto holy orders: but thus only I oppugne, that euery slaughter & euery murther maketh a man so irregular (as these menne saye) that he can not be ordeined a Minister of the Church. What if a man haue bene a Judge or a Magistrate, or in iuste warre hath fought for his countrey, can not he therfore be ordeined a Minister of the Church? Peraduenture he hath obteyned excellent gyses of God, and is endowded with singular doctrine, adorned with a pure lye, instructed with dexterity of gouernynge, and godly eloquence: can not the Church (as these men most absurdely thinke) vse his gyses? Undoubtedly that was not obserued in Ambrose, he was seruauit vnto Cesar, and decided matters in the lawe beynge Pretor of Millan, and yet was he by violence taken to be a Bishop. I knowe that Paul requireth that a Bishoppe be no striker: but no manne doubteth, but that that is to be vnderstande of an vnjuste murther or violence. But what should a man here doo: all thynges are by the Papistes handled supersticiously.

3. Nowe the thirde cause why Liſtores and hangmen are euill spoken of, is this, because very many of them liue wickedlye and filthy, and were befoze tyme noughty men. Howbeit the office defileth them not: but rather by theyr faulte they pollute an excellent office. Aristotle in his 6. booke of Politikes the last chap-
ter

fer sayth, that good men abhorre this kind of office, namely of punishing of men, because it hath a hatred annexed vnto it. For they doe oftentimes incurre the hatred of men. But in my iudgement, a good and godly man ought not for that cause to abhorre his administration. I remeber an aunswere of Chrysippus, who being demanded why he exercised not the office of a magistrate. If I exercise it not rightly (sayd he) I shal displease god: but if I do rightly, I shal displease men: but I wil do neither of both. He seemed to some to haue answered very prudently, but me thinketh he answered foolishly. For he should rather haue answered contraryly that the publike welth ought to be gouerned, and that rightly, to please both God and good men: but a wise and good man muste not haue a respecte vnto wicked men. By these thinges it is now manifestly shewed, that Gideon in that he himselfe killed the kinges of Madian, committed nothing that was not decent for him, neyther that he commanded his sonne to do any filthy act.

22 Then the men of Israel sayd vnto Gideon: Reigne thou ouer vs, both thou and thy sonne and thy sonnes sonne, because thou hast deliuered vs out of the hand of Madian.

23 And Gideon aunswered them: I will not raygne ouer you, neither shall my chyld reigne ouer you, the Lord shal raigne ouer you.

The people receauinge a benefite at Gideons hand, would haue made him king, that they might not be counted ingrate. But seing gratitude is a vertue, it ought to haue no vniust thing loyned with it: whiche these men obserued not. For they appoynted not theyr kyngdome by the lawe of god. In Deut. the 37. chap. it is writtten, that he should be a king whom god had chosen. Neyther pertained it vnto the people, to appoint a kinge whome they would. Wherefore that which they doo now, is not frely to geue any thing that is theyr owne, but to geue y^e which is an other mans. The right to appointe a king, belonged to god, and not vnto men: which thyng also Gideon wysely saw, neyther was Christ ignozant therof, when they which were filled with bread, came vnto him to create him a king, he wayghed the maner of his vocation, and for that his kyngdome was not of this worlde, and vnderstoode that they vsurped an other mans right, and were not moued therunto: By iust causes, he put of from himselfe such a burthen. The same thinges happened in a maner vnto y^e bishops of Rome. Which at the beginning were holy: for very many of the were notable by constancy of faith, & martirdom. Farthermoze their church was kindled with feruentnes of charity, & towards the poore most liberal, so that it sent almes euen into the east part, to the Ilands and metalle places, where the holy confessours of Christ liued in exile. All which thinges got that chaire much fauor and grace with the faithfull. Wherefore the supream power and kyngdome in the church was in a manner offred, some times vnto those bishops: which they like Gideon refused with a greate spirite & singuler modesty. Of which thing also what Gregorius the b. of Rome iudged, I will briefly declare. In his 4. booke of Epistles. in the 32. 34. 36. 38. & 39. Epistles he of that matter writeth at large, both vnto Mauritius the emperour, and also to Constantia Augusta, likewise to the Patriarkes, Alexandrinus, and Antiochenus, yea and to Iohn the Patriarche of Constantinople, and lastlye to Anianus Deacon of the same church.

In the time (sayth he) of Pelagius my pzedecessor, Ioannes Constantinopolitanus when he had assembled a synode, by an other pretence, claymed vnto him selfe the title of the vniuersal supream Patriarch, which thyng Pelagius toke in euill part, and therfore made the acts of that synode frustrate. Farther, he commaunded his Deacon which was his deputye, whome he had with the Emperoure, that he should not communicate with Iohn, being so arrogant and proud. Grego-

anixora.

A saying of Chrysippus.

It pertained vnto god to elect a king.

Christ refused a kyngdome offred vnto hym. What manner of men the olde Romayne bishops were.

Gregorius.

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ry succeeded Pelagius and decreed the same things, & writing vnto the emperour, sayth, Peter the chiefe amonge the Apostles, neuer called himselfe vniuersall Apostle, and neuertheless John byshop of Constantinople now goeth about to call him selfe the vniuersall Patriarch: & straightway he crieth out: O times, O manners. And this reason he addeth to these things, if the vniuersal head be so ordeyned of men, by the ruine or corruption of such a head, the church also shall perishe together. Of this place Nestorius was once bishop, who beleued most wickedly of the sonne of god. Macedonius had the same dignitie, who beleued not that the holy ghost was god. If those Patriarches had then bene vniuersall Bishops in the church, the whole church had fallen also with them.

Gregory counteth it for an absurdity that the Pope should be preferred before the Emperour.

The synode of Chalcedonia erred.

An error of Gregory

Let none of the papistes cry that it is no strong argument: because it is none of ours, but Gregories their father: let them cry out against him, who after ward addeth: That he which maketh himselfe vniuersall bishop, taketh away from other bishops their office, for where anye man is vniuersall byshop, he leaue no office of a bishop vnto others. This also is the collectiō of Gregory, and not found out by vs. And vndoubtedly if a man at this day loke rightly and moze nighly vpon the thing, he shal see that the bishops of the west doe gouerne theyr churches onely by the orde geuen them by the bishop of Rome. Gregory afterwarde addeth that John preferreth himselfe aboue the Emperour: which thing Gregory counteth for an absurdity. But oure men now a dayes thinke it necessarye that Cesar should be subiect to him: yea they haue oftentimes resisted emperours, many times wearied them, and sometimes moued them out of theyr place. And yet Gregory theyr father detesteth and inueigbeth agaynst it, as a thinge vniust and not to be suffered. And writing vnto Augusta he is yet moze behemēt, saying that the same belongeth vnto Antechrist. Wherefore let not our me meruaple, if we sometime call the bishop of Rome Antechrist, for as much as their Gregory, calleth him by the most goodly title, which wil be vniuersal bishop.

The Synode of Calcedonia, as the same Gregory sayth, gaue vnto the seat of Rome this prerogative, namely vnto Leo the first of that name. Howbeit no man vsed it, because our elders being men most holy, saw it was not meete for anye mortal man. Onely Christ is the vniuersal hed of the church. For he is the smal grayn of musterdseede, whiche hath increased into a brybe and large tre, that it ouerspreadeth the whole world: and he is that little leauen, wherewith thye peckes of meale wer leauened. And the stone helued out without bandes, whiche is become so great a mount that it hath filled all thinges. Wherefore Christ him self, for as much as he is able to be with vs, is to all vs the vniuersal hed, to whom euery one of vs cleaueth as membes. Moreouer Gregory admonisheth Alexandrinus and Antiochenus, that they shoulde receaue no Epistles, whiche had written in them a tittle of so great pride. And he sayth, that to receaue such a title, is to fall from the sayth. Now let our men go, and obtrude this poke, whiche by the testimony of theyr Gregory we can not receaue, except we should go back from faith: Namely in attributing that to a manne, which we must beleue is propre and peculiar vnto Christ. Neither doubteth he to affirme, that this John transgressed the decrees of Christ, the rules of the Apostles, and Cannons of the fathers. All these things sayth he, hath he violated in the usurpation of this one title. And he addeth, what wilt thou answer vnto Christ in the last day of iudgement, thou that hast arrogantly take vpon thee his office, and wilt haue all his members subiect vnto thee? He commaunded, that we shoulde not call anye a father vnto vs vpon erth. But thou commaundest men to call thee vniuersal father. In what estimation therfore hast thou the wordes of the Lord?

Howbeit in collecting of these places of Gregory, I thinke there are some thinges which are diligently to be taken heed of, namely two: of the which the one is, that he sayth y Peter was the chief membe of the vniuersal church: & Paule, Andrew

drew and Iohn, were heades of singular churches. This I therefore admo-
nith you, for by cause the Apostles wer not byshops of singular churches, for they
wandred abrode thorough out the whole worlde, they founded churches & wan-
dred nations vnto the Lord, and al they were members, and that principal me-
bers of the vniuersal church. Wherefore this sctice of Gregory is not to be admit-
ted. The other thing, which I iudge is to be obserued, is that Gregory doth testi-
fy that this his Iohn did fyrst vsurpe vnto himself the title of vniuersality, which
assuredly I cannot be perswaded of. Forasmuch as Theodoretus in his booke de
hærecibus, when he writeth of Nestorius, oftentimes sayth, that he was made v-
niuersall patriarke. Pea and Iustinianus in suis nouellis, attributeth that title to
diuerse Patriarches. And (to speake as the thing is) I suppose, that Gregorie this
pety little saynt would haue had the thing or matter of an vniuersal bishop, al-
though he reprehended the name and title. For as the hystory of those times tea-
cheth, and his epistles testify, he abstained not from gouerning of other churches
He shewed indeede that the name should be auoyded, namely least the patriarch
of Constantinople by that title should eyther preferre himselfe, or be equal vnto
the bishop of Rome.

Another error
of Gregory.

Theodoretus.

But before these times, Ciprian wythstode the church of Rome, whose
sought then to clayme vnto it self some tyranny, and he iudged that appellations
should not be brought vnto the seat of Rome, but would haue Ecclesiastical cau-
ses iudged in euery singular prouince: namely, that they which in any place wer
condemned by the iudgement of byshops, should not be restozed by the ayd of the
seate of Rome: when as yet he chiefly reuerenced the church of Rome, & acknow-
leged it as h Matrix in these our regions. And assuredly to haue it in great estima-
cion, is a farre other thing, then to graunt vnto it tyranny or dominion aboue al
other. For to the first we may after a sort agre, but to the other we must not as-
sente, vnlesse we will fall from the fayth. Afterwarde in Augustines time, when
he was present at the Synode of Africa, there was great and longe alteration a-
bout this thinge, and at length the bishop of Rome coulde neuer proue (whiche
thing yet he chiefly endozed to do) that this power was geuen him in the coun-
cell of Nice, that menne from all partes of the worlde mighte appeale vnto him.
Wherefore if it were eyther for lacke of knowlege or of some rashnes, or by the
people, or by flaterers geuen to any bishop of Rome, it should by the example of
Gideon, Leo, and Gregory haue bene refused.

Ciprian resisted
the church of
Rome.

The counsel of
Africa resisted
the church of
Rome.

We must not trult vnto the inconstancy of the common people, which is al-
wayes moueable. now they wyll haue Gideon to raigne, a litle afterwarde you
shal see that they were most yngrate againste him: for (as the hystorye declareth)
they slew his chyldren. Gideon refuseth not the principality, as though he would
not labour in the publike wealth: but because he vnderstode that it was no law-
ful vocatio: which the Popes also ought to regard. He had before his eyes h law
in Deut. now alledged. The Pope ought also to loke vpon the words of Christ:
Kinges of the nations (sayth the Lord) bear rule ouer theyr subiectes: but ye shal
not do so: and being demaunded, who should be greatest, he answered, that he
which was lowest, and which more serued others. This is to gouern the church,
not to commaund, but to serue. Peter himselfe also taught ministers not to beare
dominion ouer their flocke. And Paule hath written that Christ is set the hed of
the church, & not men: although in it they are aboue other to be much made of, &
to be honozed, whych more then other profet the saythfull, and are more largely
endeued with good gracious giftes: and as Christe required of Peter, doo
more depely loue him: and which ar more aboundantly endeued with those qua-
lities, which Paule to Timothe and Titus requirerth in bishops. If we highlier ho-
nor such men in the church aboue other, not as lords, not as vniuersal bishops,
not as heads of the church, but as excellent ministers thereof, the authozity and
obedience of the word of god should thereby be nothing diminished.

The inconstan-
cy of the com-
mon people.

What the
Popes oughte
to haue before
theyr eyes.

Who are in the
church to be re-
uerenced aboue
other.

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In error: verpe
hurtful in the
church.

But they do not so. They haue fixed the excellency and dignity of the ministers of the church, vnto chappes, places, and cities, howsoeuer he be in greater price & honoꝝ, which sytteth in those chappes oꝝ places, and what manner of man so euer he be in lyfe and manners. And so is there no regarde had to the graces and giftes of God, but onely to the place and seate. This vndoubtedly was the fountayne, ofspring, and beginning of all euils and superstitions. Our elders thought it good, that in cities which were moze famous, where marchandises were traded, and were assemblies of men, where Proconsuls oꝝ Presidents gouerned, there also the bishops should be of greater authority and iurisdiction. Whereby custome obtained, that those Churches and chappes were had in greater honoꝝ.

But (as it cometh to passe) ambition crepte in, and in those places byshoppes were ordeyned, not allwaye suche as were moze woꝛthy, but such as were better fauored of Princes. And oftentimes the better learned and moze holy were geuen ouer to small and abiecte bishoprikes. When Augustine was Bishop of Hippouerhegium, one called Aurelius gouerned the most honoꝝable church of Carthago. And who knoweth not that Augustine in doctrine, maners, and authority, farre excelled Aurelius? The same thinge happened vnto Gregorius Nazianzenus, who was byshop in an abiect place, namelpe in Salsimis, when as many other, not to be compared with him, obtayned the chief chappes. After this way & maner the bishop of Rome began to be preferred aboue other, namelpe bycause of the mozte ample dignitie of the cite: whyche cause neuerthelesse he vnderstanding that it was no firme groundsele of the honoꝝ which he had obtayned, he hath sained other causes of his excellency. And first he pretendeth that he had this pꝛiueledge by the council of Nice: which yet he could not pꝛoue before the fathers of Africa, because in that Synode the charge onely of suburbe churches was committed vnto hym. Not a charge to beare dominion, but to geue counsel to admonish, and if there wer any things of moze waight, to referre the same to the counsell. As to the bishop of Alexandria the suburbe churches of Egypt, and to the byshop of Antioch the suburbe churches of the east parties. And it was not geuen the bishop of Rome, to be the vniuersall pastor. Neyther is it possible that a weake and mortall man should feede the flocke of Chꝛiste in all countries.

The cause why
the bishop of
Rome was pre-
ferred before o-
ther.

The bishop of
Rome cannot be
hed of the whol
church.

Magistrates &
princes may be
called heads of
the people.

We must not
make the
church two
headed.

Farthermoze the bishop of Rome boasted, that he was set to be the head of the church: whych cannot be meete soꝝ any man. For from the heade ar deriued moꝝunge and sense by the sinewes, into all members, as Paule very well teacheth to the Ephesians and Colossians. But no man can perfoꝛme that, as of himselfe, by closures & ioynts to quicken the mebers of the church w the spꝛite of god. It logeth o rely to chꝛiste, to distribute vnto his mebers spiritual mocions, illustration of the minde, and eternall life. Indede kings and magistrates may be called heads of the people, because they gouerne ciuilly, and from them we may looke soꝝ good lawes and ciuile mouinges: but in the church men entreat not of ciuile life, but of spiritual and eternall life, which we cannot loke soꝝ, but at gods hand, neyther can any mortall men quicken the members of the church. Kinges & magistrates when they are godly, in my iudgemente oughte to haue the chiefe place in the church: and to them it pertaineth, if religion be ill administred, to coꝛrecte the defaultes. For therfoꝝe they beare the sword to maintayne Gods honoꝝ. But they cannot be heades of the church. Paule to the Romaines and to the Corinthians, where he maketh rehearsal of the members of the church, putteth some to be eyes, some noses, eares, hands, and feete: but he adoꝛneth none with the dignity of the heade, who yet to the Ephesians sayth this of Chꝛiste, that god had geuen hym to be the head of the body of the church. Let the papistes thew wꝛiten in any other places of the holy scriptures, that Chꝛist gaue an other hed vnto the church, & they shall haue the victoꝝy. But I know assuredly they canot. For if that could haue bene done the church should be a two hedded monster. But it is a spoꝛte to heare what Iohn, sometimes B. of Rochester in defendyng the Pope answered to

to this. To graunt two heads of the Church (sayth he) is not absurd: for the Apostle writeth, the man is the head of the woman, & neuertheless every wife hath by side her husband which is the head, an other head also. Wherefore he concluded that we may thus affirme of the church, namely that it hath both Christ and the Pope to be head. But this man faileth by a false Sillogismus of equiuocation. For speaking now of a head, as it is attributed vnto the Church, he faileth to a natural head. In matrimony the husband is the head of the wife, not the natural head, but as touching aconomical life. But the natural head of the woman, is the beginning of her natural life. And vndoubtedly if we looke vpon the natural head in the church, we shal finde that it is not one head: but looke howe many men there be in it, so many heades shal there be: for there is none without an head in it. And when we speake of the head of the Church, we must keepe our selues in the Metaphore: and as it should be absurde and monstrous, for one man to haue two natural heades, so shal it be iudged as potentous, for the Church to haue two Metaphorical, that is spiritual heades. We must alwaies, whē we entreate of any thing, persist in the same order and kinde: which thing if wee doo not obserue, we shal easily be deceaued by equiuocation.

How the husband is the head of the wife.

But let vs returne to the Pope, who least he should seme to be destitute of testimonies of the holy scriptures, taketh two places out of them. Whereof the one is: Upon this rocke I wil bulde my Church, and wyll geue the keyes. &c. But that place pertaineth to al those which confesse the verity of saith: for Peter, when the Lord demaunded what the Apostles belied of him, answered in the name of them al, that he was the sonne of the liuing God. Wherefore, that which Christ speaketh vnto him, pertaineth to all them, whych together wyth him beleue and pofesse the same selfe thing. For the keyes are geuen vnto the Church. And in Iohn, the Lord after his resurrection gaue them vnto all them: at the last also, when he should ascend vp into heauen, he sent them all alike to pzeache throughtout the world. And as touching the foundation, the Church hath no other foundation but Christ. For Paul vnto the Corinth. sayde: No man can lay any other foundation, then that which is already layde, which is Christ Jesus. And if at any time the Apostles be called foundations of the church, that is to be vnderstand, bicause they in the first time of the Church cleaued vnto the foundation, as the first and greater stones, not bicause the Church leaned vnto them as to the pncipal foundation.

Of the keyes & foundation of the Church.

How the Apostles are called foundations of the Church.

The other place which they bring out of the scriptures, is, bicause Christ saith vnto Peter, feede my Lambes. But they are exceedingly deceaued: for it was not the office of Peter onely, but also of the other Apostles, to feede the flocke of the Lord. But it was so sayd peculiarly vnto Peter, bicause he had denyed the Lord Christ, thise, and therefore he might hane seemed to hane fallen from the fellowship of the Apostles, vnles he had of Christ bene restoyed by certaine wordes. And that not onely he, but also other ought to feede the shepe of Christ, his own wordes testify, which he writeth in his Epistle, tober he admonisheth other Ministers to feede the flocke of the Lord. But graunt, that the Lord gaue vnto Peter anye pncipal thing: what hath the bishop of Rome common with him? Let hym declare his spirite, and as Peter hath labored for the Church, let hym also labour: which thing if he performe, then wil we acknowledge him, not as an vniuersal bishop, but as a good Minister of Christ. He sayth that hee hath the chaire that Peter had. What seate I pray you speaketh he of? The holy ghost is not bounde to seates. But graunt that it were so, Antioche had Peter sitting in it before Rome had. For that church he planted, and long whyle gouerned. But they say that he was slayne at Rome. But the Jewes crucified Christ himselfe at Jerusalem, which is a thing of greater waight. Wherefore if we should follo to this argument, the bishop of Jerusalem should be preferred aboue all other. Yea, and Peter, as it is written to the Galathians, was not the Apostle of the Gentiles, but

Not onely to Peter was the commaundment geuen to feede the flocke of Christ.

The spirite of Christ is not bound to chairs

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but of circumcision, as it was agreed betwene Paul, James, Iohn, and Barnabas. Neither do we euer reade that Peter prescribed the other Apostles any thyng, or that they depended of him. Yea Paul most manifestly testifieth, that he receaued nothing of Peter. Farther, it is certaine y Peter was slain vnder Nero, & Iohn liued euen to the time of Traiane. And they say that Cletus, Linus, and Clemens succeded Peter at Rome. What then, shal we thinke that Iohn the Apostle was subiect vnto Clemens? And of necessity he should be so, if the Bishop of Rome be the vniuersal head or general bishop. But who wil say that this may be suffred?

In Epistle of Clemens.

Clemens Iacobo fratri domini, Episcopo Episcoporum, & regnantium Ecclesiam que est Hierosolymis, & omnes que sunt vbique, Dei providentia.

Howeouer, lyes may be confuted with lyes. Our aduersaries bring the Epistle of Clemens, which is a fained Epistle, as a thing certaine. We wyl gratefully thinke in this thing, and we wyl now graunt that to be true, which is false. Let them marke his superscription, which is witten after this maner: Clemens to James the brother of the Lord, by the prouidence of God y bishop of bishops, & gouernour of the Church which is at Jerusalem, and of al the Churches euery where. What wyl they say here? The bishop of Rome ascribeth his title vnto the Bishop of Jerusalem, and attributeth this vniuersall charge of all Churches vnto him, and not to himselfe. This argument maketh verie muche agaynst those, which haue vnto the Churches obtruded this Epistle for true, & ratified it. But that can nothing hurt vs, which is take out of that epistle, against our doctrine. For we know that it is a fained thing, as that which was neuer alledged by any of the fathers. And in it the same Clemens affirmeth, that he hym selfe wrote the litle booke called Itenerium Perri: which booke (as it is said in the Decrees) is counted among the Apocripha bookes. But of this thing I haue spoken sufficient, & these thinges haue I rehearsed, onely that we might vnderstand, howe much Gideon is to be preferred befoze the Antechristes of Rome.

Whether the gouernment of God be therfoze excluded, because the Magistrat of a publike wealth, or of Aristocracie, or of a kingdome, is geuen vnto a man. The cause of the doubt is, because God bee excluded by humane Magistrates.

Here is put forth an other question, whether the rule and gouernment of God be therfoze excluded, because the Magistrat of a publike wealth, or of Aristocracie, or of a kingdome, is geuen vnto a man. The cause of the doubt is, because when it was sayd vnto Gideon: Thou shalt raygne ouer vs: he answered, I wyl not raygne ouer you, but the Lord shal raighe ouer you. It is not hard to dissolue this question proposed: soasmuch as the administration, wherewith God gouerneth publike wealthes, hindreth not the Magistrat, which is his Vicar & Minister. And assuredly God raigned together with Dauid and Iosias: and the Israelites at that tyme had a certaine Magistrat, and one of their own, with whom also God himselfe also gouerned. Wherfoze the wordes of Gideon do not teach this, that God cannot raighe there, where as is a lawfull king. But this thyng onely he regarded, that the present state of thinges, which was instituted by God, ought not to be altered without him. Ther was a publike wealth then in Israel, they had Senatours, and in al places ther wer Judges appointed: wherfoze the forme of the publike wealth could not by men be chaunged, wout great offence. If so be thou wilt demaund, when it is to be thought that God doth gouern & rule in other Magistrates? I answer: Then, when this is onely prouided for, that Citizens may liue vertuously. And soasmuch as piety is of al vertues y most excellent, the Lord doth then raighe, wher al thinges are referred vnto it. Farther, as touching ciuil actions, when to euery man is rendred his own, & Magistrates gouerne not for their own commodity, but for the publike vtility.

When God is sayd to gouerne pub. wealthes.

A distinctiō of those thynges which are done vnder Magistrates.

When the thing is otherwyse, shall wee saye that God raygneth or no, as when Nero, Domitianus, Commodus, Heliogabalus, and suche wycked men wer gouernours? Did God then cease from gouerning of the worlde? I thinke we must make a distinction of these thinges, which are done in those kingdomes, of the good thinges I say from the euill: soasmuch as there is no Empire so vitiate and corrupt, but that it stil retaineth in it many good thinges. Let vs looke vpon the gouernment of Nero, & we shal se ther in a maner, an infinite number of wicked and mischeuous actes, where yet many partes also of Justice flourished.

Provinces were governed by *Proetors*, and *Presidentes*, which execute lawes, not altogether vniuersally. It was lawfull for Paul to appeale vnto Rome, neyther could the *Hebriues* by the lawes be permitted to iudge him as they lusted themselves. And the same Paul, when he had shewed that he was a Citizen of Rome, escaped both from bondes and from stripes. Wherefore seeing in a government most corrupt, very many good and profitable thinges flourished, the same could come from none other but from God. It is therfore manifest that god at that time forsooke not the care and administration of thinges.

But if thou go forward and aske, whether the vices and corruptions of *Emperors* are to be referred vnto God: I wyl answer, that the true cause of synne is in man, but the wil of God doth neither allow those vices, nor commaunde them in his lawes: yea, he prohibiteth and detesteth them. But he useth them to punish the wickednes of the people: for, for the synnes of the people, he maketh an hypocrite to raygne, and in his fury he geueth kinges. For such thinges are euill and synnes, and haue in them a consideration of punishments: & as they are punishments, they pertain vnto the iustice of God.

How God ordeineth himself toward the faults of Princes.

But when Princes are so corrupt, what is to be done? We must obey, but vsque ad aras, that is, so farre as religion suffreth. Pape priuate men take vpon them to alter a corrupt Prince: They may do it in admonishing, in geuing counsel and reproofing, but not by force of weapons. Yea, Citizens may fight for the defence of the publike wealth, as long as it lasteth. Wherefore Pompeius, Cicero, and Cato, are not lightly to be condemned, for that they resisted Cesar, going about to stirre vp insurrection, although at that time the publike wealth was very corrupt. But when he had once obtained the Empire, he ought not by priuate men to be depriued with weapons. Wherefore Augustus said vnto Strabo, who spake euill of Cato, being then dead, that he was a good Citizen, which contented that the present state of thinges should not be chaunged. In the publike wealth of the *Hebriues*, which flourished in the time of Gideon, God governed in very deede. It was (as I haue said) Aristocratie, where Elders were chosen by common voices, to do iustice: in which office, vnles they rightly behaued themselves, they were both punished, and put out of their roume: but if there happened any hard warre, God himselfe raysed vp Judges, but they were not chosen by the people, neither did the chilozen succede the Parentes in that office. After this maner did God gouerne the *Hebriues*. The wordes of Gideon sufficientlly declare, that the Judges exercised not the office of an ordinarie Magistrate. It was in the Lord to rayse vp for the time whom he would, therfore the Lord said vnto Samuel: They haue not reiected thee, but me, that I should not raigine ouer them. Hereby we gather, that when any thing is offered vs, we must alwayes weigh, whether the same be good of his own nature, and whether it bee lawfully geuen, and may lawfully be vsed. Which if it be not, let vs put awaye from vs, whatsoeuer is offered, as Chyist reiected Sathan, when he promised hym all the kingdomes of the world, neither receaued he the kingdom offered him by the people. Whys the Pope considereth not, who for his vnlawfull Supremacie or tyranny, continually warreth, and there is nothing which he attempteth not: so farre is he of to refuse these thinges. &c.

Whether it bee lawfull to ryle vp against euill Princes.

What we must consider when any thing is offered vnto vs.

24 Againe Gideon said vnto them: I would desire a request of you, that ye would geue me euery man the earings of his pray (for they had golden earings, because they were *Ismaelites*.)

25 And they sayd: we wyl geue them. And they spread a garment, and dyd cast therein euery man the earings of his pray.

26 And the weyght of the golden earings that he required, was a thousand seven hundred and thirty sixe syckels of gold, besides collers, & pomanders,

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ders, and purple rayment, that was on the kinges of Madian, and besyde the chaynes that were about their Camels neckes.

27 And Gideon made an Ephod thereof, and put it in hys City, in Ophra. And all Israel went a whoozing after it in the same place, which thing was the destruction of Gideon and hys house.

Here is set forth an example of a most greivous fall, very much to be lamented. A man holy in miracles, and notable in faith, himselfe falleth. Euerie man therfore is admonished, not to trust vnto his former lyfe, and thinges that bee hath well done.

Kimhi thynketh that the Madianites and Ismaelites were al one, which he saith is confirmed by the booke of Genesis, wher it is written that the byethzen of Ioseph sold him to the Madianites, and straightway it is added that the Ismaelites sold hym in Egypt, wherfore he gathereth that they were al one, namely which had theyr ofspring of Agara. And she (as some say) was Ketura the handmayd of Sara, & afterward the wife of Abraham. But the Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth the Ismaelites, Arabians, and not Madianites. Beza and Iosephus in his booke De antiquit. by the children of the East he vnderstandeth Arabians. They turne this Hebrue woord Scheharonim lunulas, y is litle Spoones, wherof is mencion made befoze. For in the Arabike tongue Schehara signifieth luna, that is the Spooone. The othe: woord Netiphoth is deriued of Nataph, which signifieth to drop. For that woord signifieth a drop, namely that is odoriferous. That was enclosed in smal vessels either of gold or of syluer, that with them both the necke might be adozned, and the nose fylled with a most swete smel. But the oznamment of earynges was most auncient, and vsed in the time of Abraham. For his seruant gaue vnto Rebecca bracelets, when he desired to haue her for a wyfe, for Isaac his Paisters Sonne. The Romanes also sometimes vsed them, as we may gather out of Platus in Epidico: Dost thou not remember (sayth he) that I brought thee an earyng on thy byrth day? The Egyptians also vsed them: for it is written of Cleopatra, that she tooke from her eare a most pzeious pearle, and dissolued it in vineger, wher she contended with Antonius for a sumptuous pzeparation of a banquet. The Carthaginenses also wer decked with bracelets, as Plautus in Penulo testifieth. For thus he writeth: And as I suppose, they haue no fingers on their hands, bicause they go with ringed eares. Gideon tooke also purple garmentes: but whither he vsed them to his purpose, it appeareth not. He made an Ephod. The Hebrue woord Aphad is to lunde, or to gird, wherof this noyme is deriued, signifieng a garment which compassed the shoulders, and then it was bound together, and it after a sorte girded together the inward coate. Gideon did therfore make this oznamment, to be a monument of the victo:ry which he had gotten, as some write: in which thing if he sought his own glo:ry, he cannot but be blamed. But if this were onely his desyre, to keepe in perpetual memo:ry the benefite of God, he is not to be accused, for as much as oftentimes such monumentes were erected, as holy scriptures testify. Iacob erected a stone, wher he went in to Mesopotamia, and whylest he fled from Laban in Gilead, he builded a great heape of stones together. And it were to long to rehearse all the monumentes or tokens, whiche were in the old time set among the people of God, that the memo:ry of the benefites of God should not be forgotten. Gideon made an Ephod, and vsed a sygne, not so apt and conuenient. He mought haue written a song, as Barac and Deborah did, or erected a pyller, or some suche like thyng.

They had golden earynges, bycause they were Ismaelites. Kimhi thynketh that the Madianites and Ismaelites were al one, which he saith is confirmed by the booke of Genesis, wher it is written that the byethzen of Ioseph sold him to the Madianites, and straightway it is added that the Ismaelites sold hym in Egypt, wherfore he gathereth that they were al one, namely which had theyr ofspring of Agara. And she (as some say) was Ketura the handmayd of Sara, & afterward the wife of Abraham. But the Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth the Ismaelites, Arabians, and not Madianites. Beza and Iosephus in his booke De antiquit. by the children of the East he vnderstandeth Arabians. They turne this Hebrue woord Scheharonim lunulas, y is litle Spoones, wherof is mencion made befoze. For in the Arabike tongue Schehara signifieth luna, that is the Spooone. The othe: woord Netiphoth is deriued of Nataph, which signifieth to drop. For that woord signifieth a drop, namely that is odoriferous. That was enclosed in smal vessels either of gold or of syluer, that with them both the necke might be adozned, and the nose fylled with a most swete smel. But the oznamment of earynges was most auncient, and vsed in the time of Abraham. For his seruant gaue vnto Rebecca bracelets, when he desired to haue her for a wyfe, for Isaac his Paisters Sonne. The Romanes also sometimes vsed them, as we may gather out of Platus in Epidico: Dost thou not remember (sayth he) that I brought thee an earyng on thy byrth day? The Egyptians also vsed them: for it is written of Cleopatra, that she tooke from her eare a most pzeious pearle, and dissolued it in vineger, wher she contended with Antonius for a sumptuous pzeparation of a banquet. The Carthaginenses also wer decked with bracelets, as Plautus in Penulo testifieth. For thus he writeth: And as I suppose, they haue no fingers on their hands, bicause they go with ringed eares. Gideon tooke also purple garmentes: but whither he vsed them to his purpose, it appeareth not. He made an Ephod. The Hebrue woord Aphad is to lunde, or to gird, wherof this noyme is deriued, signifieng a garment which compassed the shoulders, and then it was bound together, and it after a sorte girded together the inward coate. Gideon did therfore make this oznamment, to be a monument of the victo:ry which he had gotten, as some write: in which thing if he sought his own glo:ry, he cannot but be blamed. But if this were onely his desyre, to keepe in perpetual memo:ry the benefite of God, he is not to be accused, for as much as oftentimes such monumentes were erected, as holy scriptures testify. Iacob erected a stone, wher he went in to Mesopotamia, and whylest he fled from Laban in Gilead, he builded a great heape of stones together. And it were to long to rehearse all the monumentes or tokens, whiche were in the old time set among the people of God, that the memo:ry of the benefites of God should not be forgotten. Gideon made an Ephod, and vsed a sygne, not so apt and conuenient. He mought haue written a song, as Barac and Deborah did, or erected a pyller, or some suche like thyng.

Of the vse of earynges.

Ephod.

Wherin Gideon sinned.

God had not commaunded in the law, to make an Ephod to this vse, but onely that the Priestes should put it on, when they should doo sacrifice. Nepther is it needeful now to describe the forme of this garment, for as much as in Exodus it is

it is

It is most manifestly set forth: this thing onely I will admonish you of, that there were two kindes of it, as the holy scriptures declare, & as Ierome both to Marcella, & to Fabiola, & against Iovinianus the first booke testifieth. There was one which onely the high Priest vsed. It was made of purple violet colour, sylke, & scarlet, it had gold wrought in it, & sundry kindes of most precious stones. There was also an other which was called Ephod bad, that is a linnen Ephod, whiche the Leuites also vsed in holy seruices. Wherefore in the .1. of Samuel the .2. chap. we reade, that Hanna made euery yeare for Samuel a litle coate and an Ephod, when she had then offered him vnto the Lord, to minister at the tabernacle. Hea and David being girt with an Ephod, daunced befoze the Arke of the Lord. The children also of David were girt with an Ephod. But Gideon made his a pontifical and precious Ephod, for the other kinde was simple & of linnen, wherefore he should not haue needed so great cost to make such a one. For there were gathered (as the bisshopp teacheth) a thousand seven hundred (as many expound the) sicles of gold. Some suppose that Gideon did therfore make an Ephod, that eue as Micha durst take vpon him, to haue a holy ministry at home in his owne house, so did Gideon now attempt the same. But of this sentence we will afterwarde speake, when we declare Augustines minde of this thing. But now following the interpretation which we haue alreadye begon, which is of those which say, that Gideon made this, to remaine as a signe and monument of the benefite of God geuen vnto the Hebrewes, this I Iudge is to be added, that the vulgare men began to haue in admiration the signe which was set vp, and as they were prone to superstitions, they sojourned thither, and offered peace offerings there, whych thing was a ruine and snare vnto them: for by title and litle they fel into idolatry. Neither was Gideon without blame. For he erected a monument, & abused the signe: & when he saw how the people fel, yet tooke he not away that monument, but rather winked at it. Ezechias afterwarde did moze rightly, who when he saw the people offer incense vnto the brasen serpent, he brake it downe. Certaine Rabbines labour to excuse Gideon, because with a good mynde he caused the Ephod or monument of the benefite of God to bee made, but the Israelites misused it. But they go about that in vaine, for as much as the scripture sayth, that it turned to the destruction of Gideon and his house.

Two kindes of Ephodes.

Augustine intreating of this place, thinketh that the figure of Synecdoche is here to be vnderstand, so that by this word Ephod, all priestly ornaments may be noted, as though Gideon would in his Citie haue an holie ministry: which was plainly against the will of God, who had appointed to be worshipped at the Arke of the couenant. That was no other thing, then to plucke away men from the tabernacle of God, & after a sort to deuilde the church. Gideon & the people did not (saith Augustine) sacrifice vnto idols, but with these garments they constituted a worshipping vnto the true God in Gideon his house, that is in Ophra. But soasmuch as they did otherwise then God had prescribed, they fell therfore into a certaine kinde of Idolatry. And that Gideon worshipped not idols, it doth not onely hereby appeare, in that he ouerthrew the altar of Baal, cut downe his groue, and offered vpon the altar of God, the bullocke consecrated vnto Baal, but also because the people at his life time (as we shal straightwaie heare) are sayde not to haue worshipped Baal.

Augustine.

This word whooring is to be vnderstand Metaphorically, which is a thing very comon in the scriptures. For the Church is the Spouse of God, and therefore it ought to worship him onely, and to depend onely of him. Wherefore, euen as a married woman, if she leauing her owne husband, follow other men, is counted an harlot and vnchaste: euen so also the Church, when it forsaketh the worshipping of the true God, and geueth place to superstitions, is iustlye called a harlot and an adulteresse. And this is it whiche is nowe written, that the children of Israel went a whooring after the Ephod, instituted by Gideon.

The Metaphor of whooring.

Cap.8. A Commentarie vpon the

Wherefore Augustines opinion is, that Gideon would haue had God worshipped so in his country, that the same thynges might ther haue bene done, which were done in Silo, where the Arke was. Which opinion, although it can not be confuted by the scriptures, yet it appeareth not very lykely: For we reade not that he had Priestes with him. Neither doo the Hebrew Doctors (who otherwise are diligent in expressing of thynges done) attribut these thynges vnto him, but rather agree with the other sentence, namely that he constituted it for a monument of the victorie which he had obtained, which after ward was an occasion of superstition. Wherefore it seemeth to be spoken more probably, that this erected signe was had in admiration of the foolish people, so that they thought it to be a place very meete to doo sacrifice there, and especiallly for the offering of peace offerings vnto the true God, which seemed not woorthy of rejoyning. For at that time it was lawfull to doo that in a maner euery where, but superstition daily creeping more abroad, they began to attribute more then was meete vnto that signe, as to a thing deuine, and which had in it some power of God, and for that cause they offered sacrifices, and did incense vnto it, keeping neuertheles a pretence of the worshipping of God, and the name of God the Lorde, as in the time of Ezechias they did incense and sacrifice vnto the brazen serpent.

Whence came
the begynnyng
of reliques and
inuocation of
the dead.

And in the same maner we rede happened at the beginning of the sepulchers, bones, and reliques of holpe men. The Christians buried the dead bodies of the Martirs, as honozablye as they coude, and to haue the memozye of them kept, they began to haue places of prayer at their tombes, not vndoubtedly where they would worship and inuocate the Martirs, but where they might heare the woord of God, receaue the Sacramentes, and exhort one another to defende the faith. And in deede that place seemed not a litle commodious for such a purpose: For the sepulchres of Martirs seemed to admonish & inflame the myndes, to enterpryse the same battailes, and to behaue them selues most constantly for the name of Christ. Wherefore it was thought that in assembling to the Sepulchres of Martirs, two commodities were gotten. First, bicause some honour might be geuen to so great Confessors, whilest the memozye of them was not suffered to be forgotten, but with verpe great ioy thankes were geuen vnto God for their happy victorie. The other was, bicause men might bee stirred vp to enterpryse the like, and to hope for the like gifts at Gods hand. And after the same maner began the images of Christ and of the Apostles priuately to bee made, namely that their death, which semed vnto the world full of ignominye, myght be made more honozable, and that the memozye of them might flourish, and by beholding of those images so set vp, men might be prouoked to the iust and laudable imitation of them. If the thing had abidden within these bondes, it might haue bene bozne with al, neither was there any thing there which might iustly be condemned: but euen as the act of Gideon was turned at the length to idolatry, so in successe of tyme folowed the inuocation of Martirs at their sepulchers, and the images of saintes began to be set vp and worshipped, not onely in priuate places, but also in temples.

The beginning
of the images
of Sayntes.

The act of Gideon was a snare to him, and to his house, for both hee synned, and his childezen (as we shal heare) were horribly slayne. It brought also great misery vnto the Israelites. For from this superstition they fel by litle and litle to the open worshipping of Baal, wherfore they were most grievously oppressed of their enemies: howbeit as long as Gideon lyued, they worshipped not Baal. Hereby we gather, that al worshipping of God, instituted without his woorde, is to him vnacceptable, and to vs most dangerous. There is but one God, and he wil be worshipped but one way, namely as he himself hath commaunded. And if to the worshipping of him, ther be any thing to be added by the decree of men for comelines sake, and for a iust and ciuil order, the same ought to bee but lytle, and also mutable, as it shall bee thoughte good for to aduancee edification.

Gideon sinneth
two wayes.

Wherefore Gideon sinneth two wayes, both in that hee abused the Ephod which

which he made for a signe, and also because when he sawe superstition to come thereby, he prohibited it not. The good intent of Gideon excused not his act, although he had a shewe of piety. Leo the first of that name, in his Sermon of the Passion of the Lord, sayth that Peter, when he cut of the eare of the servant of the highe Priest, was moued with a godly motion. But what godly motion coulde it be, which Christ reproveth, yea and so reproveth it, that he affirmed that he which so dwele the swood, should perishe with the swood? What other thing was this, then to haue a zeale of God, but (as Paule sayth) not accordyng to knowledge. Paule also the Apostle, when he afflicted and destroyed the Christians, thought that he dyd God high seruice.

Leo the first.

These thinges haue a shewe of a good intent (as they call it) or of godlynes, but they are not in very deede that which they shewe for. Euen so encreased the pompe of the Masse, by no other meanes, then by a shewe of a good intent. For it seemed good vnto our Elders to adorne the Supper of the Lord. Wherefore this Pope added this thing, and an other that thing, so that at the lengthe the thing came to this poynte, that these additions excluded the institution of Christ, in such sorte that it may seme to be any other thing els, then the Supper of the Lord, for those thinges are obserued which men haue inuented: but that which Christ willed, namelye that brethren should communicate together, and celebrate the memozy of his death, this I say is abolished.

But why the woozshippings instituted by mans inuention are to bee abjected, this is an assured reason: because in woozshipping of God we must do all thinges chiefly throughte sayth, but it is of no force if it want the word of God. Wherefore if rites which are retayned for the woozshipping of God, lacke by swood, sayth may not be geuen vnto them, and therefore ar they rather synnes, then woozkes pleasing God. For all that is not of sayth, is synne, as the Apostle saith. But they say that in those woozshippings, the authority of the Fathers, which were present at Counsels, ought to be sufficient, neither ought we to esteeme their sentences of any lesse value then the holy scriptures. But I will turne the same to them againe, and aske whether they thinke Gideon was a holy man: That they cannot deny, soasmuch as the Epistle to the Hebrewes the xi. chapter notably testifieth him so to be. I will demaunde of them also, whether Aaron were a holy man: They wil not deny it I suppose: when as hee was of God appointed to be the highe Priest, and the fellowe of Moses in woozking of miracles. And yet for all that either of them, when they instituted a woozshipping without the word of God, are greuously accused by the holge scriptures. Let them therefore cease to obtrude vnto vs the Saintes: but when we require the word of God, if they wil that we should beleue them, let them bring forth the holy scriptures. We know that rites and woozshippings instituted euen by God himselfe, are not acceptable vnto him, when they are done without sayth, as Esay, Jeremy, and Dauid most manifestly teache, howe muche lesse will hee receaue those thinges which are inuented of men, whiche for that they are not grounded on his word, doo utterly want sayth.

Why woozshippings inuented by man, are to be abjected.

The authority of the fathers is not sufficient.

Of a good Intent.

But because there is something alledged of a good Intent, whereby some go about to excuse Gideon, I thinke it good brieflye to touche those thinges, which are necessary, as concerning it.

As touching the signification of the word, Intent signifieth a motion of the mynde, whereby by some meane we tende vnto an ende, as if a man shoulde study by geuing of gifts or by seruices to attaine vnto any honoz. For the nature of thinges is in such sort, that many thinges are so connexted together betwene themselves, that by the one is made a stepe vnto the other. For by medicines & drinckes we attaine vnto health: by studies, reading, & teachers, vnto wisdome.

Fl. 11.

Where.

Cap.8. A Commentarie vpon the

Wherefore an intent is an action of the wil, so it is his office to moue and stirre by the mynde. And soasmuch as the wyl doth not perceauie the thinges that he desireth, before that it hath the knowledge thereof, it moueth not, nor soareth the minde before knowledge, which raygneth in the power of intelligence or vnderstanding. It perceaueth both the end, and those thinges which serue to the end, and ministreth them vnto the wyl. Wherefore Intent stirreth by to the end, as to a terme, by those thinges which vnto it are directed. Let this be his definition. A wyl tending vnto the ende by some meanes. Wyl, which is his generall woord, is an act of the power that wylleth. The difference is taken of the object, namely of the ende, and these thinges which are ordeined vnto it: as nowe as touching Gideon, his intent was a motion of his wyl, to keepe the memozy of the victozy geuen him, by the Ephod which he had made. In will therefore he comprehended at once both the end and the meane.

The definition of an intent.

There is bothe a good intent & an euill.

An euill intent of two kyndes.

Twoo thinges are required in a good intent.

Augustine.

Faith directeth the intent.

Faith must not cleaue vnto fathers & counsels

An Intent is deuided into a good intent and an euill. And to a good intent this is chiefly required, that the ende be a thing iust and good: which yet is not sufficient. For if a man should steale to geue almes, he vndoubtedly should set before his eyes a good thing, but bycause the meane is euill, therefore the intent can not be called good. But if the ende bee both vnlawfull and euill, then shall the intent also be euill. Wherefore that the intent be good, both the ende and the meane must be honest and good thinges. Howbeit certayne thinges are by theyr nature so euill, that we can neuer vse them rightly. As theft, perjury, adulterye, and suche lyke. Wherefore the Apostles rule must alwayes be firme, that wee must neuer doo euill thinges, whereby good thynges maye followe. Therefore an euill intent is two maner of wayes: that is, eyther by the naughtynesse of the ende, or els of the meanes. But the intent can neuer bee good, except bothe ende and meane be good. Thus farre the Philosophers and schoole Deuines agree wpth vs. Nowe must we see wherein they differ from vs.

The Philosophers doo thinke that the righteousnes of the ende and meanes dependeth of humane reason or naturall vnderstanding, as though it were sufficient to put a difference betwene iust thinges and vniust: but that we denye, and requyre fully sayth and the woorde of God, as sure rules, whych thyng Augustine testifieth in many places, and especiallly vpon the. ccc. Psalme, where he sayth: Doo not count thy woordes good before saythe, whyche are nothyng els, then (as me thynketh) great strengthes, and a most swyft course out of the waye, and he which so maketh haste, runneth headlong to destruction: Wherefore a good intent maketh a good action, but sayth directeth the intent. Wherefore we must take heede, when we purpose any woorde, that our hart haue a regarde vnto sayth, whereby it may direct his endeuours.

The schoole Deuines wyl easely graunt that sayth gouerneth the intent, and maketh it good. But we differ from them for three causes. First, because we affirme that faith dependeth onely of the woorde of God: but they wyl haue it to leane vnto Fathers and Counsels, and that in no case maye be graunted vnto them, soasmuche as sayth must bee constant, and vterly without error: whych twoo thynges are not founde in the Fathers and Counsels, because they speake thinges one contrary to an other. Fathers very often stryue wpth Fathers, and Counsels are against Counsels: and those Fathers are rare, yea in a maner none, whych haue not sometyme erred, and that in thinges most waigh-tye, and very many Counsels haue neede of amendement. Doth not the scripture by expresse woordes testify that all men are lyers?

2. The other thing, wherein wee can not assent vnto the Schoolemen, is, by cause by a good intent they affirme that our woordes are made meritorious, yea and that of eternall lyfe. Which thing how farre of it is from the truth, the nature of merite may teache vs: whereof I mynde not now to speake.
3. The thyrde thing wherein we differ from the Schoolemen is, because they wyl

woyl haue the woꝝke to be made good by an habitual good entent as they speke: That is to saye, done without any good mocion of the hart. They sayn that our actions do please god, as pꝛayers, reading of Psalmes, and geuing of Almes, although in act we thinke nothing of God, & they suppose þ̄ thys habitual entent which they place in him, is sufficient inough. So that if thou shouldst demaund of him, whych doth these thyngs, why he doth so: he may be redy to aunswer, that he doth it to the gloꝝy of god, especially whē in doing of it he hath not a cōtrary mind oꝝ repugnant will. But this can we not graunt vnto them, soꝝ as much as in this negligence, wherby when we woꝝk we thinke not of god noꝝ of his gloꝝy, the commaundement of god is violated, which commaundeth vs to loue god withall the hart, withall the soule, and withall the strengthes. Wherfoꝝe we rather counsell that this maye bes knowleged a synne, then to be counted a good woꝝke.

The habitua
entent of the
Scholmen.

But bicause they perceiued that theyꝝ sayinges haue some absurdity, they ad ded, so that in the beginnunge of that woꝝke, we thinke somewhat of god and his gloꝝy, and so that that which is purposed, be directed vnto hym. But no inan doubteth but that the begynning of all those thynges which we do, oughte to be good: but afterward, if sayth folloꝝ not those thynges whyche we haue well be gone, and if when we are woꝝking, we haue not a respect vnto god and his glo ry, we shall runne hedlonge into sinne, which may not be dissembled. Farther, if we should woꝝke as we ought to do, and as the law requirerth, yet should we (as Chꝛist sayth) be still vnprofitable seruants: so far is it of, that we can clayme vn to our selues any merites. Wherfoꝝe so long as we desist from thinkinge vpon the honoꝝ and gloꝝy of God, we fall, neyther are such falles to be dissembled, but rather to pꝛay that they may be turned frō vs, soꝝ as much as of their own nature they are synnes, although vnto the beleuers soꝝ Chꝛistles sake they are not impu ted vnto death. Wherfoꝝe let there be added to our woꝝkes a good entent: But yet such an entente as is adꝛessed with saythe, and let vs perfoꝝme the same not in habite but in acte. Wherfoꝝe the Loꝝd sayth in the Gospell of Mathew the. 6. chap: The lyght of þ̄ body is þ̄ eye. And if thyne eye be synple, þ̄ whole body shal be lyght. But if the light which is in thee be darknes, how gret shal the darknes the be: These thyngs Augustine (in his questions of the Gospels, þ̄. 2. boke, c. 15. questio, and agaynst Iulianus in þ̄. 4. boke, c. 20. chap.) iudgeth to be vnderstaude of a good intent. And in like maner wꝛiteth he in his. 10. Tome, the. 2. Sermon, where he entreateth vpon this place, we must not do righteousnes befoꝝe men, to be seene of them. The intent (saith he) is alwayes to be applied vnto the gloꝝy of God, but the wyll to haue it known vnto men, is to be auoyded, but so much as shall seme to pertayne to the honour of God. And to that tendeth that whych Chꝛist speaketh: A good tree cannot byinge soꝝth euil frutes, neither an euil tre, good: soꝝ as much as the tree signifieth the entent. Wherfoꝝe this act of Gideon done of a good intent (if those thynges be true whyche we haue sayde) cannot be excused, when as sayth gouerned it not.

Fayth is not
sufficient in he
bite, but we
must beleue ab
so in acte.

Augustine.

28 Thus was Madian brought low befoꝝe the childꝛen of Israell so that they lift vp theyꝝ beds no moꝝe: and the lande had quietnes. 40. yeares in the dayes of Gideon.

29 Then Jerubbaal the son of Joas went and dwelt in his owne house.

30 And Gideon had 70. sonnes which came out of his thigh: soꝝ he had many wyues.

31 And his Concubine that was in Sechem, bare him a sonne also, whose name he called Abimelech.

Cap. 8.

A Commentarie vpon the

Augustine.

Why the punishment was deferred 40. yeares.

When we heare that the earth had quietnes, we maye note two metaphores. The first Metaphore is, whereby the land is taken for them that dwell vpon it. The other is, whereby silence is put for peace: for that in peace the cries of soul, driers, the noyse of weapons, the blast of trumpets, and the running to and fro of horsemen and footemen are not harde. Augustine in this place doubteth, howe it could be, that God suffered superstition and idolatrye so longe unpunished. And he bringeth two answers therfore. First, that Gideon did indeede streyght wayes as sone as the warre was finished, gather a masse of golde, but he made not the Ephod by and by, but longe after, namely towarde the end of his life: so that the Ephod was made as sone as the victorie was accomplished, but the people fell not to idolatrye, till aboute the latter tyme of his life. An other cause he addeth, because in that superstition the name of God was kept, neyther was the worshiping of Baal and other gods of the Gentiles admitted for that, as long as Gideon liued, the Hebrewes came not to that mischief, & therfore god delt not so sharply agaynst them. And it was no small benefite to geue them peace for. 40. yeares: of which thing, saying I haue spoken befoze in the former iudges, I shal not neede now to repeate the same agayne.

Ierubbaal wente and dwelte in his house. He coueted not a perpetuall rule, as did Cesar, who after v. yeares did agayn, couet to continue vnto himself the province of France other. v. yerres. But Gideon when he had obtained peace, ceased from warres, and dismissing his host, led his life at home in his owne house, in a manner like a private man. Suche are brighte mindes whiche indeede wanto ambition.

In his commentaries vpon the 1. of Samuell the 25. chap.

He had. 70. children, for he had many wiues. Of hauinge many wiues I will not now speake much, because it is to be entreated of in an other place: this is sufficient to be sayd at this present, that god in the old lawe permitted the same after a sort vnto the fathers.

Which came out of his thigh. This is therfore written, least peradventure we should suspecte that of those. 70. children some were adopted. Besides the 70. whiche he had of his wiues whiche were many, he had Abimeleche by his concubine.

Of Matrimony and hauing of Concubines.



Of Matrimony.

Matrimonium coniugium, nuptie coniugium. The definition of matrimony.

The place doth now admonish me, somewhat to speak of hauing of concubines, wherof is often mencion made in the histories of the old testament. But first must we define Matrimony, that therout we may gather the vse of concubines: for vnlesse the nature of it be manifest, we can not see how that hauing of a concubine differeth from it. Matrimony, mariages, wedding, and wedlocke signify al one thing. And Matrimony (as it is had in the 1. booke 1. Inst. Justin. wher mention is made of the power of the father, and in the degestes de ritu nuptiarum, is defined to be a coniunction of man and woman, an inseperable conuersation of life, and a communication of gods law and mans law. But this diffinition must be perfected by the holy scriptures. Therfore we must adde, that this coniunction of man and woman was instituted by god, for the bringing forth of children, for the taking away of whooredome, & that therby humayne life might haue helpe and commodities. In this diffinition vndoubtedlye the coniunction of man and woman holdeth place in the matter. The inseperable conuersation of life pertai neth vnto the forme, for with this purpose and will man and wife muste marie together. For though by adultery that copulation be taken away, yet when the matrimony is contract, they ought both of them to haue this in theyr mind, that being once loyned they must abide & liue together. This belongeth also to the forme, that the communication of gods law and mans law be had betwene them. For they must be both of one religion, & communicate humayne things one to an other

other. For the wife goeth into the family of the husband, and with the husbande is counted all one flesh. Yea and the substance of either parties are made in all pointes common, but the efficient cause of this ordinance was god himself, even from the beginning, who made vnto Adam a helper. And the end (as we haue sayd) is the procreation of children: for god sayd, Increase and multiply. But as touching the other ende, namelye for the aduoydinge of whoredome, Paule in the 1. to the Corrinth. hath very well and playnly written.

If thou wilt demanda, whether bondes or writings are required for the contracting of matrimonye, we maye answer, that they are not required. For the consent of eyther party is sufficiente, as it is had in the Authentikes, and in the Code, where entreaty is made of mariages. But that whiche Ierome writeth to Oceanus, that hereby a wife is discerned from a concubine, bycause a wyfe must haue bondes and a dowry, which thinges concubines had not, this I say is not vniuersally to be receaued. For his sentence is to be drawen vnto y wife, which before was a concubine. As touching her she neded bondes, that shee mighte no moze be counted a concubine, & y the children which she had alrede, or afterwarde might haue, might be legitimate. But a dowry is not required of necessitye, because (as it is a common saying,) a dowry hath not place without matrimony, but matrimony may consist wout a dowry. For a dowry is geuen for the easier soluyng of the burthe of matrimony. The Cannons haue added, and y profitably, y matrimonyes should not be contracted priuely. For if the assent of the man and wife be secrete and without witnesses, Iudges can pronounce nothing of suche a matrimony contracted. Wherefore if they will should be changed, and after those secret matrimonyes, they should contracte solemne and publike mariages, the first mariages geue place vnto them, and the conscience is kept both perplexe and also wounded.

Whether bondes or writings are required to contract matrimony or no. Ierome.

A dowry is not necessary to contract matrimonye.

Agaynst secret mariages.

But to speake of hauing of concubines, two things are to be considered. First what the Romaine lawes ordeyned of it: Secondly, in what sort it was among the Hebrewes vsed, or what is to be vnderstand, when we reade that the fathers had concubines. As touching the first hauing of concubines, was by the ciuile law a certayne kind of matrimony: for a concubine was not a harlot, which was common to many, nor also a harlot, which was kept of a man together with his lawfull wife. And how much it differeth from a wife, it shall appeare by the definition of a concubine. For a concubine is she which hath the vse of mariage with one that liueth sole. But for that shee is not vnseperable, (bycause they that are so ioyned maye easely be seperated) therefore a concubine differeth muche from a very wife: Farther humayne rights are not communicated with her, for a Concubine goeth not into the family of him with whome shee is conuersant. Yea and they goodes and facultyes are not commune together, neither are the children borne of that coniunction, counted lawfull and iust heyres, vntlesse they be made legitimate by the benefyte of the prince. Wherfore it is by the Romaine law forbiidden that a manne should haue manye Concubines at once, and it is prohibited to haue a Concubine together with his wife. Wherfore by the Romaine lawes, such can not be counted as Concubines, which may be vsed as harlots, as a fre virgine, and a widow vnder .25. yeres of age: for if a man medle w them, eyther it shall be matrimony, or els iudged whoredome. Wherfore a widow maye be a Concubine, if before witnesses it be declared, that she is taken not for a wife, but for a Concubine. And lastly there can be no Concubine, whiche may not become a wife, although not in that place where she dwelleth, yet at the least in another place, which I therfore ad, because by the Romaine law it was not lawfull for the President to marry a wife of that prouince wher he gouerned, whiche yet he might haue as a Concubine.

Of hauing of Concubines.

Hauing of a Concubine seemed to the Romaines to be a kind of Matrimony. The definition of a Concubine

And if thou wilt demanda, whether the Romaine law allowed Concubines

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Whether the
Romaine lawe
allowed concu-
bines or no.

or no. I will answer, that they did absolutely allow the, because they condemed, not hauynge of Concubines as a thing vnlawfull, so that it were vsed as befoze is sayd. Yet it shadowingly reponeth that coniunction, when as it suffreth not the childezen bozne of Concubines to be lawfull & iust heyses, vnlesse at the length of a Concubine she should become a wife, or vnlesse it be by the authozity of the pynce. Howbeit we must know that the childezen of a Concubine, were admitted vnto a certayne little portyon of inheritance, but yet not to a like and equall portyon with the legitimate. Yea and the childezen bozne of a concubine, are not in the power of the father. But when of a Concubine she is made a wife, then it was necessary that there shoulde be tables of Patrimony.

If we will retayne the Romaine law, a handmayden cannot be made a Concubine: for by that law a handmayden could not be made a wife. For the coniunction of a free man with a handmaiden, the Romaine lawes called Contuberniu, neyther did they count it for a iust matrimonye. Howbeit by handmaydens the Romaines bunderode not hired seruantes, but such as were bought: whiche I therefore speake, because our hired handmaydens, are free persons, and therefore it is lawfull to contracte iust matrimony with them.

The Concu-
bines of the fa-
thers were
wiues.

But now let vs consider of the law of the Hebrewes, & what is to be thought of the Concubines of the fathers. They were in very deede wiues, although oftentimes they were handmaydens, as Agar, Bala, Zilpa, and as this Concubine of Gideon. In the iudgement seate, and as touching ciuile actions, it seemeth that free men of those places where these fathers were conuersant, could not contract matrimony with them, and therefore peradventure in holy scriptures they were called Concubines. But yet befoze god, that is by the law of matrimony instituted by hym, they were wyues. Wherefoze in the booke of Genesis Agar whyche is called a Concubine, is also called a wife. Therefore there were two differences betweene the Hebrew lawes and the Romaine lawes: bycause with them hauynge of Concubines was no matrimony, but with the Jewes it was befoze God: although openly and by ciuill reason, bycause of the seruile condicion of the woman, shee was not acknowledged peradventure for a wyfe. Farther, herein they differ, because the Jewes had handmaydens to theyr Concubynes: & the same was not lawfull for the Romaines, if we followe that lawe, that shee should be a Concubine, which may be made a wife. Wher as the Romaine lawes counted not that for matrimony, which was contracted with a handmayde. But this ciuill law was not in Ieromes tyme retayned in the Romaine Empire, eyther because the Ecclesiastical canons had mitigated it, or els for some other cause. For in his Epistle to Oceanus, he speaketh of certayne, whyche had theyr handmaydens in steede of wiues, for this cause not callinge them by the name of wyues, to auoide burthens, and charges, who yet if they became rich, made theyr handmaydens wiues. But we must know mozeouer, that where Concubines seemed to be allowed and permitted in the decrees, the same is to be vnderstand of those which are in very deede wiues, although by the Romaine lawes and ciuilly they were counted for Concubines, because that woman was not solely married, although there was a mutuall consent betweene them of matrimony. This which I haue brought is had in the distinction. 34. chapter. Isqui & Christiano. Whereof the first is the decree of the councell of Toletanus: the other is the testimony of Isidorus in his booke de distantia noui & veteris Testamenti. But when in the decrees there is mention made of Concubines, which are not in very deede wiues, they are vniuersally prohibited. And that is, when eyther party will not alway dwel together, neyther acknowledge one an other as man and wife.

Ierome

After what ma-
ner the decrees
permit Concu-
bines.

Why the son
of Gideon was
called Abime-
lech.

And this shalbe sufficient at this time as touching these things. Let vs now retorne vnto Gideon, who had by his Concubine a son named Abimelech. The Etymology of the name is: My father the king. Peradventure the concubine of Gideon was arrogant & proud, which counted Gideon for a king, and therefore called her sonne by this name, and kindled in him the flames of bearing rule, that he might right sore play the tyrant, and claim vnto himself a kingdome as dew vnto his father.

32 So Gideon the sonne of Joas died in a good age, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joas his father, in Ophra Abiezer.

33 But when Gideon was dead, the children of Israell turned away, and went a whoyring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their God.

34 And the children of Israell remembred not the Lord their God, whiche had deliuered them out of the handes of all their enemyes on every side.

35 Neither shewed they mercy on the house of Jerubbaal Gideon, according to all the good thinges whiche he had done in Israell.

There is often mencion made in the holy scripture of a good age. And in the 15. chap. of Genesis, it is promised vnto Abraham as a certaine excellent good thing. And it semeth to shewe two things: first a iust space of lyfe, so that death should not come vntimely, and strike as yet in tender age. Farthermoze it signifieth prosperity of life and a profitable end. Wherfoze it is required therunto that the minde be sound, the body not broken with diseases, no want of riches, the famely, countrey, and dignity abiding firme: this is iudged a good age. But what shal we recke of eternal life? I thinke Gideon obteyned it also, for as much as in the Epistle to the Hebrues the. 11. chap. he is numbred with those fathers, which liued adozned with faith. Thou wilt say peraduenture that his faith was not iustifieng and perfect, but onely of that kinde of faith which sufficed to woꝝke miracles. But I do not thinke that the Apostle, when he made mencion of Gideon, and of the other fathers, wrote of that faith. For the faith whiche there he speaketh of, he defined in the begynning that it is an *ἐπίστανσις* or (as they say) the substance of thinges to be hoped for, & a certapnty of y^e which is not sene. And in composing the Cataloge of the mē, which wher adozned with this faith, he maketh mencion of Abraham, whō he testifieth to haue ben iustified by faith. Wherby is gathered that the faith whiche is there attributed vnto the saintes, is the true and perfect faith, by whiche the godly are counted iust befoze God.

But they say, he fell into superstitions. I graunt y^e, but he might be renewed by repentaunce, whiche is the effect of true faith, and at the last attayne eternall lyfe. But thou wilt say, what repentaunce was this: when he ouerthwe not the Ephod whiche he set vp, neither reuoked the people from superstition? Undoubtedly there is neuer any repentaunce counted fruitefull, vnlesse that be amended which was done amisse. To this I aunswere, it might be (as Augustine saith) that this superstition began toward the latter end of his life, which thing, being repentaunt, he had decreed to take away if he had liued. But being preuented by death, he was not able to perfoꝝme it.

And was buried. They made no prayers or supplications to deliuer his spirite from the paynes of Purgatory, And we read not in any place of the old testamēt that for the same cause there were either sacrifices or oblations made.

And when Gideon was dead, the Israelites went a whoyring and worshipped Baal. Wherby we may learne how ingrate men are towards God. He had adozned them with so many benefites, & yet their good pꝛince being dead, which kept them in their duty, they fel straightway fro y^e true woꝝshipping of him. Wherfoze it hereby manifestly appeareth how diligently we must pray for good pꝛinces & a godly Magistrate: for then is vnderstand with how great a commodity they were geuen vnto the people, when now at the length the anger of God waxing fierce, they are taken away. For that there were many Baalim in this place is perticular mencion made of Baal-berith whiche a man may call *Iouē foederis*, or *Iouē foederatum*. Hym made they a God ouer them, and woꝝshipped him for the Lord. The summe of the woꝝshipping of him semeth to be this, that they refer,

What a good age is.

Whether Gideon was at the last saued or no

What Bahals berith was. The Jupiter of couenaunt.

red

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red al þ good things which they had, as receaued of him: & they belened þ he turned away fro them those euils which they were not troubled with. By reason of which faith, they counted him for their God, & worshipped his outward image.

And forgot the Lord their god. We can not worship strange gods but straight way we must cast away the true God. He is one, and therfore he refuseth to be worshipped with moze. Therfore it remaineth that they do not worship the true God, but they olone inuentions, as many as doo with the true God to yne other which are idoles: for there is no true God which wilbe worshipped that way. Ne els this is the sense of it, that the Israelites did wonderfully fall from the true God, because they did not onely worship Baal, but they so worshipped him, þ they utterly forgot the god of their fathers and grandfathers, & altogether abieted þ worshipping of hym. Which thing they vsed not alwayes to do: for many tymes they so allowed outward gods, þ yet in the meane tyme they retayned some part of the olde worshipping.

Neither shewed they mercy on the house of Gideon. That happened vnto the, which must nedes come to passe. When we departe from the true God, the offices of charity are neglected, for he which is euill agaynst God, can not be good to men. This vnderstoode the Emperour Constantius the father of Constantine: who thought that they would not be faithfull vnto him, which for to kepe still their dignitie, departed from the worshipping of Christ. Gideon in dede deserued so to be punished: but they ought not so to haue dealt agaynst hym, especially seing they behaued not themselves so for the reuenging of religion.

To shewe mercy, is a phrase much vsed of the Hebrewes, and it is read in many places in the holy Scriptures, neither signifieth it any thing els, then to do good, and to be of a gentle louing and ready minde to helpe those which haue nede. And that which is now spoken, by a certayne anticipation comprehendeth the narration which we shall heare in the chap. following, of the calamity and destruction of the house of Gideon. In the meane tyme let vs consider the nature of the worlde: it is wonderfully infected with the vice of ingratitude: we see in a maner no notable or excellent gifte bestowed vpon any man, which by the children of this worlde is not recompensed with great ingratitude. And yet for this occasion we must not suffer our selues to be withdrawen from doyng good, least when as other are euill, we imitate them in departing from our office. Let vs go forward to do good vnto our neighbours and brethren: who if they be thankful, let vs chiefly reioyse for the, and afterward for our selues. But if they be otherwise, let vs turne our selues vnto God himselfe, for whose cause we do rightly, decreing with our selues, that we must not haue a regard what the sinnes of men deserue, but what God requireth of vs, or what is decent for vs, remembryng þ God very often permitteth the vice of ingratitude in the worlde, whereby our mindes may be the moze erected vnto him, for whose cause all our thinges are to be instituted, and let vs so direct vnto him those thinges which we do, that we require nothing of this worlde to be redyed vnto vs as a reward. Farther, when we see that men do for the most part after this maner reward those with great euils, which haue done them much good, we may call to remembraunce the life to come, where shalbe redyed vnto euery man according to his workes. Which thing if we had not a confidence that it shall one day come to passe, we should bitterly take away the prouidence of God.

The ix. Chapter.

When Abimelech the sonne of Jerubbaal went to Sechem vnto his mothers brethren, and spake vnto them, and to all the samely of the house of his mothers father, saying.
 2 Say, I pray you, in the audiēce of all the men of Sechem

An example of
Constantius the
Emperour.

We must not
desiste fro wel
doyng because
of ingratitude.

Why God per
mitteth ingra
titude in the
worlde.

chem, whether is better for you that all the sonnes of Jerubbaal, whiche are 70. persons, either that one man reigne ouer you? Remember that I am your bone, and your fleche.

3 Then his mothers brethren spake of him in the audience of al the men of Sechem all these wordes: and their hartes were moued to follow Abimelech: for sayd they, He is our brother.

4 And they gaue him .70. peces of siluer out of y^e house of Baal-berith, wherewith Abimelech hired bayne and light fellows whiche followed him.

5 And he went vnto his fathers house in Ophza, and slew his brethren the sonnes of Jerubbaal, seventy persons vpon one stone. But Jothan y^e yongest sonne of Jerubbaal was lefte, for he hid himselfe.

6 And all the men of Sechem gathered together, with al the house of Willowe, and came and made Abimelech king, by the playne of the image whiche was in Sechem.

The destruction of the house of Gideon is declared, & the detestable vsurpation of tyzanny. Abimelech went, as I suppose from his fathers house: for he vnderstoode that he could not there easely go about that whiche in his minde he purposed. He was minded to bring into Israell the power of a king, and being otherwise a private man, went about to alter the state of the publique wealth. Which thing was bitterly vnlawfull. For that forme of gouernement, whiche the Hebrewes then vled, was instituted & allowed by God, even as it is wrytten in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Wherby is also gathered, that if at any time the people would haue a king, he ought to be created, whom the Lord appointed. Farther, if they should haue appointed a kyng by humane reason, so great a dignity pertayned not vnto him, whiche was borne of a concubine. It semeth that it should rather haue bene geuen vnto the other sonnes of Gideon, and to the first begotten, before the rest.

It is good to marke by what guile he worketh. He accuseth his brethren, as though they affected the kingdome. Whether (saith he) is it better, that I or they reigne? As though he would say, one of these two things must needs come to passe, and except I obteyne the kyngdome, they will clayme it vnto themselves: which was vtterly false. For they w^et about no such matter, yea it is rather to be thought but they followed their fathers steppes: who when y^e kingdome was offered him, refused it. Wherfore it is very likely that they as legitimate children would follow the example of their father. He goeth to those men chiefly whom he hoped would soone be wonne to come vnto him, namely vnto the kinsfolkes of his mothers.

He vseth glorious reasons. First he declareth y^e the rule of one alone is better than y^e dominion of many. And y^e is most easy to persuade humane reason. Wherfore Homere sayth: It is not good y^e many raigne, let there be one Lord. Which verse Aristotle bringeth in his Metaphisikes. Whiche thing in dede might be graunted as touching the institution & perfection of the nature of man. For in a kingdome occasions in deliberatynge are not overpassed and corrupted: and the execution of things decreed, is not delayed and slacked, as we see often happeneth where many beare rule. But in this corruption of nature it semeth to be otherwise, for as much as in it hangeth a daunger & that most grieuous, lest the kingdome should fall into the hands of a wicked man. Wherfore it is better to retayne Aristocratie, that is, the gouernance of many good men. Abimelech vseth not with the other argument, as he did before, namely the publique vtility, but the proper commodity of his kinsfolkes. I am (saith he) your fleche, and your bone. As though he would

Abimelech accuseth his brethren vniustly.

Homere.

Aristotle.

Whether a kingdome be better then a Republicke, or no.

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would haue sayd: When I am created kyng, I will chiefly haue a regard vnto you. I will increase you with riches, dignity and power. Wherefore it is better for you to chuse me for your king being your kinsman, rather then a straunger. He sayth that he is their flesh and bone, when as yet he was more flesh and bone of his brethren, and of his father whiche was dead. For children pertaine more vnto the father, then to the mother. But this fellow lieth in all things, and speaketh to get fauor, and yet guilfully. It is an Hebrew phrase, to be of bone and flesh of any man. Laban spake so vnto Iacob, when he required of hym Rachel for a wife. This sayd the Israelites also vnto Dauid, when they created hym kyng. And Paul to the Ephesians sayeth, that we are the members of Christe, flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones: for as much as he is our head and the head of the Church, as the husband is ioyned vnto the wyfe. In summe, it is a speeche whereby is declared the greatest coniunction that may be.

What to be
flesh & bloude
of any mā, sig-
nifieth.

The reasons of
Abimelech are
confuted.

Abimelech offendeth most grievously in these reasons. First, in that he affirmeth, that it is better that one do rule, and that the gouernement of many is to be auoyded: here I say he deceaueth and is deceaued: because this thing was not to be weighed by the nature thereof, but by the worde of God: for we must not obey humane reason, but the commaundementes of God. Farther, he deceaueth the Sichemites, whē as he sayth: Ye are my flesh and my bone, for althoughe we must haue a respect vnto our kinsfolkes, yet that must be done without any prejudice of the publique wealth, or breach of the commaundementes of God. Whereunto thou mayst adde, yet in electing Magistrates, a regard must be had to the common commodity, & not to a proper profit. But the people is moueable, especially to sedicions & tumults: therfore the Sichemites are content with the reasons of Abimelech, and gaue him money, whiche they would not willingly haue done for lawfull vses. The money was in the Temple, either because it was gathered of oblations, and therfore as holy there kept, or els because it was then the manner (as in the olde tyme it was at Rome) that the common money should be kept in the Temple of Saturne, whiche was the threasoury.

Why the money
was in the
Temple.

What manner
of men Abime-
lech adioyned
vnto him.

Seuenty peeces of Silver. Some interprete it a pounce of Silver, & other some, Silver peeces of money. But whatsoever it was, this summe we can not know precisely and exactly. But this is certayne if they were peeces of money, we must thinke they were of a great deale more weight, then are ours: for an harte could not be hired for so small a price. And the men with got them to this warre, are set forth by two wordes of very great signification: Rikim that is vayne, poore: Pechizim, that is light, and hedlonge. And as R. Dauid affirmeth in libro Radicum, these men are vnderstande to be light, chiefly in science or knowledge: in whiche signification the same worde is read in the Prophet Zephania the 3. chapter. Euen at this day also suche men are ready to go on warfarre, namely beggerly fellows, whiche haue wasted and consumed their goods, and whiche are light hedded, yea hedlong to take vpon them, and to do any wicked acte. And that commeth hereof, because they are lyght in science or knowledge, that is, they want iudgement and ryght reason. Andoubtedly warfarre is a thyng lawfull and iust, if a man vse it ryghtly. For, for as much as the holy Scriptures doo teache, that the Magistrate beareth the sword to reuenge wicked actes, and to defend the good, it followeth that he may arme souldiers, and call together his Citizens to a iust warre. Wherefore Christian men in the old tyme went on warfarre, when they were compelled to take wages euen of Ethnike princes. For the army of the Thebians was holy: for they were all in a maner slayne for Christes sake, and Christian souldiers sometymes when the host was almost destroyed with thyrste, by prayers thozough Christ obteyned water of God.

Warre maye
sometimes iust
be made.

Hired sould-
iers are not co-
mendable.

But amonge these holy souldiers, are not those hired warriors woorthy to be numbred, whiche for thre crownes a month wike not to put theyr lyfe to sale, & straghtwaye offer themselves, and runne vnto euery one that calleth them, when

they heare a Trompet oꝝ a Dromme, and addice themselves to hym that offretb them most, haupng no regard at all vnto the cause whiche they defend.

The Sechemites, if they had bene wise, ought, when they had heard the accusation agaynst the childe of Gideon, to haue enquired whether the thyng were so oꝝ no, and when they had founde it so, they ought to haue brought them to the Senadrim, that they might by theyr iudgement haue bene punished. But if they had founde it otherwise, it was their parte to haue chastned and kept vnder Abimelech as a false accuser. But they did otherwise, they consented to the consuration, and gaue the common money vnto Abimelech. At the least they should haue remembred this, that to them (whiche were but certayne members of that publique wealth) it pertayned not to create a kyng. At the length he proceedeth to the murther of his bꝛethꝛen, vndoubtedly a heynous crime, whiche (as it shalbe declared) spꝛange of a very great ambition. An accustomed example both in the holy Scriptures, and also in the Ethnike hystories. Cain slewe Abel. Ioseph was solde of his bꝛethꝛen. Ioram the sonne of Iehosaphat (as it is in Paralip. the 21. chap.) slewe all his bꝛethꝛen. Absolom also an vngodly sonne spared not euen hys own father. Romulus among the Ethnikes slewe hys bꝛother Remus, and Domitianus slewe Titus, Bassianus Caracalla also slewe Geta. And vndoubtedly tyme woulde not serue me, if I should rehearse all the examples of lyke sorte.

The sinnes of Sechemites

Senadrim was an assembly of 70. Elders.

Examples of murderers of kinsfolkes.

Pretences of murderers of their kinsfolkes

An answer of Alexander the great. Cicero.

The manner of the Scripture in reckenyng of numbers.

I am not ignoraunt that these manquellers pretended some excuses foꝝ theyr wicked acte, but they were but bayne. Firſte, they pretended that they foꝝ the publique wealths sake destroyed their bꝛethꝛen and kynfolkes whiche were all desirous to be kynges, because the kyngly power, whiche one pertayneth onely vnto one, can not be very commodiously distributed vnto many. So Alexander the Macedonian answered vnto Darius, that the worlde could not holde two sunnes, as though one should hinder the other in gouerning. Neither was Cicero ignoraunt of this reason, who in his 3. booke de Officiis sayth, that Remus slewe Romulus vpon a certayne shewe of vtility, as though he saw that the kingdome should better be gouerned by one, then by two. Whom yet he confesseth to haue offended, being deceaued with this shewe of vtility, and that he put of all humanity and pietie. The other thing whiche they pretended is, that therfoꝛe they slewe theyr bꝛethꝛen oꝝ kynfolkes, because they had conspired agaynst them. But when (I praye you) complayne they of conspiracies: euen then when they had slayne those, whom they complained of, & they could not defend themselves.

He slewe 70. brethren, excepte one namely Iotham, of whome shall mention be made afterwarde. The hystoꝛie writteth that there were 70. slayne, either because Abimelech so willed and commaunded, oꝝ elles because onely one wanted of that summe: whiche thyng we may see oftentimes vsed in the holy Scriptures, that some certayne number is mentioned as a full number, from whiche yet some may be taken away.

He slewe them vpon one stone. It is thought to haue bene some notable stone which was appoynted foꝝ a place of execution. Abimelech therfoꝛe is by a greate and detestable murther of hys bꝛethꝛen, consecrated kyng. Kynges were appointed to profit men, and to defend them: but he begynneth his kyngdome with murther. Wherfoꝛe he ought rather to be called a Tyranne, then a kyng. The place where he was created, is setfoꝛth: wherfoꝛe we must vnderstand that this woꝛde Alon, signifieth a plant, whiche R. David in libro Radicum supposeth to be a pine tree: Jonathan maketh it a chestnut tree: and Ierome turneth it alwayes an oke. Sometimes it signifieth a plaine: and the Chaldey paraphrast interpreteth it Mischar, that is, a playne field, wher assembled the Sechemites to create a kyng. There was an image oꝝ pillar set vp (as some thinke) to a superstitious wooꝛshippyng: whiche thyng althoughe it be not agaynst the wicked manners of this people and impiety of Abimelech, yet it is not of necessity

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that we should so thinke: for we rede many tymes in the Scriptures, that images were erected, not for diuine worshippynge, but for other causes. In the booke of Genesis the 31. chap. a heape of stones was set vp in mount Gilead as a bozder and monument vnto the posterity of Iacob and Laban: and in the 35. chap. of the same booke, a pillar was erected by the tombe of Rachel. Rea and Absalon adozned his tombe with an image.

**The famely of
Millo.**

The famely of the mother of Abimelech was not noble, when as she tooke her name of the towne. Millo is the name of her house. That worde signifieth other wise a gulfe filled, whiche Salomon built by the City of Ierusalem. The Sechemites created a king, the other tribes neither were at it, neither wer they called. So was there a schisme among the Israelites, whiche is wont oftentymes to happen when the worshipping of god is violated. These thynges haue I bylesy noted as concernyng the Hystory.

Now let vs moze nighly looke vpon the wicked and flagitious actes, by which this man came vnto his tyzanny. First he was very ambitious, he deceatfully and falsely accuseth his bzethzen, bleseth the cozruption of bybery to worke treason, is a robber of the commo theasoz, he wzought by open violence, and at the last committed murther of his bzethzen, called Parricidium.

Of Ambition.

**What Ambition
is.
What honoz is
Excellent men
are iustly hono
red.**

As touching the first, Ambition is to much desire of honoz. And honoz is that reuerence which is geuen vnto any man, to beare testimony of his excellency. And that testimony is bozne vnto hym iustly and of right: because it is mete, that we recompence somewhat vnto them, whiche doo helpe and nozise vs, and are endelwed with giftes of God. And we haue nothing moze worthy or better then honoz. Farther, that they and their like may go forwarde to excercise them selues longer and moze constantly in helping & keeping of other. Mozeouer, that we adding such reuerence, may get vnto them authozity, whereby they may the moze aptly and commodiously execute their office. Hereby it is manifest that it is lawfull euen for holy men also to embrace the honours whiche are geuen vnto the for vertue, doctrine, and pietyes sake. For they both desire and allow things that are iust, and do reioyse that men persozme that whiche the law of God will haue done. And he commaundet to honoz the father, the mother, the Magistrate, and such like. Wherefoze if men obey his pzeceptes, holy men can not but accept it thankfully. Thou mayst adde, that if it should not so be, their ministry would be contemned, whiche is by all meanes to be auoyded.

**It is lawfull
for godly men
to receaue the
honours offered
them,**

**What must be
taken heede of
when honours
are admitted.**

**Honoz is the
rewards of ver-
tue.**

But because we are prone to pride, hautesnes, and arrogancy: therfoze we must beware, and that circumspectly, that for the desire of honoz, we abuse not that whiche after a sorte may be iust. Wherefoze I thought it good to note those thynges, whiche I iudge are to be taken heede of in this thing. First, that we rest not in this kinde of good, as in the last end. Whatsoeuer we do, must be directed vnto God, and especially that honoz whiche is geuen vnto vs, when we rightly and ozderly execute our duties, so that thereby both we our selues may know, & also teach other to glozify God, & not men in good woorkes. For this hath Christ commaunded, that we shoulde so direct our woorkes, whereby they whiche see the, may glozify God the heavenly father. Neither ought this to moue vs which is commonly spoken, y honoz is the rewarde of vertues. For y is not to be vnderstand, neither as touchyng y vertues theselues, noz yet in respect of the me whiche are adozned with the. For it shuld be very yll w either of the, if they had no other ende persozmed then honoz. The ende of good men is eternall lyfe, and the heavenly kyngdome. And the ende of vertues, is to pzeare and renewe vs to the gloz of God. But honoz is called the rewarde of vertues, as touchyng other, whiche

whiche doo beholde and wonder at the giftes of God in good and holy men: and when they desire to offer or recompence them somewhat, and haue nothing excellenter then honoꝝ, then doo they gene that. Wherefoze after this maner is honoꝝ counted the rewarde of vertue. The other caution is, that a man doo not so burne with the desire of honoꝝ, that he care not howe he come by it, whether it be by right or by wrong. Salust hath writtē an excellent sentēce of this thyng: The good man and the euill doo both a lyke desire vnto themselves gloꝝye, honoꝝ, and rule: this man the true waye, but the other, because he wanteth good artes, contendeth to attayne it by guiles and disceates. Thirdely we must be ware, that a man desire not moze honoꝝ, then his merites and vertues require: or extoꝝt dignify and honoꝝs, when as rather he is woꝝthy of vituperation. For this should be both absurde, and also want all maner of iustice.

Howe honoꝝ is the rewarde of vertue.

Salust.

Abimelech tooke not heede of the thynges whiche I haue rehearsed, but incurred them all. For he set befoze hym the kyngly power, or rather tyzanny, as the laste ende: so to it directed he all his actes and cogitations, also he contented vnto it by disceates and guiles, and not by the good waye and iust meanes. Yea he seemeth rather to graunte vnto a sentence of Euripidis: That ryght it selfe is to be violatēd for dominions sake. And soz as much as he wanted merites, he rather extoꝝted honoꝝ, whiche is geuen as a testimony of vertues, then got it vnto hymselfe by iuste meanes. He deceaueth his Citizens with no obscure kynde of byberye, soz he flatteryngly requirēth of them the kyngdome, because he woulde bestowe vpon them greate and mozte ample benefites, soz as muche as he was theyꝝ kynseman. The lawes also of the Ethnikes doo condemnē suche inoꝝdinate ambition. For as muche as in the lawe Iulia, de ambitu, it is decreed, that he whiche by byberye obtayned honours, shoulde be condemned, both by payng of money, that is, a hundꝝeth crownes, and therewith all made infamous.

Abimelech is ambitious.

A sentence of Euripidis.

The Ethnikes lawes condemnē inoꝝdinate ambition.

He deceaueth his byethzen by a false accusation, as we haue shewed: and goeth farther and committeth treason agaynst the people of the Hebꝛues. For he attempted to alter, yea rather to euerte the state of that publique wealth. In the digestes ad l. Iuliam, Maiestatis, he is sayde to committe that crime, whiche byd any thyng agaynst the people of Rome, or agaynst the safety thereof. And who seeth not that Abimelech very diligently conspired agaynst the libertie of the Hebꝛues. He infringeth this lawe also: whosoener hath with hym men armed with swoꝝdes and weapons, and kepeth possession of some certayne places: whiche thyng the hystoꝝy affirmeth that Abimelech dyd. For he gathered together souldiers and came into Ophrath, & inuaded his fathers house. Wherefoze he committeth treason, which (as Vlpianus testifieth) is next vnto sacrilege. Abimelech also is guilty of robbing the common treasure, when as he abused the money, whether it were publique or holy, to his owne pꝛinate vse.

Abimelech falsely accuseth his byethzen & committeth treason.

Abimelech is guilty of robberyng the commons treasure.

Of murther of parentes or kinsfolkes

called Parricidium.

Lastly, whiche was mozte heynous of all, he polluteth hymselfe with the Parricidium, murther of his byethzen: of whiche wicked crime there are many thynges writtē in the ciuile lawes ad l. Corneliā de Parricidiis. And as farre as I can gather out of the lawes & hystoꝝyes, in the old tyme the name of that crime was geuen vnto those whiche murthered their parentes, grandfathers, great grandfathers &c. vnto those also whiche murthered their sonnes, newewes, and sonnes in the .iiii. degree &c. But afterward Pompeius extended the signification thereof farther, & they were called Parricidæ whiche slew their byethzen, sonne in lawes, daughter in lawes, father in lawes, or mothers in lawes, and suche other. Although there was an olde lawe, and geuen by Numa Pompilius: He that wil-

A lawe of Numa Pompilius

tingly

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Augustine.

lingly bringeth a man to death, let him be taken for a parricide. And also Augustine in his 3. booke de Ciuitate dei the 6. chap. counted Romulus guilty of Parricidium, bycause he slew his brother. And there he derideth the Ethnikes, which affirmed that they gods suffered Troy to be destroyed, bycause they would take vengeance of the adultery of Paris. But holwe (sayeth he) were they sauozable vnto Rome, when as the builder thereof committed straghtwaye at the beginning parricidium? But the same Augustine in his booke de Patientia (which yet is supposed to be none of his) in the 13. chap. appointeth a certayne latitude of degrees betwene Parricides: for (as he sayth) he sinneth moze haynously which killeth his parentes or children, then he whiche murdereth his brethren. And he whiche sleaeth his brethren, offendeth moze, then he whiche destroyeth those whiche are farther of a kynne. And the wicked crime of sleayng parentes or grandfathers, seemed to be so horrible, that at Rome for the space of 600. yeares, from the building of the City it was not committed. Pea and Romulus, making no mencion of it in his lawes, and beyng demaunded, why he left it out, answered, that he could not be perswaded that any suche thyng can happen vnto men. Solon also beyng asked why he lykelyse by his lawes restrayned not parricidium, answered: that he by occasion of his lawes would not admonishe men of so horrible a wicked crime, and stirre them by vnto it after a sorte by his admonishyng. For it oftentimes happeneth that they whiche prohibite certayne vices, prouoke men to fall into them, whiche very often will doo those thynges whiche they are forbidden.

Romulus in his lawes made no mencion of Parricidium. In answer of Solon.

The punishment of Parricides.

But as for the murder of brethren and kynskolkes, it was a thing vled enen from the begynnyng, as all histories do testifie. And the punishment of parricides whiche slewe they parentes or children was by lawes (as it is had ad legem Corneliam de parricidis) that they should be solwed in Culeo, that is, in a lether sacke, & with them were put an Ape, a Cocke & a Asper, & the they were cast into the deepe of the sea, or into the next river. But they which slewe of their kynskolkes or consins, were punished with the sword onely. These punishments, if they were at any tyme by the Magistrates neglected or winked at, God himself punished, as the history of Samuell declareth of Absalon, whych slew his brother, and most cruelly inuaded his father. He striketh also with furiousnes & madnes those men whiche commit such horrible wicked actes, as both the Poetes & also the historiographers write of Nero & Orestes. For either of the whē he had slaine his mother, was mad. And it is a comō sayng, y they which comit so great a wicked acte, cā not be quiet in mynde. Wherfoze Cicero in his Oracion for Roscius saith, y certayne pong me of Terracinēsis which were accused for killing their father, wer by this meanes absolved, bycause they wer found in y morning sleeping, for y iudges could not beleue y they could slepe, which had committed so detestable an acte. Domitianus also whiche slew his brother Titus, was killed by y vengeance of God. And in like maner Balsianus Caracalla, whē he had destroyed his brother Geta. And not to ouerpasse our Abimelech, God (as we shall heare) sent an euill spirite betwene hym and the princes of Sichemites, and either party was taken with a certayne furie, so that at length they destroyed one an other.

Cicero.

7 And they told it vnto Jotham, who went, & stode on the toppe of mount Gerizim, & lift by his voyce & cried, & said vnto them: Herke vnto me ye men of Sechem, that God may herken vnto you.

8 The trees went forth to anoynt a king ouer them, and sayd vnto the oliue tree, reigne thou ouer vs.

9 But y oliue tree said vnto the, should I leaue my fatnes, wherby by me they honoz God & man, & go to aduance me aboue the trees.

10 Then the trees sayd vnto the figge tree, come thou and reygne ouer

ouer vs.

11 But the fig tree answered them: Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruite, and go to aduance me aboue the trees?

12 Then sayde the trees vnto the vine: Come thou and be king ouer vs.

13 But the vine sayd vnto them: Should I leaue my wyne, which maketh mery both god and man, and go to aduance me aboue the trees?

14 Then sayd al the trees vnto the brymble: Come thou and raigne ouer vs.

15 And the brymble sayde vnto the trees: If ye wyll annoynte me kynge ouer you, come, and put your trust vnder my shadow: and if not, let the fyre come out of the brymble, and consume the Ceders of Lebanon.

16 Now therfore if ye haue done truly and vncorruptly, to make Abimelech king: and if ye haue delte well with Jerubbaal, and with his house: if mozeouer ye haue done vnto him accordyng to the deseruyng of his handes:

17 (For my father foughte for you, and aduentured his life, to deliuer you out of the handes of Midian.

18 And ye are risen vp against my fathers house this day, and haue slayne his chyldren. 70. persons vpon one stone: and haue made Abimelech the sonne of his mayde seruant, king ouer the men of Sechem: because he is your brother.)

19 If ye, I say haue delte truly and vncorruptly with Jerubbaal & his house this day, reioyse ye with Abimelech, & let him reioyse with you.

20 But if not, let a fire come out from Abimelech, and consume the men of Sechem, & the house of Millo. Also let a fire come forth from the me of Sechem, and from the house of Millo & destroy Abimelech.

21 And Jotham ranne away, and fled, and wet to Beer and dwelt there from the face of Abimelech his brother.

Jotham the brother of Abimelech inspired (as it appeareth) with the spirite of god, threatneth that punishments are at hande both for him and for the Sechemites. He ascended vpon the mount Gerizim, whiche was nere vnto the cite of Sechem. In the booke of Genesis. 34. chapter. there is mention made of this cite: at that tyme Hemor the father of Sechem possessed it, who rauished Dina: wherefore the cite was destroyed by Simeon and Levi. And afterwarde Iacob gaue it vnto Joseph, to haue it besides his common lot in the lande of Chanaan for his posterity, as we rede in the same booke the 48. chapter. Wherefore it was in the tribe of Manasses, and as Ierome in his Hebrew questions vpon Genesis testifieth, Iacob was there healed of his halting, which he got by twasting with the angel, as it appereth in the same booke the 34. chap. namely y he came Salem to the cite of Sechem. And we must know, that Salem there is not a name of a cite, but signifieth safe and sound. Otherwise Salem longed not to the Amorhites but to the Jebusites, whiche afterwarde was called Ierusalem. In his Epistle to Eustochius. wherby conteyneth an Epitaph of Paule, the same Ierome writeth that this cite lay situate by the side of roote of mount Gerizim, and in his time it was cal-

The cite of Sechem.

Ierome
A place of Genesis is exposed.

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led Neapolis, and it longed vnto the Samaritanes. And the same is it whiche Iohn maketh mention of in his Gospel the .4. chapter, wher it is written Sichar, but (as Ierome sayth) by a corrupt word, for it should haue bene written Sechem. Whither went Iesus, when he went out of Iewry into Galile.

But the mount Gerizim and Eball lay one ouer agaynste an other, and in one of them euery yeare were recited blessings, and in the other, cursings. Whither did Iotham ascend, peradventure at that time (as some suppose) when the multitude was assembled, according to the institution to heare the blessings and cursings of the law. Whiche thinge yet (to speake as it is) seemeth to me not verie likely, for as much as I rather beleue that for the worshipping of Baal, that ceremony was omitted, and partelye because it seemeth that the multitude did for this cause assemble thither, with a solempne assemblie to constitute Abimeleche theyr new kyng. Wherefore in that solempnitye, Iotham spake these thinges, undoubtedly by the holy Ghost, as the euent taught. The same of his oration containeth an exprobaton of the wickednes which they had committed, and a threatening of most grieuous punishments. And that the thinge mighte be made moze playne and manifest before theyr eyes, he vseth a most elegant Apology.

Of a fable and Apology.

What a fable
is.
Augustine.

An Apologie they saye is a kinde of fable. And they define a fable to bee a narration of a false thing, sayned for comodities sake, or oblectation. As Augustine sayth in his .2. booke and .11. chapt. de Soliloquiis, a fable is a lye made for delectation: althoughe properly it cannot be called a lye. For the falsenes is straightway found out, and specially in Apologies. For in them are brought in insensible or vnreasonable creatures, talking one to an other, and entreating of matters very weighty. And as sone as the bearer perceaueth y, straightway he vnderstandeth that the thing is sayned, and not so done in dede. And vndoubtedly by certayne thinges in fables are very likely, and some are most farre distant from probability. For it is very likely, that sometyme there arose a contention between Ajax and Vlisses, for the armor of Achilles, which was iudged at the length vnto Vlisses, and that Ajax therfore toke such a displeasure, that becomminge madde he slawe himselfe. But contrarywise it is altogether impzobable that a woman was turned into a plant or into a stone. Wherefore an Apology may be counted a fable which is not likely.

Certain fables
are likely and
some are not.

In Apology.

The kinde of
a fable.
What fables
are to be repu-
diated, & what
to be admitted.
Fulthy fables
are to be repu-
diated.

The kinde of a fable are, Comedies, Tragedies, Satires, and Narrations of Virike and Heroike Poesies, & also Apologies. But which of these sayned thinges are lawfull, and which are vnlawfull, thus may be discerned. They which haue filthinesse & scurillity, that is, mirth ioyned together with filthines, ought not to be admitted. But those which are written honestlye and shamefastlye, so that they refresh the mind with some pleasure, and are also profitable to set forth good maners, are not to be despised. That filthy ones are to be repudiated, the Apostles confymeth by two testimonies. To the Corinthians in the first Epistle he writteth: Quill communications corrupt good maners. And to the Ephesians the .v. chapter it is written, let whozedom and all vncleannes and couetousnesse not reigne in you, as it becommeth sayntes: then is added *ἀσχηρότης μορφολογία*, and *ἡσυχία*, and whiche are not comelye. By these wordes he repproueth all those communications which are contaminated with filthines & scurillity. The same thing saw Plato in his thirde booke de Repub. wher he excludeth Poesies which spake of gods, as though they should speake of men. Bycause they in so writing, do both vnworthely intreate of the nature of god, which is best and most high, & also they excuse the sinnes of common men, when as they tell theye that both the gods and also noble me committed the same sins, which thing assuredly we may see in the comodye Enochus of Terence, where Cherea a wycked yonge man (be holding a wanton table in the harlotes house, wherein was painted Iupiter per-
syng

Plato.

Terence

syng vnto Danae by a showre) began to haue a pleasure in himself, because he be-
 yng a vile man did those thinges, wherby he knew by that tale the chief God in
 the olde tyme committed. I did it (sayth he) and I dyd it with a good will. Cicero
 also: Homere (sayth he) sayned these, and transferred humayne thinges vnto the
 gods: I had rather they had transferred thinges diuine vnto vs.

Augustine in his .1. booke of Confessions the .15. and 16. chap. complaineth and
 sorroweth, that he being a child and younge man, learned profitable wordes. But
 yet in thinges wayne. I would to god (sayth he) I had bene instructed in profita-
 ble writings: I had Iupiter thādzing and therewithall cōmitting adoultry. The
 myndes and affections of men are prone inough vnto vices: wherfoze it is wicked-
 lye done, that childzen and younge men should in that age be by vyle and filthye
 fables stirred vp vnto sins. Apologies are profitable, whych consisting both of
 honest wordes, and good arguments, do rightly instruct that first age. Elope the
 auncients wryter happely exercised hymselfe in this kinde, althoughe there are
 some which referre his Apologies vnto Hesiodus, who was auncienter thē Elope.
 But this our Apology (wherof we now entreat) was wrytten long befoze Elope
 and Hesiodus tyme. For the tyme of the Iudges, and namelye of Gidion, was an
 hundred yeres and moze, befoze the war of Troy. There is an other Apology
 also in the .1. booke of kinges the .14. chap. where Amasias obteynning the victorie of
 the Edomites, prouoked the king of Israel to make war with him. Vnto whom
 the king Ioas answered thus: The thistle of Libanon sent vnto the Cedze that
 is of Libanon, and sayd: Geue thy daughter to my son to wife. And he wylde beaste
 went out of Libanon and trode downe the thistle. By which Apology he shewed
 that he was so much greter, thē Amasia the king of Iuda, as the Cedze excelleth
 the thistle, and admonished him that he should after that sozt be troden downe &
 oppressed of his host, as was the thistle by wilde beastes.

These thinges haue I therfoze rehearsed, lest the Greke and Ethnike wryters
 should be thought to be the first inuenters of these profitable saynings. All men
 agre in this, that the vse of Apologies are then to be had, when we haue to do wth
 rude persons. For they vnderstand neither perfect Sillogismes, nor vnperfect, ney-
 ther are they able to perceaue inductions, so that of particulars they cang-
 gather vniuersals. And they passe not vpon the exāples of noble men, for that
 they themselves are abiect and base. Wherfoze when such wayes of doctrine can
 not take place, there remaineth nothing but sayned narrations, where beyng al-
 lured by the names of the thing, they geue much heede to the thinges which are
 spoken, and sometimes at the length are perswaded. They are good also to help
 memory: for thinges that are so newe & pleasānt, do very much delight: & thinges that
 are so sweete, are not so easely forgotten. Farther, men will easlier suffer them-
 selues to be repproued by Apologies, then by open wordes: for the playne truth
 engendzeth hatred. But beyng couered wth Apologies and darke speeches it may
 be suffered. At the beginning the hearers know not wherto the thing tēdeth: ther-
 foze for they knowe not what wilbe spoken, they tary out the end, & are at the
 last peraduenture perswaded. Christe finished the whole parable of the vine: and
 at the end the Phariseis and Scribes vnderstode that it was spoken against the.
 So also among the Romayns Menenius Agrippa by an Apology wōne the people,
 which wer departed, to adioine themselves agayn to the Patritias. For these causes
 are Parables, dreames & visions of Prophets very much vsed in the holy scriptures.

The fable of Elope of the frogges which desired a kinge, differeth not muche
 from this Apology which we are now in hand with: for to the after the beame of
 poss which they dispised, was geuen a dragō, which by litle & litle eat the vp al.

And I wil begyn at the declaration of the fable wherin it is said: If ye haue done
 rightly and orderly, reioyse with Abimelech, and Abimelech with you. But if not,
 let a fire come out from him, & consume you. The oliue tree, vine tree, & syg tree
 is the samelye of Gideon: and the trees which desire a kinge are the Sechemites.

Cap. 9. A Commentarie vpon the

Of the bzable
or bzlar.
Plini.

And as among trees there are some noble and some abject: so also among men there are some noble and excellent, and some vnnoble and of no reputation. The bzamble bzter signifieth Abimelech. Plini in his 24. booke and. 14. chapt. writeth of this kind of tree. And as touching this matter, these are the properties thereof: it is a plant vile and abject, as was Abimelech, who was a bastard and borne of a hand mayd, so that he was not to be compared with his bzetbern. And as he without any vtility gouerned the Israelites, so is the bzable wont to bring forth no frute. The bzamble also pricketh, even as Abimelech very much hurted the Israelites. Whereouer some write that the bowes of bzambles are sometimes so vehemently shaken and moved with the winde, that out of them is fire kindled, wherewith not only they themselves burn, but the whole wood wherin they grow is burnt: which thinge Iotham now settelleth to come to passe of Abimelech. Wherefore the properties do wonderfully well agree.

But here are two questions offered vnto the readers. The first is, because it is said that the trees wente to the Olive tree, vine tree, figge tree, and bzamble, to create them a king, when as the Sechemites went not vnto Abimelech, and vnto the sonnes of Gideon, but rather Abimelech wente vnto them. The other is, wee do not here reade that the sonnes of Gideon refused the kingdome offered vnto them, or answered those thinges which the trees sayd, when they were called to raygne.

The latter question I thinke may be dissolved two wayes, sayinge, that the sonnes of Gideon in dede answered not so: but they would haue answered so, if they had bene demaunded. Wherefore Iotham knowyng so right well all their mindes and wyll, seemeth not to speake so muche from the purpose. Or els we may say, that Gideon hymself answered for his sonnes, when he said: I wil not reygne ouer you, God himself shall raygne ouer you, And that we maye vnderstand, what the three noble trees ment by theyr answers, this isto be called a gayne to remembrance, that the kingdome was offered vnto Gideon, not onely for himselfe, but also for his sonne, and sonnes sonne. Wherefore he refused the kingdome for three. And hereof it cometh (as the Rabbines suppose) that there are three kindes of trees brought in.

But as touching the first question, the Sechemites and Israelites came not vnto Abimelech, to make him theyr kinge, but yet the holy ghoſte so speaketh by Iotham, because he is he that knoweth the hearts, & knew that that people laboured with this desire to haue at the length a king. For they had manifestly declared it before, when they offered the kingdome vnto Gideon, & afterwarde more manifestly they shewed it in the time of Samuel, when they altogether desired to haue a king geuen them, as other nations had.

What manner
of argument is
gathered out of
this Apologie.
Argumentum
a comparatis
A maiore ad
minous.
Maior.

Minor.

Out of this Apology is drawn an argument of thinges compared together. For the sonnes of Ierubbaal are compared with Abimelech, as farre nobler then he, even as the olyue tree, vine tree, and figg tree do farre excell the bzamble and bzter. And the reason is from the greater vnto the lesser by negation, as though it should haue bene sayd: If euen they would not raygne, and iudged that it was not lawfull for them, which were most excellent, endewed with vertues & faculties, apte and mete for to raygne: much lesse is it lawfull for him to reigne which wanteth vertues, and is vnapt for a kingdome. But they which were noble, & might haue raygned, would not, neyther did they thinke that it was lawfull for them. Wherefore Abimelech neyther could, neyther oughte, to haue bene by you appoynted kinge. The first proposition is manifest ynough by the rule of thinges compared: and the second most manifestly appeareth by the Apology. We maye by the like argument reason of the Ecclesiasticall state.

For

For if the fathers which were endued with a great spirite, notable in wonder: full vertues, and excellent doctrine, would not execute the office of a Pope or Monarchy in the Church, or take vpon them p[ri]ncipality ouer all Bishops and Churches: that is much les to be graunted vnto their posterity, which are much inferiour vnto them, yea not to be compared with them. But they would not: wherfoze neither is it meete that those shoulde. The first p[ro]position appeareth (as we haue already said) by the rule of thinges compared: but the minor is p[ro]ued both by Ciprian, and also by the Counsell of Carthage, lykwyse by Augustine, Leo, and Gregory.

Farthermoze, by this act we gather, what euill commeth by chaunging the state of a publike wealth, especially when it was allowed by the woord of God, as was the Aristocratie of the Hebrewes. Neither was there any cause, why they should chaunge that forme of the publike wealth: for God hym selfe gouerned them, gaue them 70. Elders, and raised them by Iudges in perillous tymes. In like maner ther was no cause why the Church should chaunge the forme of her gouernment. Neither can they which brought in the Papacy alledge any thing which the Hebrewes could not haue said to deserd their petition for hauing a king.

For as these men saine for themselves, that the Church shoulde be rightlier gouerned by one, namely the Bishop of Rome, then by many Bishops, of whiche every one fully shoulde haue care, as touching his owne portion: so myght the Jewes haue alledged, that their kingdome shoulde be farre better gouerned by one, then by many. And they might haue spoken that with much moze likelyhood, when as the land of Chanaan extendeth not so farre as the Church, & very many thinges as touching ciuil matters maye be better executed by a kyng that is absent, then the Church which extendeth most largely, can be gouerned of a Pastor that dwelleth in Regions most farre.

Fire commeth out of Abimilech, because oppression taketh his beginning of Tirannes. So sayd Samuel vnto the Hebrewes, that the king would make theyr children Carters, their daughters handmaidens, and compel them both to eare and tyll their ground, and take awaye from them their best Oliue gardens and bynepardes. Neither was that which Samuel rehearsed, the right of a king and appointed of God, but that, which as the Prophet saw, kings would after ward blurpe. Otherwise the law of a king is contained in Deut. the. xviij. chap. From the Pope, as it is here said, there is come forth a fyre, whiche hath wasted and corrupted all Churches.

But it is meete to consider what the profitable and fruitful trees answered when they were required to take vpon them a kingdome. They saide they were content with their owne good thinges: and therefore they would neither receaue a kingdome, or suffer anye alteration of their state. After the same maner euen holy and godly men doo. Ambrosius very much and long time resisted, because he would not be created bishop of Millane. Augustine also many wayes laboured to be no Elder or Bishop. And among the Ethnikes Numa Pompilius long time & much deferred, befoze he would take vpon him the kingdom of Rome. Diocletianus, although befoze he gouerned very tyrānically & very cruelly, yet after he resigned it, & being desired to take vpon him the Empire again, he utterly refused it. Saul also (to turne to the holy hissozy) bid him self among the stufte & burthens, when he shoulde be publikely consecrated. But now a daies, because we haue thornes and bryambles euery where, al men with a wonderfull ambition desire to be created Bishops or Popes, and by their tumult and importunity, all Ch[ri]stendome is in a maner shaken. Wherfoze it is the part of good men to be content with their vocation, and not rashly to demit themselves vnto that vocation which is against the woord of God: especially when in that vocatiō, wher in they are placed of God, they may be both beloued of him, & also profitable vnto me: as the Oliue tre, vine tree, & fig tree in this Apology testify of the selues.

But

The argument is applied vnto the Pastors of the Church.

The Church oughte not to haue altered the forme of the gouernment thereof

Tirannes oppresseth and gouerneth not.

Holy men wyl not be promoted aboue other men.

Oblation.

But how answered the Olive tree, that his fruit is much made of, not onely of men, but also of God: That is therefore so said, because God in his tabernacle would haue lightes burning, which wer maintained with the purest oyle. Farthermore, Minacha, whether it wer of meale, or of graynes, of fruite, or of fine cakes, it was comanded to be ouersprinkled with oyle. Moreover, Priests, Prophets & Kings, wer annoynted with oyle. Also with oyle wer made many plasters, salues, cered clothes, and diuers and manifold medicines. And in many other countries, for want of aboundance of butter, meates are seasoned with oyle. And in the Psalme. 104. it is said, that it is good to beautify the face. Therefore it is not absurdlye sayde, that both God and man make much of this liquor. But in that it is said, that wyne maketh God mery, it ought not so to be vnderstand, as though God either drinke, or hath neede of wyne, to make him mery; but because in sacrifices pouringes out of wine were had. And as the Rabbinis declare: the Lewites in the oblation of sacrifices, did then begin to sing with the voice, trumpets, and harpes, when the wyne was pouted out.

Of wyne and dronkenness.

A diuision of that which shal be intreated of.

But because very manye vntemperate men, being reproued for dronkenness, are wont by this sentence to excuse their sinne, which otherwise is most filthy, saying that they abuse not wyne, soasmuche as they vse it to that ende, for which it was inuented, and created of God, namelye that men with it shoulde make them selues mery: therefore I thought it good to refell their wantonnes. Therefore first I wil declare the iust vse of wyne. Afterward I will shewe the abuse thereof, teaching it to be against the law of God. Then wil I bring exam- ples, manifestly to open that the abuse of it is a thing as wel damnable as filthy and detestable. Moreover I wil rehearse the horrible effectes of this euill. And lastly I wil answer to those cauillations and sophistical argumentes, by which the Epicures defend dronkenness, and the abuse of wyne.

Wealthful and honest vices of wyne.

1. As touching the first I deny not, but that wine hath excellent properties. For it quencheth thirst, which might also be done with water, but not so commodiously: because wine in quenching of thirst, maketh a man strong, and engendzeth spirites, whereby nature is very much recreated. Farther, it is medicinable for colde and weakenes both of the stomake, and also of the other powers, whiche serue for the life of man. Therefore Paul writeth vnto Timothe to vse wine for the stomacke, and often diseases thereof. It is sometimes also not vnprofitably occupied outwardly for woundes. Therefore in the. x. of Luke it is writtē, that the Samaritane bound the woundes of him whom he found halfe dead, and poured wine and oyle in them. Moreover wyne maketh mery, and helpeth not a lytle to drue away sadnes and heauynes of the minde. And therefore Salomon writeth in his Proverbs the. 31. chap. Geue strong drinke to them which are heauy, & wyne to them that haue grieve of hart. Let them drinke and forget their pover- ty, and no more remember their sorrow. And we rede in the. 104. Psalme, wine reioyceth the hart of man.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

The wonder- ful liberality of God towards men.

For so great was the goodnes of God towards men, that he would geue vnto them not onely thinges necessary to lyue by, but also largely bestow on them delicacies: because properly and by himselfe he delighteth not in the pensiuenes, sadnes, and heauines of men, but desireth to haue them liue holily, and godly- ly, with an honest and holy mirth of hart. Therefore he hath graunted vnto the, not onely the vse of wine, but also oyle, and most pleasant odours, also flesh, and likewise diuers and manifold kindes of meate. Undoubtedly the vse of wyne is sometimes profitable vnto those, which are recovered of their diseases, & must be restozed to their old health, and as a certaine Philosopher sayth, a heuines & cer- taine bitterness of old men are by it likewise mitigated and lenified, as hoppes, which otherwise are most bitter, become swete, being stiped in water. But we must

must take heede that we keepe a measure, other wise the gladnes which by wine is sought, is easely turned vnto most great heauines. For the intemperance of wine doth easely lose his vtility. *We must keepe a measure in drinking of* *Wine* *is* *the* *use* *of* *wine* *a* *very* *heavy* *thing,* *and* *ful* *of* *danger.* *Wherefore* *it* *is* *necessary* *to* *put* *a* *difference* *betwene* *the* *use* *and* *abuse* *therof.*

Moreover, this is to be added, that to haue to much drinke, or to be dronke, *A distinction of drunkenness.* *Marsilius Ficinus.* may be taken two wayes, either properly, or Metaphorically. This difference Marcilius Ficinus plainly teacheth in the argumēt of his Dialogue de Iusto, and maketh one kinde of drunkennes about the Poone, or celestial, stirred vp by drinke, king of heauenly drinke, wherby the minde being set without it selfe, and aboue it selfe, forgetteth al mortal diseases, and onely considereth thinges diuine, by the brightnes wherof, first it wareth dimme, but after that it somewhat tasteth the sauour of them, it is by a new heate chaunged from his first habite or quality, wherby within a while it clearly beholdeth spiritual thinges, and whilest it healthfully tasteth them, it is with great fruit nourished. *Wherefore* *it* *is* *written* *in* *the* *Psalme:* *we* *shal* *be* *made* *drunken* *of* *the* *plentifulnes* *of* *thy* *house.* *Pea* *and* *Museus* *an* *ancient* *Poet* *saith,* *that* *the* *reward* *of* *vertue,* *is* *perpetual* *drunkenness.* *And* *Orpheus* *before* *Museus* *said,* *that* *the* *same* *was* *signified* *by* *the* *ceremonies* *and* *holy* *seruises* *of* *Dionisius.* *The* *other* *kinde* *of* *drunkennes* *he* *saith* *is* *vnder* *the* *Poone,* *and* *worldly,* *which* *is* *stirred* *vp* *of* *drinke* *called* *Lethus,* *that* *is,* *carnal* *drinke,* *wherby* *the* *minde* *being* *set* *without* *it* *selfe,* *and* *vnder* *it* *selfe,* *it* *forgetteth* *things* *diuine,* *and* *doteth.* *Neither* *is* *it* *to* *be* *doubted,* *but* *that* *this* *kinde* *of* *drunkennes* *is* *vnto* *be* *auoided.* *Of* *the* *first* *kinde* *of* *drunkennes,* *which* *is* *Metaphorical,* *there* *is* *plaine* *mention* *made* *in* *the* *Proverbs* *of* *Salomon,* *where* *wisdom* *stirreth* *vp* *men* *to* *drinke* *wine,* *whiche* *she* *hath* *set* *forth* *on* *her* *table,* *plentifully* *and* *abundantly.* *Pea* *and* *Christ* *also* *our* *Sauour,* *which* *is* *the* *true* *wisdom,* *promiseth* *vs* *such* *a* *wine* *in* *the* *kingdome* *of* *heauen.* *By* *Translation* *also* *is* *described* *the* *wine* *of* *compunction* *and* *surge,* *which* *God* *wyl* *geue* *the* *ungodly* *to* *drinke,* *wherby* *they* *shal* *become* *mad,* *and* *according* *to* *their* *desertes* *be* *turned* *into* *furiosnes.*

But leauing these Metaphores, let vs returne vnto drunkennes properly taken, wherof we now intreate, & let vs declare by testimonies of the holpe scriptures, that suche abuse of wyne is prohibited and forbidden. *Drunkenness condemned by the holpe scriptures.* *To* *the* *Ephesians* *Paul* *saith:* *Be* *ye* *not* *made* *drunke* *with* *wine,* *wherein* *is* *wantonnes.* *But* *be* *ye* *filled* *with* *the* *spirite,* *speaking* *to* *your* *selues* *by* *Psalmes,* *Himnes,* *&* *spiritual* *songes.* *Upon* *which* *place* *Ierome* *saith:* *we* *can* *not* *at* *one* *time* *be* *filled* *with* *wine* *and* *the* *holy* *ghost:* *For* *the* *Apostle* *putteth* *these* *things* *as* *contraries,* *even* *as* *we* *cannot* *serue* *two* *masters.* *He* *that* *is* *filled* *with* *the* *spirit,* *hath* *wisdom,* *meekenes,* *humilitie,* *and* *chastity:* *and* *he* *which* *is* *filled* *with* *wine,* *hath* *folishnes,* *furiosnes,* *malepertnes,* *and* *filthy* *lustes.* *They* *which* *are* *not* *filled* *with* *wine,* *can* *easily* *sing* *Psalmes,* *Himnes,* *and* *spiritual* *songes:* *which* *thing* *they* *cannot* *do,* *which* *haue* *gorged* *themselves* *with* *wine.* *The* *same* *Paul* *also* *writeth:* *Haue* *no* *care* *of* *the* *flesh,* *for* *the* *lustes* *thereof.* *And* *Christ* *by* *expresse* *woordes* *saith* *vnto* *his* *Disciples:* *Take* *heede* *your* *hartes* *be* *not* *ouercom* *with* *surfeting* *and* *drunkennes.* *And* *in* *the* *old* *testamēt* *in* *the* *Proverbs* *the* *31. chap.* *it* *is* *written:* *Geue* *not* *wine* *vnto* *kinges.* *And* *in* *the* *23. chap.* *Looke* *not* *vpon* *the* *wine* *when* *it* *is* *red,* *and* *when* *it* *sheweth* *his* *colour* *in* *the* *cup,* *and* *goeth* *downe* *pleasantly.* *And* *in* *the* *2. chap* *of* *Ecclesiastes,* *Salomon* *saith,* *ye* *thought* *to* *geue* *his* *hart* *to* *wine* *and* *pleasant* *things,* *and* *at* *the* *length* *he* *founde* *that* *this* *study* *and* *purpose* *was* *mere* *vanity.* *Laughter* *(saith* *he)* *I* *thought* *to* *be* *er-* *ror:* *and* *I* *said* *vnto* *ioy,* *why* *doest* *thou* *in* *vaie* *deceane?* *This* *mirth* *of* *wine* *and* *pleasant* *things,* *ought* *not* *to* *be* *often* *used* *of* *holpe* *men,* *for* *as* *much* *as* *Christ* *hath* *taught* *that* *they* *are* *blessed* *which* *mourne:* *they* *(saith* *he* *in* *Mathew)* *shal* *receaue* *consolation.* *But* *in* *Luke* *the* *7. chapter* *it* *is* *added,* *that* *they* *shall* *laugh*

Cap. 9. A Commentary vpon the

laugh. And it is the surest way, that we presently want some toy, to laugh perpetually. In the .v. of Esay it is written, wo vnto you which rise vp carely to fol low drunkennes, and to drinke euen til night, to be inflamed with wyne: and the harpe, and viole, timbzel and pipe, and wine are in your feastes. &c. And againe in the same chap. wo vnto you that are mighty to drinke wine, and are stronge men to mingle drunkennes. Ioel also in the first chapter writeth: Awake ye which are drunken with wine. And this is not to be passed ouer, that in Leuiticus, Aaron and his sonnes are commaunded not to drinke wine, befoze they come to sacrifice befoze the Lord. And Paul twise commaundeth that the Ministers of the Church should not be geuen to much wine. And when he counselled his Timothe to vse wyne for the stomake and diseases, he addeth that it should be but a litle, least he should let lose the bydle to drunkennes. In the olde law also the vse of wyne was forbidden the Nazarites: and the Rechabites are in Jeremy commended, because at their fathers commaundement they abstained from wyne: at which time yet they knew that these thinges were written, which now in the history we haue in hand, as concerning wine, namely that with it both God and men are made mery, and that also which is written in the .104. Psalme, that wine maketh mery the hartes of men. Wherefoze let vs gather that these are not contrary, to vse wine temperatly and moderatly, and that it was geuen of God, to make vs mery in a due time, and in a right vse.

There are certayne tymes wherein merythe is not conuenient.

Neither ought we to be ignozant of this, that some suche tymes chaunce, wherein it is not meete for Chyistian & godly men to geue them selues to mirth: sometimes we must mourne for the synnes which we haue committed. And sometimes we are troubled with very grieuous miseries: and when we are vnder the hand of the rod of God, we must pray more vehemently, wherunto fastings and chastning of the body much helpeth: which thing Paul declareth in his first Epistle vnto the Corinthians, when he saith, that it is lawfull sometimes for the husband and wife to depart one from an other for a season, but yet with the mutual consent of them both, that they may geue themselves to fastings and prayers: although we must not for such abstinence appoint any certain dayes of the yere, but leaue the time to the prudence of the spirite. Howbeit this reason maketh much against those, which contend that we must continually drinke, that at no time we may want mirth. Yea and the same Apostle sayd of him selfe: I chasten my body, and bring it in to bondage. By which saying he admonished the Corinthians by his example to bydle the lustes. Ther might be manye more examples rehearsed out of the holy scriptures, manifestly to declare, that both drunkennes, and also to much vse of wyne are prohibited. But these shal be sufficient at this time. And this onely wyl I adde, that euen the verye Ethnikes knewe this thing also. Plato in his .7. booke de Legibus, toward the ende writeth, that Minos by his lawes prohibited the Cretenses, that they shoulde not drinke together to drunkennes. And Seneca saith in his .84. Epistle: Drunkennes is nothing els then a voluntary madness. And straightway after: The quality of drunkennes continuing many daies, is furiousnes. Whereouer, they which strue with cuppes, although they overcome other in taking much wine, yet wil they oze nyl they, they are overcome of the tonnes. And it is filthy for a man to take in more then he is able to receaue, and not to know the measure of his stomake.

Plato.
Testimonies of
the Ethnikes,
Seneca.

Whereto we haue sufficiently declared, that the abuse of wine is both against the holy scriptures, and also humane reason. Now let vs proue the same by examples: that they which wil not belene by the sentences befoze alledged, maye yet at the least be taught by these examples. Noah a great man, iust, and loved of God, who saw two constitutions of the world (for he liued both befoze and after the flood) is set forth vnto vs, as an example vtterly to auoid drunkennes, when as he hauing dronke more wyne then was meete, laye in the tabernacle most filchely naked, and his pryncipal partes, which wer wont to be couered, he left bare.

The drunkennes of Noah.

bare and vnicouered: and he which was wont to bee a schoolemaster of vertues, was a great offence vnto his childzen. Cham mocked him: the other two sonnes of a better and holier nature, were soze, and very much ashamed of their fathers filthines. By this act it is sufficiently declared, that shame, derision, and offence followe dzonkennes.

But of this synne wee haue a notable example in Lot, who vndoubtedlye <sup>The dzonken-
nes of Lot,</sup> dzonke not immoderately, to the end he would abuse his daughters, and to commit incest, but to put away cares and griefes which hee had taken, for the ouerthrow of the v. Cities, for the losse of his deare wyfe, and also of his substaunce. Hee would also comforte his Daughters, that they shoulde not take to muche thought, specially for the losse of their mother: although he ought to haue inuented other wayes of comforting. But this I speake onely, least any man shoulde thinke that he did with his will dzonke to muche, to pollute him selfe with most filthy lusses: yet for all that, to muche aboundaunce of dzonke was the cause of his most vile incest, being otherwyse an olde man, and in a tyme farre oute of purpose, for as muche as the iudgementes of God were declared agaynst the filthy lusses of the syue Cities. And which is wonderfull, wyne so alienated Lot from hym selfe, that he vnderstoode not with what women hee had companied. Wherefore rightly sayth Seneca in his. 84. Epistle befoze alledged: They which ^{Seneca.} are dzonke doo many thinges, which after ward when they are sober, they are ashamed of. Lot sought to make hym selfe mery by wine, and he incurred a perpetuall heauynes. Let them therefore which seeke to be made mery with ouer muche wyne, remember that they put them selues in to a moste present danger, and by that meanes may easily throw them selues headlong into most greuous wycked actes.

Neither is y to be allowed which some alledge for an excuse, that such euents are vncertaine, so that a man cannot tel for certain, whether he which dzonketh so muche shal fall into these filthy thinges or no: because the thing is so surely known, that euen the daughters of Lot being yet virgins, vnderstoode it, namelye that the olde man by wyne, might be giuen to filthy lust, and so be deceaued, that also he had to doo euen with his daughters. Who wil therefore say that he knoweth not that which they vnderstoode? Lot was deceaued and snared by his daughters, but such as loue to muche mirth, that is, dzonken men, snare them selues, & openly fight agaynst them selues. Neither thinke they with themselves that God with most grieuous punishmentes, taketh vengeance of dzonkenes, and suffreth the abuse of his gift most precious, long vnpunished. These bibbers are wont somtimes to bring forth Lot as a patrone of their intemperance, neither doo they marke, that the holy scriptures do set forth the hystorye of him as an horrible, and in a maner tragical example. God did not meanelly punish that mans dzonkennes: for he had to doo with his daughters, they conceaued by him, and the thing coulde not bee dissembled: incestuous childzen were borne, Ammon and Moab, of whom came the Nations of the Ammonites and Moabites, which were both hated of God, and enemyes vnto the Israelites. Lot him selfe (as it is to be thought) was alwayes soze for the crime which he had committed, and was talked of, of euerye man.

God punisheth
dzonkenes with
most grieuous
punishmentes.
Why the holie
scriptures set
forth the hystory
of Lot.

And sayng that the testimony of the holy Scriptures is extant, and shall remaine vnto the ende of the world: as often as they are red, so often is noted and spreade abroad his infamy. If so be that God spared not a man, otherwise holly, the Penew of Abraham, and harbozer of Angels: what will hee doo to those gluttons and Hogges, which hauing no vertue, day and night, eyther lye or yet dzonken: That which we reade happened once vnto Lot, these men euerye daye exercise it.

But that which our dzonkards alledge of Lot, the Romanes in the old time al- <sup>Dzonkenes ab-
lected to Cato.</sup> ledged of Cato, excusing their dzonkenes, because that most graue mā somtymes

Cap. 9.

A Commentarie vpon the

In the night recreated his minde, not vndoubtedly in bolliug and bibbing immoderately, but in sipping and drincking a litle, adding therewithall muche honest talke. Neither considered they, that that good man was sober al the whole day, labored muche in determining and iudging of causes, in consulting with other Senatours concerning the publike wealth, in hauing to do with the people, in executing the office of a Magistrate, in reading and writing. These should haue imitated these good and honest studies.

But let vs go on in rehearsing examples. Ammon Dauids sonne was slayne of Absalon, not assuredly when he was sober, but when in the banquet hee was more mery then was meete, by drincking of to much wyne. And as it is declared in the latter end of the .1. booke of Machab. Simon the high priest was with his .2. sonnes Mattathias & Iudas slayne of his sonne in law, when in the feast they wer in a maner dronken with ouermuch wyne. And the hystory of Iudith (although it be not found in the Canon of the Jewes) sheweth that Holofermus, otherwyse a most fierce Captain of an host, was so ouerwhelmed with wyne, that wth smal a doo he was behedded of a woman. I might adde how Sisera being dronken, was slaine of Iahel, although his drinke was milke, and not wyne.

And if that we wyl besides these reade ouer the hystories of the Ethnikes, we shal finde many and notable examples of those, which wer most grievously hurt by dronkenes. Alexander of Macedonia, the Conqueror of the world, was most filthely overcome with wyne, and being dronke, slew Clitus his friend, most valiant and faithfull, whose diligence, industry, labour, prudence, and strength, he had in warres long time vsed, to his great commodity. Wherefore when he had slept after his wyne, and being awaked, and remembryng the wicked act that he had committed, he was so ashamed and sozry, that he wished himselfe dead. But yet he amended not the vice of dronkenes: yea once afterwarde hee dronke so much wyne in one night, that he fel into a feuer, and soz that he would not temper himselfe from wyne, wthin a while after he died. Wherefore Seneca in his 84. Epistle already alledged, writeth that Alexander, which had escaped so many daungers, and vanquished thinges most difficile, by intemperaunce of drincking, and by that herculeane and fatall cup, perished. M. Antonius, otherwyse a stout and valiant Emperour, a vanquisher in many battailes, so laded hymself sometimes with wyne, that even in the Tribunal seate in the mornynge, before the people of Rome, whylest he was sitting to geue iudgement, he was compelled to vomite. And in Egypt he vsed much drincking, wherby he could do nothing noble, but was by Octavian giuen most filthylye to flight. What the Poetes write of the feaste of the Lapithares and Sentaures, it is better knowen, then I shall neede now to recite. And I thinke I haue nowe brought sufficient examples: whych beyng diligently considered, serue muche to the detestation of dronkenesse.

Alexander of Macedonia.

M. Antonius.

The feaste of the Lapithares & Centaures.

The effectes of dronkenes.

The hurtes & damages coming of dronkenes.

Apoplexia is, when mans senses are taken away.

But they which are not feared from the filthynes thereof by the wordes of God, which we haue first set, and doo not abhorre it, being perswaded by the examples now alledged: shall peradventure be wonne, and led from it, by considering of those euils, which spring of the abuse of wyne. It is expedient that the tree be knowen by his fruites. And vndoubtedly suche a thing is dronkenesse to be counted, as the fruites are knowen, whych spring of it. But that we may speake orderly, wee wyl deuise the euils thereof by their subiectes: for it hurteth the body, vereth also the mynde, wasteth the goods, and is hatefull to our neighbours.

As touching the body, by dronkenes come oftentimes sodaine deathes, dissolutions of the members, the disease called Apoplexia, and sundry and miserable chaunces. For the smoothe and plaine ground is vnto dronkardes a denne: for they fall, breake their legges, their armes, and sometimes their neckes: and are burnt when they fall into the fyre. The liuer is inflamed with to much drynke, the

the head is pained, the members are made weake and tremble, the senses are corrupted, the natural heate is ouerwhelmed with ouermuche wyne, the stomake which is ouer largely distended, is sicke with crudity or calvnes, and with intolerable paines: the whole body is in a maner inflamed, and the thirst is augmented. Drunkardes lye groueling like blockes, and so are beried of their strength, that neither head nor foote can do their office. Wherefore it is written in the. 23. *Proverb. 33.* chap. of the *Proverbs*: To whom is woe: to whom is sorrow: to whom is strife: to whom is sighing: and to whom are woundes without cause: O to whom is the rednes of the eyes: Cuen to them that tary long at the wine, and to the that go and seeke largely to poure in wine. Looke not vpon the wine when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, and goeth downe pleasantly: in the ende thereof it wil bite like a Serpent, and put out his sting lyke a Cockatrice. Thine eyes shal looke vpon straunge thinges, and thine hart shal speake leude thinges. And thou shalt be as one that sleepeth in the middell of the sea, and as he which sleepeth in the top of the mast of a shipp. They haue striken me, and it payned me not, they haue abused me, and I felt it not. When I awake, I wyll seeke it againe. &c. And behold with how many punishments God afflicteth drunkardes. Esay in his. 5. chapter, agreeth with Salomon: For he also saith, woe vnto *Esay. 5.* those which are mighty and strong to drinke wine. And in the same. 5. chap. hee saith that drunkardes regarde not the woozke of the Lorde, neither consider the woozke of his handes. Moreover, to suche men is woe: bicause (as *Ierome* vpon that place writeth) they are most unhappy, who being from morning to night occupied in drunkennes, glotony, and sundry pleasures, they vnderstande not the woozkes of the Lorde in them: and not considering wherfore they were created, slepe out in a maner their whole life. Wherefore *Joel* cryed out vnto them: awake *Joel. 1.* ye drunkards, weepe and howle all ye that drinke wine. But drunkardes are not by these cries stirred vp, for they do not onely sleepe, but seme to be in a maner buried. Wherefore *Vergil* aptly saith of a Citie, that it was buried wth *Virgil.* slepe and wyne.

But now let vs see how much the soule or mynde is hurt with drunkennes. Drunkardes are oftentimes striken with the spirite of amasednes, and are turned in a maner into furiousnes: they become like brute beastes, so that there seemeth to remaine in them no vnderstanding. It is a grieuous thing without doubt for a man to wounde himselfe, or to depriue himselfe of any member, but of his own free wyll to take away his minde from himselfe, it is an euill intolerable. In *Hosea* the. 4. chap. it is woorthely written, that wyne and drunkennes take away the hart. And in the. 31. of *Ecclesiasticus* it is written: wyne and women make wise men to apostatate, that is, to depart from right institutions, so that they are no more their own men: for they are withdralen from their office and vertue, & also fal from the right trade of life. And in the same booke the. 31. chap. it is written, wine drunken with excesse, engendyeth bitterness of mind with baulinges and skoldinges. Drunkennes encreaseth the courage of a foole tyl he offend: but it diminisheth his strength. In these woozds ther is an elegant Antithesis, namely that wine increaseth the courage & spirits, & causeth greater audacity, but it diminisheth and weakeneth the strength. Wherefore *Plato* in *Plato.* his. vi. Dialogue de Iusto, at the beginning: A drunkard (saith he) hath a tyrannical hart, for he would rule all men as he lust, and not by any reason or lawe. Drunkennes also bringeth obliuion of lawes and ryghte. Wherefore *Salomon* saith in his *Proverbs*, that wine must not be geuen vnto kinges, least peradventure they drinke, & forget the law ordained, & change the iudgement of all children of the poore. *Plato* also writeth in his. 3. booke de Repub. y drunkennes may be suffered in any man, rather then in a Magistrate. For a drunk man knoweth *Plato.* not the ground wheron he is. And if a Magistrate be drunk, the hath y keper nede of a keper. This is moreover to be added, y ther is nothing kept secret wher drunkennes

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Horace.

Plato.

Seneca.

Sareboote.

*Dronkēnes wa
ueth the goods*

*Dronkards dis
commodious to
their neighbours*

kēnes raigneth. Bicause it openeth not onely the secrete partes of the body, but also of the minde. And in dzinking ar poured out woozdes vnshamefast, foolish, vnapt, and wycked. Wherefoze Horace describing the effectes of dzonkennes, sayth: What is it that dzonkennes committeth not? It discloseth thinges secrete, it establissheth hope, and thzursteth sooze the vnarmed man into the battle. It taketh away the burthen from careful mindes, it teacheth artes. Whō haue not full cups made eloquent and whom being in extreme pouertye, haue they not made careles: And Plato in his first booke de Legibus, toward the ende saith thus: When a man dzinketh wine, at the first it maketh him cherefuller: afterward the moze he dzinketh, the greater and better hope he is in, and seeleth him selfe stronger. Then, as though he were wyse, the man is fylled wyth that confidence, liberty and audacity, that without feare he both saith & doth what soeuer pleaseth him. The same Plato in his. vi. Dialogue de Legibus, sayth: He which is fylled wyth wine, is stirred vp wyth a woodnes, both of mynde and body, and both dzaweth, and is dzawen euery where. And a dzonkard is as a man out of hys wpt.

Seneca in his thirde booke of Natural questions, the. 20. chap. saith, that dzonkennes tyl it be dzyped vp, is madnes, and wyth ouermuch heauines is bzought on sleepe. And in his. 60. Epistle to Lucillus toward the ende: One houres dzonkennes recompenseth his long madnes, wyth the wearynes of a long time. And in the. 84. Epistle: Dzonkennes dzaweth out al vice, and kindleth it, and detecteth it. It putteth awaye all shamefastnes, whose nature is to resist euyll endeuours. Where to much power of wyne possesseth the minde, whatsoeuer euyll lay hidden, bursteth sooze. Dzonkennes maketh not vices, but bzinketh them to light. In dzonkennes, he that is proude, his proude encreaseth, crueltye in the cruel man, malice in the enuious man, & all vices ar detectede bzought to light. By it a man forgetteth himselfe, speaketh doubtful and flatering woozdes, it causeth vnconstant eyes, a reeling pace, dylines in the hed, and the house to seme to go round about, tozmentes in the stomake, when the wyne boyleth, & it disteth euen the bowels. Crueltye for the most part followeth dzonkennes, for M. Antonius, wonderfully reioyced at the heades and members of the banished me, that wer bzought him at a feast. Also in the. 20. chap. of the Prouerbes it is wrytten: Wine maketh a mocker, and strong dzynke a troublesome fellow. Whosoeuer erreth in it, shal neuer be wyse. But bicause there are some which boast that they can dzynke a great deale of wine and be stil sober, & of a sound iudgement, I desire them to harken vnto Seneca in the Epistle now alledged, who sayth: Let such men also say that by dzynking of popson they shal not dye, and by takynge of poppy they shal not sleepe, and by dzynking of Ellebozne they shal not cast sooze and purge whatsoeuer is in the inward partes.

The discōmodities of wine when it is excessiue dyonken, which we haue hitherto rehearsed, pertaine both vnto the bodye and vnto the mynde. But now we must we adde, how it bzyngeth hurt vnto our substance & goods. In the Prouerbes the. 21. chap. it is wrytten: He which loueth wine and fat thinges, shal not be riche. And in the same booke the. 23. chap. it is thus wrytten: Keepe not company wyth wine bibbers, and those that deuour flesh. For the bybber and the glotton shal be bzought vnto pouertye, and he which getteth himselfe to much sleepe, shal be clothed wyth tozne garmentes.

And how muche discōmodious dzonkardes are vnto their neighbours, it is easye to see. They are iniurious, and rayle vpon those whom they meete. And being in their fury, they fall into filthy lusses, and so easelye polute other mens Spouses and wiues. And by horrible meanes they rage against the famelies of their neyghbours. They are an euyll example, yea and offence vnto other Citizens. And whylest they spend and consume their substance vpon wyne & dzonkennes, they haue no regards to prouide thinges necessarye for their owne house.

yea, whillett they are in their dzonken fary, they handle their innocent wife and childzen enilly, and defraude the pooze of their almes, whiche if they lyued moze sparingly, they might be able to bestow vpon them. They make them selues vnprofitable for the publike wealth, when as dzonkardes can neither execute the office of a Magistrate them selues, noz yet wel ar they able to obey those that gouerne. They trouble also and infame the Church, wheresoze they are seperated from it. For Paul in the. 1. to the Corin. the. 5. chap. nombzeth dzonkardes with those, with whom we ought not so much as to eate. There is scarce anye euill which cannot be adioyned vnto the effectes of dzonkenness.

But to conclude the matter, first we graunt vnto those (which doo naughtly) to vsurpe this place which we haue nowe in hand, and lay it for a colour to defend the vice of dzonkenness) that it is lawfull to vse wine for necessity, for medicine, and also for mirth, but yet it must be tempered with sobriety, neither maye it excede a meane, yea it must agree with time, place, degree, age, and kinde. After this maner let the saintes reioyce before their God, namely with geuing of thanks, and celebrating diuine prayes. Neither Salomon in the. 23. chapter of the Proverbs, saith too vnto those which dzinke wine, but vnto those which in it consume their time, which geue them selues to nothing but to dzinking, contending who can dzynke moze, prouoking one an other, and compelling others to dzinke. These are reprehended, and not those whiche modestly vse the gyfte of God. Let men so make them selues mery with wine, that afterwarde they maye be moze chereful to obey God, and to suffer heauy thinges, if neede bee. And let men beware they forget not them selues, that they ouerwhelme not their senses, and choke vp their strength. Neither is the holy scripture vngodly and violently to be dzawen vnto the licence of the flesh. Yea we ought so to bee readye that we maye obey the Apostle, who sayd: It is good not to eate flesh, and not to dzinke wine, if it should turne to the offending of the weake bzt hzen. Let vs also remember that the kingdome of God is not meate and dzinke, neither ar they commended of God, which can dzinke moze wyne, then the rest. The woozde of God is no defence for dzonkenness, yea it detesteth it. We wil pleade therfore against these, with the doctrine of Ecclesiasticus, the. 31. chap. where it is said: Shew not thy selfe a man in wine, that is, shew not thy strength in dzinking. For there are some which try how strong and mighty they are in this intemperance, and also with ouermuch dzinking of wine, do oppresse al the powers, both of the body and of the minde. The wise man goeth forthward and sayth: for wine hath destroyed many. As the foynace proueth the hardnes of the stoozde in the tempering: so doth wine the hartes of the pzoode when they are dzonke. Wine moderately dzonken, is profitable for the life of man. What is his lyfe that is overcome with wine: But it was created to make men mery: Wyne measurablye dzonken, and in time, dzinketh gladnes and cherefulness of the minde. &c. These thinges may easely teache and answer those men, which vnder the pzetence to make them mery, labour to defend and maintaine dzonkenness.

Let them consider with them selues, that the gyftes of God shoulde neuer be seperated from the rule of modesty and temperance. Let them not forget that the Apostle in the Epistle to the Galathians, reckoned dzonkenness among the woozkes of the flesh. He also admonished the Romanes that they shoulde not be conuersant in Chambers, in eatynges and dzonkenness. And to the Thessalonians he sheweth the filthinesse of thys vyce, when he sayth it pertayneth vnto the nyght. They which are dzonke (sayth he) are dzonke in the night: as though he would affirme it to be a thing vnwoozthy, to be scene by the light of the day. But as concernyng this thing, these are sufficient: Let vs now retorne vnto the history. We haue already said what the Olive and vine trees answered vnto the trees which woulde haue promoted them to a kingdome, and wee haue many felipe shewed how the Olive and Vine trees serue, both for God, and for men.

An answer to those which defend ouermuch dzinking.

To the Reader

Of the fig tree there is no question: for he maketh no mention of God, but onely saith, that he wyl not forsake hys sweetenes.

22 And Abimelech reigned .3. yeares ouer Israel.

23 And God sent an euyl spirite betwene Abimelech and the men of Sechem: and the men of Sechem brake their promise to Abimelech.

24 That the iniury of the .70. sonnes of Jerubbaal, and their blood might come and be layde vpon Abimelech his brother, whyche had slayne them: and vpon the men of Sechem, whyche had ayded hym to kyll hys brethren.

25 So the men of Sechem set men in wayte for him in the toppes of the mountaynes: who robbed all that passed that waye. And it was tolde Abimelech.

Tyranny is of
no long time.

Abimelech exercised his tyranny thre yeares, and no longer: for violence can not be either perpetual, or of any long time. He iudged not the Israelites in setting them at liberty, neither did he them any good, but onely reigned. God at the length tooke vengeance, and made the blood of the sonnes of Jerubbaal to redound vpon Abimelech and the Sechemites.

And he sent an euyl spirite betwene them, to reuenge the murther, which not onely Abimelech, but also the Sechemites committed. Abimelech was annointed king onely by the Sechemites, but (as the history here declareth) he vsurped his tyranny ouer all the Israelites.

God required the blood of the sonnes of Jerubbaal at the handes of Abimelech and of the Sechemites. Unless men do with iust punishments punish murders, God by himselfe punisheth them.

Of Murther.

But to make the thing moze plaine, twoo thinges seeme to be intreated of. First, what maner of murther is condemned by the word of God, & ought by the Magistrates to be punished. Secondly, who are guilty of this crime.

As touching the first, we must know, that not euery murther is condemned. For if one kil a man by chaunce, in exercising a thing honest and lawfull, he incurreth not the punishment of Homicides. Wherefore in the old law there were graunted Cities of refuge. For in verie deede he killeth not: but as it is there writtten, God (wythout whose wyll nothing is done by chaunce) deliuered him to be killed. A Judge also or Magistrate, when he punisheth flagitious men, is not therfore a murtherer, because it is not he that killeth, but the law, yea rather God himselfe, who hath wylled, and also commaunded that it should so be done. Farthermoze, he which is set vpon by theues or enemyes in a solitarie place, or where he can not be holpen by other: if in defending him selfe, and according to the lawes, repelling violence by violence, hee slay a robber or theefe which innadeth him, he is not guilty of murther: for as muche as in that case he is armed both by the lawes and by the Magistrate. For the publike wealth wyl not that a Citizen should so perishe: therfore it geueth hym leaue to defende him selfe by weapons. By this meanes Cicero defended Milo, because hee had slayne Clodius, who first set vpon him by snares. Also the woman Thecoites obtained of Dauid, that the Magistrate shoulde not kyll her sonne, who had slaine hys brother, falling out in the fiede. They were alone sayth she, and therfore it is not knowen whyche of them innadeth one the other first. Souldiours also, when in iust warre they slay their enemyes, commit nothing vniustly.

Cicero.

Where

Wherfoze that murder, which is to be punished, & cōdemned by þe lawes, is the
 iudged to be cōmitted, when of purpose a mā is killed of priuate men. And they
 which wer to be cōdemned of this crime, wer not by þe Romanes called homicides,
 but sicarii. In þe law Cornelia, the title is de Sicariis & not de Homicidis. And they
 are so called, which do weare about them Sica, that is a shoote skayne for to kill a
 man, and by the figure Synecchoche, by the woꝛde sica is vnderstand all kindes of
 weapons. And not onely they which kill are guilty of this crime, but also they
 which either in dede oꝛ counsell doo helpe, and in theyꝝ sayings and aydes haue
 a respect vnto this, how to kill a man. Wea the will is to be punished, althoughe
 it haue not successe: which thing in the ciuile iudgement is not vled, but onely in
 thzee kinde of crimes, namely of manquellers, called Sicarii, of rauishers, and of
 traitoꝛs. Wherfoze that manqueller is to be punished, which thꝛoweth a wea-
 pon at any man, to the end he would kill hym, oꝛ hauing that mynde, woundeth
 hym, although he dye not therof, as it is had in the digest in the same title in the
 law Diuus, where Adrian þe Emperoz answereth þe we must haue a respect vnto
 the will, and not to the euent. And that is to be vnderstand, when the will mani-
 festeth it selfe by any toke. But I did not without cause say that all these things
 are thus, as touching ciuill iudgement: bycause otherwisse befoze God the desire
 and decree of the minde, as touching all kinde of sinnes, are cōdemned for sinne.
 Chyist sayth, he that beholdeth a woman and lusteth after her, hath already com-
 mitted aduouty in his heart. And that the will in those crimes is couēted for the
 sake, even the holy fathers and Canons do decree. Ierome vpon Esay (as it is in
 the title de Penitentia, distinction the first, chap. Omnis) wꝛitteth: Thou hast not
 killed with the swoꝛde, but thou hast killed with the will. Wea and Ciprianus in
 his Sermon de Mortalitate wꝛitteth, þe which desireth martirdome, is a mar-
 tyꝝ befoze God. It is one thing (sayth he) for the will to want martirdome, & an
 other thing for martyꝝdome to want the will. These thinges are had in the same
 destination, chap. Nunquid. And in the same destination, chap. Periculose, Augu-
 stine is brought in, who sayth, þe Iewes did no lesse kyll Chyist then the Ro-
 manes, although they with their handes they invaded him not. By this destination
 he conciliateth the Euangelistes, who seme to disagree as touching the houre of
 the death of the Lord. One of them sayth, he was crucified the third houre, & the
 other, the first houre. Augustine affirmeth both to be true: For the Iewes at the
 third houre cries Crucify, Crucify: wherfoze as touching them, they slew þe Lord
 then, who yet was after ward at the first houre crucified by þe souldiers of Pilate.
 But Abimelech and the Sechemites wer murderers and particides, not one-
 ly in will, but in helpe, woꝛke, and dede, and therfoze it is no meruaile if God so
 severely punished them.

Sicarii.

The will is to
be punished in
this kinde of
cuill.

Ierome.

Ciprian.

Augustine.

Augustine.

Furthermoze we must cōsider, how meruelously and wonderfully God vbleth
 the vngodly. By them (as we here see) he taketh vengeance of other vngodly,
 and sometymes by their labour, he both exerciseth and correcteth the lust. What
 moze: They are his hangmen, whom also when he hath vbled, he destroyeth also
 at the last, either here, oꝛ after they be departed out of this life.

He sent an euill spirite betwene them. For they were stirred vp one agaynst an
 other. The Sechemites (as it is to be thought) agaynst Abimelech, beause he both
 oppressed and contemned them. And agayne Abimelech agaynst them, bycause
 (as the bystozꝝ declareth) they dyspyled him. And it is well knowen that by con-
 tempt is prouoked anger: for it is called an action, which pertayneth to estima-
 tion & opinion, bycause some thing semeth to vs not woꝛthy of estimation, when
 peraduenture it is not so. Pozeouer despising consisteth chiesly in thze thinges:
 for either we contēne onely in mind, when we despise any men & their goods, oꝛ
 when we do the any discōmodity, not thereby to seeke our own gayne, but onely
 to reioyse at theyꝝ discōmodity: oꝛ lastly when we adde woꝛdes oꝛ dedes:
 which haue ignominy oꝛ contumely ioynd with them. These thze thinges may

What contempt
is.
Contempt con-
sisteth in thꝛe
thynges.

Cap. 9. A Commentarie vpon the

We easely see in the Sechemites. First, they despised Abimelech, when they receaued Gaalus a souldier as a captayne, hauing Zebul appointed theyr gouernour by the kyng. And vndoubtedly they so receaued Gaal, y they did put their confidence in him. Wherefoze it followeth that in mynde and estimation they despised Abimelech. Farthermoze they dammaged him, when by conspiracies they spoiled and slewe those that passed to and fro. These, whom they iniuried, pertayned vnto Abimelech, or at the least way, so that that he was king. Lastly they added reprochfull wordes, as we shal after ward heare.

Christ prohibited anger as the beginning of hatred, murder and destruction, for he sayd: He that is angry with his brother, is worthy of iudgement. For anger and reuengement are seperate one from the other, onely as the roote & the fruit. For he that is angry with any man, if he hurt him not, that chaunceth, because either he can not, or els feareth the punishment of the lawes. He y hateth his brother (saith Iohn) is a murderer. But among those which are counted very angry, kings aboue other are numbred, when they perceane y they are despised of their subiectes. Wherefoze Homere sayth: Great is the anger of a kyng displeased.

Kinges are vehemently angry Homere.

The conspiracies of the vngodly are of no long tyme.

Whereby we learne that the conspiracies of the vngodly can not continue long. They are in deepe ostentymes foyned together to do euill, but yet they are easely disseuered. The kings of the earth stood vpon, and the princes assembled together, agaynst the Lord and agaynst his Christ. But the Lord whiche dwelleth in heauen, shall laughe at them, and the Lord shal haue them in derision. Thieves, robbers, whozemoners, & such as conspire agaynst the Church, publique wealthes, & princes, do ostentimes confederate together: but straightway great enmityes ryle vp amongest them, and they betray one an other, yea and sometymes kill one an other. Wherefoze wisely sayth Aristotle, that honesty is onely the sure foundation of amity, because that whiche is honesty is not chaunged: but pleasant and profitable thinges, do not alwayes abide the same. Princes of our tyme, as often as they haue made league one with an other, haue after ward not only ben made enemyes, but they haue gone to warre one with an other. Wherefoze Salomon rightly writeth in y^e 11. chap. of the Proverbs: Although y vngodly conspire, they shall not escape. Wherefoze their fellowshipes are to be auoyded, and we must enterpryse or go about nothyng, hauing confidence in the amity of the vngodly.

Aristotle.

How Sinne dependeth of God.

Now remaineth to examine how it is written that God sent an euill spirite betwene them. But because of that matter, I haue in an other place moze moze fully entreated, and will shortly speake moze abundantly of it, here I will but briefly teache the thing.

The scriptures testifie, that sinnes sometymes haue a consideration of punishments: wherefoze when it sayd that god punisheth & taketh vengeance of the vngodly by sinnes, he doth nothing vnmete of him selfe. For he bringeth not forth the deformity and filthynes of sinne, but is the autho^r of iust punishment. For sinnes are to men euill, but vnto God, who bleseth them, good. God planteth no new malice in the vngodly: but yet he bleseth that malice whiche is in them by reason of originall sinne, and other sinnes whiche they adioyne vnto it. He suffereth it not to burst forth, but when it seemeth good vnto him, he gouerneth and directeth it whether soeuer it pleaseth him. As the Physicion comming vnto the sicke person, doth by medicines drawe corrupt humors out of his body, and bringeth them out either by a purgation, or by a sweate, or vomite, or letting of blood, as he iudgeth it best, yet doth he not graft in the sicke person naughty and corrupt humors: So God causeth to be brought to light our malice, whiche was not brought forth before, but lay hid within, to make manifest his iustice, and to open our sinnes, and yet he suffereth them not to breake forth by chaunce or rashely,

A Similitude.

but

but ordereth and governeth them accordyng to his iudgement, that euen by the he doth fulfill the limites of his pꝛouidence. **W**herfoze Esay sayth that the kyng of Babilone was like an are oꝝ staffe in hande of God:foꝝ he would foꝛce hym against the Iewes rather then against other nations. **W**herfoze y malice of sinne is wholly ours, but the governyng, successe, and effectes thereof ar vnder the rule of God, so that they can accomplish no moze then he will suffer. **N**eithꝛ can the vngodly bying to passe those thinges whiche they go about agaynst euery man, noꝝ also at all tymes, but they are governed accordyng to the determinations of God, whiche are most holy and iust. **N**eithꝛ is it absurde that one and the selfe same action, as it is governed of God, is both good and holy, but as it commeth of vs, it is vicious and corrupt.

And bycause we wil not go from our hystoꝝy, the sinne of cruelty and ambitioꝝ, was vtterly Abimelech. But that it should burst foꝛth, and first destroy the family of Ierubbaal, and the Sechemites: that is to be referred vnto the gouernment of God. Farthermoze the disobedience and wicked desire of tumultes, was altogether of the Sechemites. But that it should burst foꝛth, when the family of Gideon should be punished: and that they rather chosed Abimelech to they kyng, then an other: and that their fury should rage agaynst him, rather then against any other: y was of the gouernement of God, wherby (as the holy hystoꝝy sheweth) he sent betwene them an euill spirite, namely the deuill, by whose labour, enimities, and hatreds were on either side kindled, and wonderfully inflamed, by mete occasions seruing thereunto.

Farthermoze we must consider, that God is bound vnto no man, to geue vnto him his grace. Foꝝ, if it shuld be geue of dewty, then should it not be grace: y et he neuer, either not geueth it, oꝝ els beyng geuen, taketh it away, but vpon iust cause. **H**e in dede created man by sight, and being indelued with it: but yet he by sinning, spoiled both himself and his of it. And soꝝ as much as we are boꝛne vnder oꝝiginall sinne, and the children of wrath: to whom soeuer it is not geuen, it is iustly not geuen: and to whom soeuer it is geuen, it is freely geuen. **H**owoeuer we dayly heape sinnes vpo sinnes: wherfoze god in withdꝛawing it, is not to be accused of iniustice. Foꝝ he coꝛpelleth no man to do euill, but euery man willingly sinneth: wherfoze the cause of sinne is not to be layd in him. Foꝝ seyng he createth not in vs wicked desires, he ought not to beare the blame, if wicked actions doo spring out of a corrupt roote of wicked affections: yea the goodnes of God is rather to be acknowledged, whiche is pꝛesent, and so governeth the wicked affections, that they can not burst foꝛth, noꝝ be hurtfull and troublesome to any, but when he hath appointed to chasten some, and to call them backe to repentance oꝝ to punish them.

Neithꝛ ought we to thinke that after the sinne of the first man, God created a wicked lust, and euill affection, to corrupte all our whole kynde. It was not so done: but nature when it departed from God, fell by it selfe from lyght to darke-nes, from the right way to vice, and from integrity to corruptioꝝ. And how good so euer it was befoze, it nowe degenerated into euill. **W**herfoze let this be holden foꝝ certayn, that sinne entred into the woꝛld by men, and not by God, as Paul testifieth to the Romanes. And in that Chꝛist saith, that the deuill when he lieth, speaketh of his owne, it is not to be vnderstand onely of himself, but also of his members, whiche when they lye oꝝ do euill, woꝛke not by the woꝛde of God, neither are they moued by the inspiration of the good spirite. And they exceeding-ly reioyce, and haue great pleasure in those thinges whiche they do, so farre is it of, that they should be compelled by any violence.

Howoeuer we must note, that when either the Scriptures oꝝ fathers doo seme to affirme God to be the cause of sinne, this woꝛde permission is not then so to be added, as though he onely suffered men to synne, and by his pꝛouidence oꝝ gouernement wzought nothing as concerning sinnes. **I**n dede he letteth the not, though he can, but bleseth them, and sheweth in them his myght, and not onely his

God is free & ge-
ueth his grace
not being bound

The cause of
is not to be
layd in God.

Whence our
frowardnesse
springeth.

Synne entred
into the woꝛld
by man & not
by God.

Of permission.

Cap. 9. A Commentarie vpon the

Augustine.

*Of the sinne of
the first man.*

his patience, whiche thing Augustine vnderstood right well, and in disputting agaynst Iulianus, he confuteth that sentence, wherein it is sayd that God suffereth sinne only according vnto patience, and proueth y^e his might is also therunto to be added by the wordes of Paul, who wrote vnto y^e Romaynes: If God by much patience hath suffered vessels of wrath prepared for destruction, to shewe forth his anger, & to make knowe his might. And vndoubtedly there are many things in the holy scriptures, which can not alwayes be dissolued by the worde of permission or patience. For the heart of the kyng is sayd to be in the hand of y^e Lord, so that he inclineth it whether soeuer it pleaseth him. And Job testifieth, that it was so done as god would. But as touching the sinne of the first man, when yet nature was not vitiated and corrupted, we graunt, that the cause thereof came from the will of Adam, and suggestion of the deuil, and we say that God permitted it: because when he might haue withstanded and letted it, he would not do it: but decreed to vse that sinne, to declare his iustice and goodnes.

Whether we can resist the grace of God, or no.

*There are sundry
degrees of
grace of God,*

But now ariseth an other doubt, as touching our nature, as it is now fallen, & corrupt, whether it can resist the grace of God, & his spirite being present, or no: I thinke we must consider that there are as it wer sundry degrees of the helpe or grace of God: for his might & abouidance is sometyms so great, that he wholly boweth the will of man, & doth not onely Counsel, but also persuaue. And when it so cometh to passe, we can not departe from the right waye, but we are of Gods side, and obey his sentence. Wherefore it was sayd vnto Paul: It is hard for thee to fyghte agaynst the prycke.

*There is no
violence or con-
coaction inferred to
mans will.*

And yet must we not thinke that when it is so done, there is any violence or coaction brought vnto the will of man: for it is by a pleasaunt mouyng and conuersion altered, and that willing, but yet so willing, that the will thereof cometh of God: for it is it, which willet, but God by a stronge and most mighty persuaasion maketh it to will. But sometyms that power of God and spirite is, moze remisse: which yet (if we wil put therunto our endeuor & apply our will) we should not resist: yea we should obey his admonishementes and inspirations: and when that we do it not, we are therfore sayd to resist him, and oftentymes fall. And yet this is not to be vnderstand as touching the first regeneration, but as concerning those whiche are regenerated, whiche are now endewed with grace and spirite. For the will of the vngodly is so corrupt and vitiate, that except it be renewed, it can not geue place vnto the inspirations of God, and admonishynges of the holy ghost: & it in the first immutatio of mans conuersion, it onely suffereth: and befoze the renewyng, it continually (as much as in it is) resisteth the spirite of God. But the first parentes whilest they were perfect, if with y^e helpe of grace being somewhat remisse, they had adioyned theyr endeuor, they might haue perfectly obeyed the commaundementes of God. But we although we be renewed, seying grace is moze remisse, remitting nothing of our endeuor, we shall not be able constantly and perfectly to obey the commaundementes of God, but yet we may be able to containe our selues within the boundes or limites of an obediēce begon: whiche thyng because we do not, therfore oftentymes we sinne, and grievously fall.

*Why the grace
of god worketh
not alwyse al-
wayes in vs.*

But why God geueth not his grace alwayes to his electe after one sorte, and one increase, but sometyms he worketh in them moze strongly, and sometyms moze remissedly, two reasons may be assigned: First, least we should thinke the grace of God to be naturall strengthes, which remayne alwayes after one sorte. Wherefore god would most iustly alter the degree & efficacy of his helpe: whereby we myght vnderstand that it is gouerned by his wil, & not as we lust. Whereouer it oftentimes happeneth y^e our negligence & slouthfulnes deserveth this variety.

Lastly

Lastly let vs conclude the matter, that if we wil speake properly, it is not to be sayd that God either willethe or bringeth forth sinne, in that it is sinne: for what soeuer God willethe, & whatsoeuer he doth, it is good. But sinne, in y^e it is sinne, is euill. Wherefore god neither willethe nor doeth it, in that it is sinne: yea he detesteth, prohibiteth, and punisheth it by his lawes. And if at any tyme it be sayd in the Scriptures, that he either willethe or woorketh sinne in men, that must be referred vnto other considerations, whiche I haue declared both in an other place, and also now here. And this is sufficient as touching this question.

And God sent an euil spirit. By an euil spirit I vnderstand either the deuill, or wicked affections, or cruelty stirred by to reuenge injuries, but the end was to take vengeance for the blood of the sonnes of Jerubbaal. What is vnder-
stand by an euil
spirit.

The men of Sechem layd wayte agaynst hym. There may be three causes of their lying in wayte. First, because they would slay him as he passed by. And an other was, because they would not haue his souldiers to go to and fro. The third was, to shake of their yoke, and to declare that they were free. This was as much as to say, as they now nothing passed vpon his kyngly power. The cause of
lying in wayte

It was tolde Abimelech. A short sentence & cut off: wherby yet we vnderstand that Abimelech passed not that way, for feare of falling into their snares.

26 Then came Gaal the sonne of Ebed & his brethren, & they went to Sechem: and the men of Sechem put their confidence in him.

27 Therefore they went out into the field, & gathered in their grapes, & trodde them, & made mery. And they went into the house of their God, and did eate and drinke, and cursed Abimelech.

28 And Gaal the sonne of Ebed sayd: who is Abimelech? & who is Sechem, that we shuld serue him? Is he not the sonne of Jerubbaal, and Zebul is his hed officer? Serue rather the men of Hamor, the father of Sechem. But why shall we serue hym?

29 And who will geue this people into myne hand, and I wil take awaye Abimelech? And he sayde vnto Abimelech: increase thyne army, and come out.

Here cometh an occasion of the euils: one Gaal by chaunce trauailed that way: the Sechemites hired him to be their ruler and captayne: and therefore putting their confidence in him, they go out into theyr vineyardes, gather the grapes, and treade them, with great security. What this Gaal was, it appeareth not by the Scriptures. R. Salomon thinketh he was an Ethnike. The Sechemites were so afeard of Abimelech, that they durst not gather their grapes: wherfore they hired this man. First, now they go forth into the fildes, whiche thyng befoze they durst not doo: they make great ioye and mirche. For in the olde tyme also (as it semeth) they vsed, as they do now a dayes, great wantones and liberty in the gathering in of the grapes: of whiche custome sprange the Comedyes and Tragedies with the Grecians. And when Bacchus returned a conquerer out of India, the people led daunces in honoz of him at the wynepresses. Hera and the Chaldey paraphrast maketh mention of daunces in this place. R. Salomon.

They went into the temple. It was also the manner among the Ethnikes, to geue thanks vnto God of their first frutes. But these men go into the temple of God, and eate, drinke, singe, and curse their kyng: and whom befoze they had annoynted, hym now they rayle vpon, and teare with reproches. And that in the temple, wherin befoze they had taken counsel for to make Abimelech their ruler. Such are the iudgements of God. The place might haue admonished them: for out of it they gaue him money: but forgetting all thynges, they curse him: Although the scripture expessedly declareth not, whether this temple were that selfe same The wātōnes
vsed at the gathering
in of grapes.

same, where out they tooke the money in the beginning.

VVho is Abimelech? In the feastes of their wine gathering, they mocke the kyng, and that he being absent, and aboue the rest Gaal, much more greuously scozeth hym. Let vs make the perversenes of mans nature: if any sinne be by chaunce committed, it addeth not a iust remedy, but bealeth mischief with mischief, & cureth sinne with sinne. They should haue called vpon the Lord, & haue repented: but these do far other wise, they se that they haue done noughtly, & yet they go farther to reproches. This is the manner of the forwardnes of man: pea and David when he had committed adoutry, did not straghtway repent, as he should haue done, but slewe Vrias. Judas whē he had betrayed Christ, would not repent, but went and hanged himselfe, and so was authoꝝ of hys owne death. So in a maner when we haue sinned, we go to worse sinnes. They ought not in deede to haue chosen Abimelech: but when he had once gotten the dominion of things, they should not so haue cursed him. Besoꝝe the victoꝝy they sing a song of victoꝝy. There is nothyng more foolish, then to contemne an enemy: soꝝ an enemy is not to be contemned, vnles he be overcome. But this Gaal goeth childishly to worke. He exhorteth and prayeth the Sechemites, because they had shaked of their yoke. And he composeth his oration of thynges compared together. He compareth Abimelech with Hamor the pꝛince of that Citie, whom the sonnes of Iacob slewe by guile.

A comparati.

VVho is Sechem? Sechem in this place is not the name of the Citie, but of the chief man, namely the sonne of Hamor.

VVho is Abimelech? He is the sonne of Jerubbaal. He hath in vs neyther right, noꝝ iurisdiction. Let hym goo and bragge amonge his owne. Sechem was in the olde tyme Lord of this Citie, hym we ought to haue obeyed. But we slewe hym, howe then can we obeye this man? This comparison is nowe manifest yough. But to increase the contempt more, Zebul (sayeth he) is the seruauant of Abimelech, known well ynough vnto vs, whome he hath made ruler ouer hys Citie. Therefore we shall haue two Lordes. And we whiche would not obeye the Lord of Sechem, shall we nowe obeye a seruauant? It is an vnwoꝝthy thyng. Therefore this semeth to be the sense of hys oration. If we should haue serued, we should rather haue serued Sechem. But we haue not serued him: therfoꝝe neither will we serue this Abimelech.

The sense of the oratio of Gaal.

Serue the sonnes of Hamor. As though he should haue sayd, serue them rather whiche were the auncient Lordes of this Citie: and if we haue not serued them, why should we serue Abimelech &c.

And who wyll geue thys people into my hande? The other parte of the oration contayneth an exhortation, wherein he exhorteth them, to make hym ruler ouer the people. VVho will geue? This forme of speaking expꝛesseth an affection of one y wisheth. I (sayth he) if I were your ruler, would easely take away Abimelech. Hereby it appeareth y al the Sechemites were not of one opinion. There were many which the also wer on Abimelech's side. Therefore, I would to God sayth he, y all you were of one mynd, I would the easely take away the tyranne.

In the Sechemites were not of one opinion.

αποστροφη is a turning of a speech to some person.

And he sayd vnto Abimelech: Increase thyne army. He useth an Apostrophe to Abimelech being absent: soꝝ it is easy to rāple vpon one being absent. He speaketh very Thraso lyke. It is as though he should haue sayd: increase thy power how thou wilt, I set nothing at all by it.

30 And when Zebul the ruler of the Citie hearde the wordes of Gaal the sonne of Ebed, he was very angry.

31 And he sent messengers vnto Abimelech guilefully, saying: Behold Gaal the sonne of Ebed and his brethren be come to Sechem, and beholde they fortify the Citie agaynst thee.

32 Nowe therfore aryse by night, thou and thy people that is with thee, and lye in wayte in the fiede.

33 And ryle by early in the mornynge as soone as the Sunne is by, and thou shalt assaulte the Citie, and when he and the people that is with hym, shall come out agaynst thee, do vnto them what thyne hande can finde.

Zebul was ruler vnder Abimelech, & when he heard these reproches agaynst his Lorde, he could not suffer them. Hereby let vs marke how foolishly the Sechemites behaued themselves, when they go about to fall from Abimelech, they retayne yet still his ruler in the Citie. So god oftentimes striketh men with madness. Neither want there examples of this thing euen in our tyme.

He sent messengers guilefully. The Hebrewe word is Miremah or Tomah: and it signifieth nothyng els, but that he sent letters priuely, the summe whereof was: Gaal is chosen captayne agaynst thee, the Sechemites fence the Citie, that they may both defend themselves within, and also exclude thee without. And such is the subtilty of Zebul, that he not onely telleth what was done in the Citie, but also geueth Counsell what Abimelech should doo.

V When it is mornynge. The Hebrewe worde Tischim in the conjugation Hiphil from the roote Schacham signifieth to ryle early, the Grecians say ἀφ' ὧρου. And where in Luke the 21. chap. toward the end it is sayd, Turba mane conueniatur ad eum: that is: The people gathered vnto him in the morning: the old translation was (as Augustine also hath noted vpon this place of the Iudges) Populus manicabat ad eum. But that worde is barbarous and straunge. In Greeke it is rede, ἀνα τὴν ἀναρῆσαι τὸν ἡλιον, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει. *Augustine. Manicare.*

And assaulte the Citie. This is the Counsell of the ruler, that early in the mornynge he should besiege and assaulte the Citie by guile.

Do as thine hand shal find. By this Hebrewe phrase is signified nothyng els, but that so do thou as occasion shall serue.

34 And Abimelech rose by early, and all the people that were with hym by nyght: and they laye in wayte agaynst Sechem in foure bandes.

35 Then Gaal the sonne of Ebed came out, and stood in the entryng of the gate of the Citie. And Abimelech rose by and the people that were with him, from lying in wayte.

36 And when Gaal sawe the people, he sayde to Zebul: Beholde there come people downe from the toppes of the mountaynes. To whome Zebul answered: The shadowe of the mountaynes semeth men vnto thee.

37 And Gaal spake agayne and sayde: Beholde there come people downe from the navel of the earth, and one Captaine commeth by the waye of the playne of Moonenim.

Their lying in wayte was distributed into foure bandes, & when Gaal should go forth of the citie, Zebul was together with him, & as far as we may coniecture, Zebul vsed double fraude: for first he sent a messenger vnto Abimelech, & signified vnto him, what he thought good to be done: & afterward he ioyneth himselfe deceitfully vnto Gaal, as though he would be on his side, that he might the safer lye do those thynges whiche he thought to doo, & that Gaal should not mistrust hym. Wherefore Gaal goeth forth, being nothing ascard of priuy enbushments, and together with hym went Zebul.

Thou seest the shadow of mountaynes, Zebul derideth him, saying: They be shadows.

Cap. 9. A Commentarie vpon the

doles whiche thou thinkest to be men.

Out of the nauel of the earth. This is a metaphoricall kinde of speache, for as the nauell appeareth aboue the belye, so are the mountaynes aboue the earth. Wherefore by the nauell he vnderstandeth the mountaynes from whence Abimelech descended with his company. And when he came from the mountaynes, it is very lykely (whiche thyng yet is not here mentioned) that he ouercame the guarrisons, whiche the Sechemites had put in those places.

38 And Zebul sayd vnto him: Where is nowe thy mouth, that sayd: Who is Abimelech that we should serue hym? Is not thys the people that thou haste despised? Go out nowe I praye thee, and fight agaynst them.

39 And Gaal went forth befoze the men of Sechem, and fought agaynst Abimelech.

40 But Abimelech pursued hym, after he began to fflye befoze hym, and many were ouerthrowen and wounded euen to the entryng of the gate.

41 And Abimelech dwelt at Arumah: and Zebul thrust out Gaal and his brethren, that they should not abide in Sechem.

42 And on the morowe the people went out into the fielde. And it was tolde Abimelech.

43 And he tooke the people and deuided them into three bandes, & laid wayt in the field, and looked, and behold the people were come out of the City, and he rose vp agaynst them and smote them.

44 And Abimelech, and the bandes that were with hym, rushed forthwarde, and stode in the entryng of the gate of the City: and the two other bandes ran vpon al the people that were in the field, and slewe them.

45 And when Abimelech had fought agaynst the City all the day, he tooke the City, & slew the people that was therein, and destroyed the City, and sowed salt in it.

Zebul coulde not holde hymselfe, but that he must nippe that Thraso. Thou dost contemne (sayeth he) Abimelech: nowe come out agaynst hym, and shewe howe valiaunt thou art.

V Where is thy mouth: This worde Aphoh is ambiguous: for it signifieth where, and sometymes it signifieth now. But bycause it is befoze sayd where, it is mete to be taken here for now, & so let vs say: Where is now thy mouth: vnles we will haue it a repetition, to say: Where, where is thy mouth: & by the figure Metonymia a mouth signifieth wordes: for we speake with h mouth. He by bzaydeth him with the maner of feareful men: for cowardes are wont befoze the daunger stoutely to bzagge: but when they come to the daunger, they are wonderfully afrayd: but contrarily stoute men bzagge not much, neither do they rashely thrust themselues into daungers. But in daungers they are most constant.

He went forth before the princes of Sechem. Gaal fighteth, but peradventure not prepared, for Abimelech came vpon him vnlooked for. Yet Gaal goeth forth agaynst him, least peradventure he should seme to be a coward.

And he fled before him. Abimelech followed hym when he fled, euen to the gates of the City, where he slewe many. Gaal thought he should haue ben receaued into the City, and so that cause he fleeth vnto the gate. But Zebul thrust hym out of the Citye. But thou wilt demaunde, by what meanes he coulde be excluded the City, whē as the Sechemites had made hym theyr ruler? Kimhi answereth, first that all the Sechemites stode not agaynst Abimelech: the people also

The manner of
feareful men.

(as they were of an inconstant mynde) when they sawe Gaal flye, turned they purpose, and fell to Abimelech. Hereby we gather howe foolish it is to trust vnto men. Jeremy sayeth very well and wisely: Cursed be every one, that putteth his confidence in man, and maketh fleshe his strength. The Sechemites put their confidence in Gaal, and at that very instant used his ayde. Gaal on the other side putteth his confidence in the Sechemites, and was thrust out of the City by them, in whom he did put his confidence. This is the nature of the people, when fortune a litle fauoreth, straightway they forsake them whō befoze they followed. The common people altogether depende vpon chance. Here may we see also an other foolishnes of the Sechemites, who thought that when they had cast out Gaal, Abimelech had straightway ben satisfied. For they goo forth into the fieldes, to exercise theyr rusticall workes, to gather in theyr grapes, & saye, or to tillage. But it happened farre otherwise. For Abimelech placed two bandes to lye in wayte, and he hymselfe with his horse came vnto the City, that neyther they whiche were in the fieldes, coulde get into the City, nor they whiche were in the City coulde come out, to helpe theyr men in the fieldes. This policy of warre used Abimelech. They thought he had now bene pacified, but the anger of kynges are not straightwaye asswaged.

And he sowed salte. These moste miserable chaunces happened vnto the people, they whiche went forth into the fieldes, were killed, the City it selfe was besieged and conquered, the Citizens slayne, the City defaced and utterly ouerthrowen. But Abimelech stomaching the matter moze then was meete, sowed salte in the City: whiche was a token of a wilderness and deserte. For salte dryeth the ground, and maketh it vnfruitfull. In Hebrewe Malach signifieth salte. Whereof cometh the verbe Malach whiche is, to salte: but in the coniugation Niphal, Nimlah, is a verbe, whiche signifieth to destroye, to breake downe and to waste. That woorde Jeremy used in his 14. chap. and Dauid in his 107. Psalme, & D turneth a fruitfull lande into a saltish ground, that is, maketh it waste and deserte. In the yere .1165. Fredrike Oenobarbus the Emperour ouerthrew Millane, and sowed salte there. For that City tooke parte with Alexander the thyrd being Pope, agaynst Cesar: whiche thyng Fredrike took in very ill part.

what the sowing of salt signifieth.

46 And when all the men of the tower of Sechem hearde it, they came to the castle of Theberith.

47 And it was told Abimelech that all the men of the tower of Sechem were gathered together.

48 And Abimelech went vp to mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him: and Abimelech tooke axes, and cut downe bowes of trees, and tooke them and layd them on his shoulder, and said vnto the people that were with him: That whiche ye haue sene me do, make hast, and do as I haue done.

49 Wherefoze all the people cut downe euery man his bowgh, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the castle, and set the castle on fire with them. And all the men of the tower of Sechem dyed, about a thousand men and women.

50 Then went Abimelech vnto Thebez, and layde siege to it, and tooke it.

That tower of Sechem was a bulwarke of the City. Wherefoze when the City was take, the princes distrusting themselves, entred into an other inward holde, where also was a temple: and it was called the house of the coneuant of God: so the Israelites forsaking the coneuant of the true God coupled themsel-

Cap.9. A Commentarie vpon the

ues vnto strange Gods.

And it was told Abimelech, Mount Zalmon was nigh vnto that hold, wherether Abimelech and his people got them vnto: for he had determined to burne that castell and temple whiche was in it. Neither ought we to marvelle, that the temple was so fenced, when as it was the maner so in the old tyme. For Rome, when longe ago it was taken and burnt of the Senones, the Capitulum, where in was the temple of Iupiter, remayned safe. And Iosephus sayeth that when Ierusalem was besieged of Titus, the temple was a strong bulwarke for the City. But the cause why the Sechemites got them thither, was not onely because the place was so well fenced, but also because they had a superstitious opinion of Baal: for they thought that he would be with them, & defend his temple. So foolishly men, when they haue in deede no religion in their mynde, yet they put their confidence in holynes of places, and wondrously trust in images & temples, & also in reliques of saintes. But thereby they are nothing holpen, but to their destruction they are slayne euen in temples, as we reade it happened now vnto these men.

Temples were wont to be builded in castles,

Aluicis.

And by them they set the castle on fire. Where is in these wordes Aluicis of the gender, for the Masculine gender is put for the Feminine, for as much as this relative Eos that is them, is referred to the bowes, which in the Hebrew is a word of the Feminine gender. Pencion is made of the bitter destruction of the City, for it was not onely ouerthrowen, and strawed with salte, but also the princes were slayne with fire and smoke. Abimelech in this warlike pollicy shewed not vnto all, what he would do, he onely blubbered the people to follow hym. Gideon also when he tooke the pitcher, fire brand, and trompet, commaunded the other to do the same: so Abimelech tooke a bowe on his shoulder, and the other did the like. He kindleth fire, and burneth all them which were in the holde, other wise he could not haue conquered the towne. Some thinke that Gaal also perished here, & that being put to flight by Abimelech, he got him to this holde. After this sorte God tooke vengeance vpon the Sechemites. And Abimelech, although he were an vngodly and cruell tyranne, obeyned the victorie: so also god gaue Nabucad-nesar power, to afflict the Iewes, and to leade them captiues to Babilone. And likewise vnto Tiglathphalasar to oppresse the ten tribes. All these men had the victorie, and yet was their cause nothyng the better. This rule god useth oftentimes to punish the euill by euill, although he do not straightway punish them all. Some he punisheth before, and other some after ward: and there are some also, whose vengeance he reserueth for the world to come.

Why the vngodly obtayne victories.

Abimelech triumpheth as though he had better cause: but yet this hys voye is of no longe tyme: for the hande of the Lorde abyddeth hym also. In Comedies, the strength of the Poete is not percreaned by the Prologue, nor by one acte or two, but we muste wayte for the ende and the conclusion of the whole fable. So if a man wyll geue iudgement of an Image, or of any other sayde Picture if he onely marke the knee or Legge, he shall easely be deceaued: for he must consider the Armes, the Shoulders, the sides, and proportion of the whole body. After which selfe same maner, if we will vnderstand the iustice of God in his workes, we muste tary till the ende, and then shall we see the iudgements of god full. Augustine sayeth ryght well that god, when he punisheth any certayne wicked acte, doth signify that he hateth all wicked actes. And when he differeth the punishments of the vngodly, he admonisheth vs, to thinke vpon an other lyfe. Wherefore if Papistes, if Turkes, if Tyrannes are not punished in this world, let vs with a patient minde wayte for the last acte, and last iudgement of god: for they shall not go vnpunished.

Augustine.

A comforte in the felicity of the vngodly.

David sayeth in his 73. Psalm: My feete were almost moued, and my steppes had welnye slypte, because I treated at the wicked, when I sawe the peace of synners. For there are no bandes in theyr death, and they are lusty and strong. They are not in trouble as other men, &c. And I sayd, both god know these things,

and

and is there knowledge in the most highest: For so both our flesh subget, when it seeth þe vngodly liue in prosperite: when the matter is so, is there (sayth he) knowledge in the moste highest: Wherefore I haue clenfed my harte in bayne, and in bayne I haue washed my handes in innocency, in bayne was I punished all the day, and it was paynfull to me, to know this. For they are mosse harde to vnderstand, and I began in a manner to dispayre, vntill I went into the sanctuary of God, and vnderstood theyr last end. For who may not easely be deceiued in the rich man and Lazarus: When as the one in mans sight seemed to haue bene most blessed, and the other most miserable. Wherefore (sayth he) it was paynfull vnto me, vntill I was broughte into the sanctuary of God, & beheld theyr last iudgement. But as touching Abimelech, the prophesie ought to be fulfilled whiche Iſaiah pronounced: Let a fire come out of Abimelech and destroy his enemies.

God suffereth Abimelech to exercise his tyranny thre yeares, in which space he seemed to tary for his repentance. But he heaped vp vnto him self angre in the day of anger. For if he had ben wise he would easily haue thought thus with him selfe after the victorie: The Sechemites sinned throughte my perswasion: if they are now so severely handled, what shalbe done to me at the length? But he being blinded that he could not se these thynges, at the last was filthily slayne. So the vngodly are dounken with prosperous fortune, and god semeth to fede them vp, as sacrifices, which are first fed and fatted, before they be killed. In whiche sense Esay in the. 34. chap. writeth: The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozra. Wherefore Abimelech, by all the things that he saw, is made neuer a whit the better, yea rather he was made the moze insolent, and attempteth other thinges moze tyrannical. In the booke of Ecclesiasticus the 8. chap. it is writte: Because sentence agaynst the euill is not executed speedely, the childre of men do without any feare perpetrate euill thinges. Wherefore are men made so beclong to sinne, because they abuse the goodnes of god: & it is so far of, þe vngodly, when he seeth an other corrected, should amend, & he alwayes becometh worse & worse, and alwayes endeuoureth to goe on farther in wickednes. Whiche thinge I woulde to God we woulde follow in vertues and good deedes. Abimelech had overcome the Sechemites, neither was that sufficient for him: then tooke he the holde, neyther was that y enough for him: he conquered the cite of Thebez, and yet did not this suffice him. He will go on farther yet: and is most filthily slayne. As concerning the cite of Thebez, Kimhi sayth, that it also fell from the government of Abimelech.

Dauid
Kimhi.

51 But there was a strong tower within the cite, and thither fled all the men and women, and all the chief of the city, and shutte it to them, and went vp to the top of the towre.

52 And Abimelech came vnto the towre, and fought against it. And went hard vnto the doore of the towre to set it on fire.

53 Then a woman caste a piece of a milstone vpon Abimeleches heade, and brake his skull.

54 Who streightwaye called his page that bare his armoure, and said vnto him: Draw thy sword and slay me, lest men peradventure say of me: A woman slew him. And his page thrust him thozow and he died.

55 And when the men of Israell saw that Abimelech was deade, they departed euery man to his owne place.

56 Thus God rendred the euill of Abimelech, whiche he did vnto his father, in slayinge his brethren.

57 Also all the wickednes of the men of Sechem did god bring vp

Cap.9. A Commentarie vpon the on they heads, and vpon them came the curse of Iotham the sonne of Jerubbaall.

The menne of Thebez closed and sensed the outwarde partes of the Tower berpe well: And kepte themselves within, hauinge all the gates and entrances shut vp.

They ascended vpon the toppe. This Hebrerwe woord Gag signifieth the toppe of the house, not sharpe poynted, but playne, so3 vpon it they might walke. And bycause it was dangerous, leasse a manne shoulde fall from the toppe, it was commaunded in Deutromye, that a ryzcuite or a stay shoulde be added to the roofe of the houses.

To burne the gate. Bycause he hadde so good successe befoze to con- quere by fyze, he thoughte now also to had the like fortune.

A woman threw a stone. Abimeleche puffed vppe with victozies, set- teth an erample befoze oure eyes, that wee shoulde not to muche put confidence in pze sente felicity. By his lucke successe he thoughte his cause was good, and that they whome he had destroyed, had they rewarde so3 they wickednes. Such is the iudgemente of menne, they thinke that accozdinge to the wayghte of the punishments, so are the sinnes of the afflicted, and they euil deserts, so that they whych are greuously bered, seeme to haue greuously sinned. And vndoubtedly the booke of Job is all whole in a manner of that argumente. For his friends did therfore gather that he was an euill man, bicause he was so greuously af- flicted. But yet oughte wee not so to thinke: For there maye be other causes why GOD will haue the sayntes oppressed in this world. Chyist teacheth vs in the 13. chapter of Luke (when certayne tolde him, that Pilate hadde mingled the bloud of y Galileians w sacrifices, & they loked that Chyist shoulde haue cried out vpon the crueltye of the President) howe wee oughte to take profite by the pu- nishments of other men. For he answered: do you thinke that those Galileians sinned aboue all the reast, bicause they suffered these thinges? No verilye, I tell you, but excepte ye repente, ye shall all likewise perishe. Or thinke ye that those 18, vpon whome the Tower in Siloi fell, were sinners aboue all men that dwel in Jerusalem? No verilye, I tell you, but excepte ye repente, ye shall all likewise perishe.

The argumēt
of the booke of
Job.

We ought to
take perforce by
the punishments
of other.

Abimelech also shoulde rather thus haue sayd wyth himself: If these thinges haue chaunsed vnto them, what shall then happen vnto me? Let vs also speake thus with our selues. If by the Turkes and Saracenes so greuous thinges haue happened vnto the Grecians, Hungarians, and Africanes, what shall then become of vs at the length? Excepte we repente, wee shall likewise perishe.

The names of
two millstones.

A peece of a millstone. This Hebrerwe woord Rachab signifieth a millstone. But there ar two millstones, namely that that is aboue, and that that is beneath. The higher is he, which is called Rachab, bicause it is put vpo the other, and after a sozt rideth vpon it. The other is called Schachab, bycause it se- meth to lye still. By what meanes the woman hadde a peece of a millstone in the vpper parte of the house, it appeareth not. Howebeit it is verpe likelpe, that they carped vppe stones, and greate beaue peeces of rockes into the vpper partes of the houses, to haue them in a redinesse to beate backe the enemy.

And hys page thruste him thorowe, and he died. This is the ende of a most cruel tiranne. He is killed of a woman, and when he saw that he must nedes dye, he studieth to put away the infamye, neyther would he haue it sayd of him, that a woman slew him. What madnes is this? He is at the poynt of death and

and he daynelpe thinketh vpon glozpe: He thinketh it a reproche to be killed of a woman, and is nothinge carefull for the soule, nor for the other life: he onely careth for his name and fame. And god when he hadde vied thys mannes cruelty to afflicte the Sechemites, at the lasse destroyed him also. He entred in by euell artes: He raygned cruellpe and tyzannouslye, and died moste filthylpe. And when Abimelech was dead, euery man returned into his country. Neither was the towre which he assaulted, conquered. And least any man should thinke that these thinges happened by chaunce, but that all menne myghte vnderstande that they were doone by the prouidence and counsell of god, the conclusion is added: Thus God rewarded. Herebye we are very well taught, that if at anye time the like thinges doo happen, wee muste not attribute them to fortune, but onely vnto the prouidence of God. Achab the kinge when he went on warfare, chaunged his apparell, and woulde not be knowen to be the kinge, but he counted a rascall souldiour: yet was he slayne wyth an arrowe, whiche was shot at auenture, whiche thinge myghte haue seemed to haue bene done by chaunce, when as yet God in very deede gouerned the shafte. And in like manner as Plutarch telleth, Pirrhus was slayne of a woman in besieging of Thebez, *Plutarch*, he throwyng downe a tyle from the house topp. Werpe many suche thinges are doone in oure time, whiche seeme vnto vs therfoze to haue happened by chaunce, bycause wee knowe not the causes of thynges, and iudgementes of God.

Moreover by thys conclusion thys we profitablye gather, that GOD at the length renoketh all thynges to his tribunall seate and iudgemente. If wee shoulde demaunde, why the Sechemites were so myserablye afflycted, and why Abimeleche was so fylthylpe slayne? The holpe Ghoste aunswereth, God reuenged the ingratitude of the Sechemites toward Gideon, and the Parricide of Abimeleche, who slewe his byetherne. For the bloode of so manye byetherne cryed no lesse vnto the Lorde, then the bloode of Abel, as is wrytten in Genesis. Lastlye let vs note, that there are hitherto some good Iudges spoken of, among whome is put Abimeleche, a moste cruell tyzanne, that they bertue by a comparison, or an Antithesis myghte be made moze noble. But happye was that publyke wealthe whiche amonge manye good, had onely one tyzanne, but we amongest manye euell, haue scarce one good Prince. And vndoubtedlye God gaue not vnto the Israelites thys tyzanne, neyther rayled he hym by after the manner of the other Iudges: but they elected him themselves.

¶ The .x. Chapter.



1 And after Abimeleche, rose vp to saue Israell Thola, the sonne of Doa, the sonne of Dodo, a mā of Isaschar, and he dwelled in Samir in mount Ephraim.
2 And he iudged Israell .23. yeares, and died, and was buried in Samir.



After the deathe of Abimeleche, folloved a longe peace, namelpe .45. yeares: which space of time is distributed into two Iudges, whereof the one gouerned the people thre and twenty yeares, and the other two and twenty yeares. So greate is the goodnes of God, that he would restore peace vnto men, though they deserued it not.

Peace during 45. yeares.

And after Abimelech, rose vp Thola. In that it is wrytten both of this Iudge, and of the other: And there rose vp: wee must not for all that thinke, that they of they owne minde claimed vnto the selues the principality, but they wer

Al. illi

elected

Cap. 10 A Commentary vpon the

elected vnto it by the lord, and of him set to rule by the people of Israel. And they are sayd to haue risen vp, because they followed the instinct of the Lord.

The difference
betwene a spy
& a true prince.
Dauid Kimhi.

A iudgement
of the irope of
Iosephus.

To saue Israel. Betwene good princes and tirans this is the difference: Tirans seke onely theyr own gayn, but good magistrats haue only a care for this, to saue the people. Dauid Kimhi thinketh of Abimelech also saued the Israelites, although he both slew his brotherne and made ciuil warres. For he was a warlike and stout man: wherfore outward nations feared him. But I wil not easily graunt vnto this sentence: for as much as the holy scriptures mention not that he made warres w outward nations, which they would not haue otherwise left vnspoken of. If thou wilt say, that it maye therfore seeme that he saued Israel, by cause he is nombred amonge the Judges: I aunswere, this is rather to be marked, that the scriptures called him not a Judge, but rather a king: neither is it written that he iudged, but reigned. But in that he is nombred among the Judges, that was the cause which we haue befoze touched, namely that the vertues of the Judges might be moze illustrat, and that it might be made manifest, how much princes that are given of God, do excell those which men choose vnto themselves. Iosephus in his booke de antiquitatibus leaueth out this Thola, and onely maketh mention of the other, of whom we will straightway speake. And it is no meruaile, for that autho is wonte to ouer passe very manye thinges, and sometimes to alter some thinges.

Of the tribe of Issachar. That tribe was the lowest and obscurest tribe, but god hath no respect to persons. The state of this people was most excellent, namely Aristocratie, wherein god chosed Judges indifferently out of all the people. And there was none which could iustly complayne, that his family could not be exalted to the highest dignity of rule, which thing happeneth not in a kingdom. For all the kinges came of the family of Dauid.

The sonne of Pua Ben Dodo. That word is ambiguous & dark: for it may be both a name proper and a name appellative. If it be a proper name, (as the Chaldee Paraphrast supposeth) we must say that Thola had to father Pua, & that Pua was the sonne of a certaine man named Dodo. But other thinke that it is a name appellative, and that signifieth an vncle, and hath a pronome affixed vnto it of the third person. And some vnderstand that by that pronome is referred to signified Abimelech, as though it were noted that Pua was the vncle of Abimelech: which sentence some of the Hebrewes allow. Yea and the latten interpreter, to expresse that sentence, and that there might be no darkenes therein, addeth the name of Abimelech. But how Pua should be vncle vnto Abimelech, and so the brother of Gideon, beinge of an other tribe, it seemeth meruellous, because tribes were not mingled one with an other. Some aunswere that it might be that they were brotherne on the mother side, but yet not on the fathers side. For such women which had no inheritance, married oftentimes in other tribes: but so did not they which had inheritance, that the lands and inheritance should not be confounded, wherfore it might easily come to pas, that either her husband beinge dead, or she by him repudiated, married agayne in an other tribe. And by this meanes Gideon & Pua may be brotherne, although they came of sundry tribes. But of those daughters which were inheritors, might not marry in an other tribe, it is by many examples confirmed. Saule otherwise a Beniamite, gave his daughter to wyfe vnto Dauid, who was of the tribe of Iudah. Ichoidan priest of the tribe of Levi, married the daughter of king Ioram which was of the tribe of Iuda, as it is written in the latter booke of Paralip. the. 22. chap. Aaron a Leuite married Elisaba, the daughter of Aminadab, of the tribe of Iuda. Wherfore there are two opinions, one is of them which thinke that Dodo is a proper name, and the other of those which say it is a name appellative. The third opinion is, that that annexed pronome, namely of him, is to be turned, his, so that this Thola had one and the self name to his father & to his vncle, which by the ordinary meanes was not lawfull, yet

How a man
may be the sonne of
his vncle.

yet was it detested, when a man dyed without children: for then the brother married his wife, namely him of whom he was begotten, and the other which was dead, whose name he bare, and was made his heyre. This sentence lyketh mee well: for it very aptly declareth, how a man might be the sonne of his vncle. &c.

3 After hym rose bp Jair a Gileadite, and hee iudged Israel. xxi. yeares.

4 And he had. xxx. sonnes, that rode vpon. xxx. Coltes, and they had. xxx. Cities, whych are called Hanoth: Jair euen to thys day, & are in the land of Gilead.

5 And Jair dyed, and was buryed in Camon.

Of what tribe this Jair was, appeareth by this woord Gilead which is repeated: for Manasses had Machir to his sonne, who begat Gilead. And his name was comen with the mount, whereto Jacob and Laban made a league, and named the place Gilead, because there they raised vp a heape of stones for a wytnes. *Eusebius Cesariensis.* Eusebius saith, that the backe of this mount tendeth to Arabia and Phenicia, and is topned with the hys of Libanus. And this mount hath a City of the same name. Machir conquered that City, and gaue vnto it a name, which was comen both to his sonne and to the mount. Wherefore Jair was of the Tribe of Manasses, a man hauing plenty of children: for he had. xxx. And no marvaile, when as then they vsed to haue many wyues. His children was no Rascals or comon people, yea they were bozmen: which is thus described, which rode vpon. 30. Asses colts. This Hebze woord Air signifieth either a Colt or an Ass, according to which sence are signified. xxx. Poles: or the colt of a Mare, as R. D. Kimhi expoundeth *David Kimhi* it. Neither were they onely bozmen, but also riche: for they possessed. 30. Cities, because euery one of them was ruler of a City: wherefore their father must nedes be very noble.

They were called Hanoth Jair. Because they wer not enuironed with a wall. And were so called euen to this day, namely euen vnto Samuels tyme, who (they say) was authour of this booke. In the booke of Numbers the. xxxii. chap. it is written, Jair tooke many Cities from the Chananites, and they were called Hanoth Jair. Wherefore it is demanded, whither he were the same man of whom we now speake, or whether he were an other: I doo not thinke that he was the same, so much as betwene them both there were. 300. yeares passed. He was a certaine other man distinct from this Jair, of whom we now speake, but yet hee was of the same samely: and peradventure this was his penew, for they which are of the same samely, doo for the most part retayne the names of they kynred. Vnto this Jair came those Cities, whych that other Jair tooke from the Chananites. Wherefore the places agree: but that it is not the same man. This Judge therefore is noble, when as the twoo former were but of a base samely. Neither doth Nobility any thing binder to gouerne a publike wealth, if self trust and insolence be taken away: yea rather they haue examles of their Elders, excellent stirrings vp to vertue, and very many helpes, to gouerne thinges well. And it is not vnkely but that the people vnder these two Judges, rightly worshipped God in long and quiet peace, otherwise God would not haue geue them so long a time of rest. But after them, the Hebzees turned againe vnto Idolatry.

6 And the chyldren of Israel wroughte wickedlye agayne in the sight of the Lord, and serued Baalim, and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Aram, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, & the gods of the chyldren of Ammon, and also the gods of Philisthim, and so forooke the Lord, and serued not hym.

7 Wherefore the wrath of the Lord was kyndled against Israel, and

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and he deliuered them into the handes of Delisthū, and into the handes of the chyldren of Ammon.

8 Who from that yeaere beered and oppressed the chyldren of Israel xliii. yeaeres, euen all the chyldren of Israel, whyche were beyonde Jordan, in the land of the Amorhites, whych is in Gilead.

9 Whereouer the chyldren of Ammon went ouer Jordan, to fyght also agaynst Iuda and Benjamin, and agaynst the house of Ephraim. And Israel was in verie great miserie.

10 And the chyldren of Israel cryed vnto the Lorde, saying: Wee haue synned agaynst thee, euen bicause we haue forsaken out God, and haue serued Baalim.

Why the Isra-
elites were so
prone vnto ido-
latry.

The stubborn-
nes of the Je-
wes agaynst
God.

When they heaped synnes vpon synnes, the latter synnes wer alwaies moze greivous then the first. And this is not to bee passed ouer, that they are sayde to haue synned in the syght of the Lord: for the world otherwise is often times deceaued, and the iudgement of men many times, either aloweth or excuseth sins. And the euyl which the Israelites are sayde to haue done, was nothing els but Idolatry. As soone as the good Princes were dead, the people easely fel to woozshipping of Idoles, and why they were so prone to this wicked crime, there may be many causes alledged. First, they sawe that the Nations which were nyghe vnto them, when they woozshipped Idoles, floozished in all kinde of riches and honoys, but they theselues wer wonderfully oppressed with penury of thinges. Wherefore they thought that the Gods of those nations were both better & moze boontifull, then their owne God. They considered that they them selues whyche woozshipped but one God, were fewe in the number, but there was an infinite number which woozshipped Idoles. And as they detested the ceremonies and holpe seruices of other Nations, so on the other syde other Nations bothe abhorred them, and also beered them with contumelies. Lastly, the woozshipping of the true God was moze senere, and after a sort moze sadde, it hadde no pleasure, no chalenging of battayl one with an other, no stage playes, no dancings, no running at tylts, no Comodies, no Tragedies, all which thynges they sawe were vled in the woozshipping of Idoles, yea and also often times were adde most vyle and fylthy thinges. And sozasmuch as the nature of man is of it selfe ready vnto pleasures, hereof it came, that they turned vnto straunge holy seruices. And vndoubtedly the same causes in our time doo moue the myndes of many, and therfore many cleaue vnto the Papistes, whom they see to lyue muche moze pleasantly, and to floozish in goods and riches: they see also that they are moze in number in Italy, in Spaine, and in Fraunce, then we are. Bicause also they thinke that they are infamed and reproched, when they are called Schismatikes and Heretikes. And lastly bicause our ceremonies, as touching the senses of the flesh are dyp, and without pleasures, they haue no copes, no descaunt synging, no musical Organes, no stage play Passes. Whereof come these defaultes and fallinges of many. I might also adde, that many say their fathers lyued so, and died in that religion, which reasō is with many of great force. Such things without doubt did the Jewes thinke vpon. But it is marueilous to behold their stubbornnes. It seemeth that they had wholly bent their mindes, perpetually to resist their God. When God would haue them to obserue his ceremonies, they sought for other ceremonies at the handes of the people that wer nigh vnto the. And soz as muche as God hath nowe decreed, that those ceremonies shoulde by Chyist be made of none effect, and they wyl styll keepe them: they doo therein that which ouerthwart wiues are wont to do, when the husband wyl, they wyl not, when he wyl not, then they again wyl. They did not onely woozship Baal and Ashtaroth, but also the Gods of Aram, & Zidon, the Gods of the Moabites, and of the

the children of Ammon, and also the Gods of the Pelishtims. If we marke the number, they woozhipped seuen kyndes of Idoles.

And forlooke the Lord. They did not onely follow straunge Gods, but also forsooke the woozhipping of the true God. There is a certayne Emphasis in this woozde forlooke. It signifieth as much, as if it should haue bene said: They would not so much as haue the woozhipping of the true God named, neyther made they any moze mencion of it. Wherefoze the wrath of the Lozde kindled against them, and he deliuered them into the handes of the Philistians. &c. When they forsooke the true God, he againe tooke away from them his helpe, and sold them to the Philistians and Ammonites, whom they so serued, as though they had bene their bondslaues. And the yoke of the Ammonites was much moze greuous, then the yoke of the Philistians. Wherefoze Iphthah tooke in hande warre, singularly against the Ammonites, as against the chief verers of the Israelites. Farthermoze let vs marke, that euen the self same yeare, wherein Iair died, they were vexed and opprested of their enemies. The Lozde taried not: straightwaye after the death of the Iudge, hee beganue to afflict the people. In whyche place we must note, that most stronge Nations, so soone as they are destitute of God, are easely without anye a doo conquered and ouerthrowne of their enemies. For it is God onely which geueth power and strength, and therefore the Israelites were straightwaye opprested of their enemies, because the Lozde had forsaken them: for God is not onely the efficient cause of might and rule, but also it is he that keepeth and preserueth it. They opprest vniuersally al the children of Israel. For they kept not them selues within any bondes: but wandzed and made rodes thzough out al the borders of the Hebzeues, which thing is noted by these woozdes: Yea and they passed ouer Iordan. The tribes of Ruben, Gad, and part of Manasses dwelled on this syde Iordan. For all that region was verpe fertile, therefore they required it of Moses, when the other tribes were not yet passed ouer Iordan: but they did not wel marke what they desired: for although it wet a most fat and fertill countrype, yet was it alwaies in greater daunger: For often times their next enemies made rodes into their landes. And this is very comonly sene, that men are moze careful for gaine, then for health: but the Ammonites did not onely rob and spoyle those tribes, but they also miserably afflicted al Israel. When they had passed ouer Iordan, they would also fight against Iuda, Benjamin, and Ephraim, which were of al the tribes most noble. Wherefoze we must beleue, that they raged against al the Hebzeues.

The request of the two tribes & the halfe tribe was vnswept.

Wherefore the Israelites were aboute measure opprested. And they cryed vnto the Lord. When they were but a litle opprested, they were nothing moued: but when they wer farther vexed, and most grieuoulye afflicted, they began to turne to God, and cryed vnto him. Yetther did they that lightly, but weeping, repented from the hart, confessed their sinne, & implozed his ayde. This thing onely God regardeth, when he afflicteth his people with aduersitye, where woozdes will not serue, he addeth stripes and berations, which are certain behement sermons towarde the stiffer sozte, and are of great foze towarde the godly, and those that are predestinate vnto saluation, but to the vngodlye & impenitent, to their greater damnation. God did not these thinges, as though he had a pleasure in the euils of men, or that he woulde satisfie himselfe after thys maner (for that thing onely Iesu Christ vpon the crosse perfozmed) but that they which are fallen, may be called backe into the right way, vices cozzected, and his iustice declared. And the Israelites do not onely cal vpon God, but also humbly acknowledge, and submittedly confesse their synnes. For they kneue that God heareth not synners, except they repent.

What God hathe a respect vnto in the punishment, wherewith hee punyssheth synners.

11 And the Lord said vnto the children of Israel: Haue not I deliuered you from the Egyptians, and Ammonites, and children of Ammon

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Ammon and Delisthim.

12 Moreover the Zidonites and Abimelech, and the Moabites oppressed you, and ye cryed vnto me, and I deliuered you out of their handes.

13 But ye haue forsaken me, and haue serued straunge Gods: therefore I wyll deliuer you no more.

14 Go and crye vnto the Gods whom ye haue chosen: let them saue you in the tyme of your trouble.

Howe God answered the Israelites.

When the people called vpon the Lorde, and began to repent, God in deede answered them, but yet sharply and hardly. He answered peradventure by the high Priest, which had Urim and Thumim, by hym counsell was asked of God publikely: It may also be that some Prophet was stirred vp, by whō God spake. The Hebrewes thinke that God answered by Pinchas, whom they say lyued vntil the tyme of Elias, but that they saue without any testimony of the holie scriptures. And if we looke vpon the tyme, Pinchas was at the least. 30. yeares before

Why God answered so sharply.

these thinges were done. But let vs see why God answered so hardly vnto the Hebrewes; namely that the people should repēt, and that not vulgarly, but with stable and firme constancy. It is as much as if he should haue said: ye woulde be deliuered, that when ye are deliuered ye may woozship straunge Gods againe. For who can beleue that ye wil not hence forth depart frō me: haue ye not called vpon me at other times, and as soone as ye were deliuered, ye fell from me: I haue deliuered you from the Egyptians, Ammorhites, Ammonites, Philistians, Zidonians, Amalechites, and Maonites, but ye begon straightway to woozshippe straunge Gods a fresh. For it was a thing most vnmeete, that they which ar by God set at liberty, should take vpon them to woozship Idoles of many nations.

A moste sharpe Irony.

Go and cry vnto your Gods, whom ye haue chosen. Doth God commaund vs to sinne: No vndoubtedly. There are sundry figures in the holy scriptures, which vnles we diligently marke, we shal easely fall into most grieuous errors. This explication which is set forth by an Irony, is most grieuous: as though he would haue said: Now at the length ye haue tried, and ye vnderstand what your Gods can doo. The same Irony vsed Elias towarde the Prophetes of Baal: Cry (saith he) more loude, peradventure your God is on sleepe, or is in hys somner parler. He dyd not commaunde them to crye, but more attentiuely to marke, what god they woozhipped. This is therfore an ironious oration, and a most bytter taunt.

How God sayth that he wyl not geue that whych

he wyl geue, and contrarily.

He saith he wyl not helpe them, and yet after ward he helped them. Did God lye therfore: No vndoubtedly, but as yet the repentaunce of the people was not come vnto that point that he would haue it, according to that state and condition that they were then in, he saith he wil not helpe them. For God knoweth the momentes of times. So vseth a Physicion to handle his Patient, when hee requireth wine in his burning and heate of his feuer. I wyll not geue it (saith he) not bicause hee will neuer geue it, but bicause hee knoweth when it shal be profitable vnto him. Againe the sicke person desireth a purgation, the Physicion denieth him it, bicause he wil first haue the humors wel concocted, that they may the easelier be educed: so doth God now with his people.

A similitude.

And this is no vnaccustomed forme of speaking in the scriptures. The Lord said vnto Moses: Suffer my wrath to kindle, that in a moment I may destroye them. These thinges he said, when as yet he would spare the people, but the prayers of Moses pacified God, and therfore he would haue them inflamed, and his affection

affection & faith increased. In Mathew, the woman of Canaan cried vnto Chyist: but he, as though he would not heare her, passed by, saying nothing. When shee being moze instant, I am not (saith he) sent, but to the sheepe which hathe perished of the house of Israel. And she not yet ceasing, he called her Dogge. It is not good (saith he) to take the chyldrens bzeade, and geue it vnto Dogges: and yet had he euen from the beginning decreed to help her. But first he would haue her faith brought to light, that it might be knowen by all meanes. And in another place vnder the parable of one that desired bzeade, he saith: To whom the good man of the house which was within, answered, I and my chyldzen are in bed. And the other being instant, by his importunty obtained as many loanes as he would. So in this place God aunswereth, that he wyl not helpe, namely that people, as they were then. For their repentaunce was not at that instant full. God chaungeth not his sentence, but wil haue vs moze and moze changed.

God is not chgyed, but wyl haue vs chgyed

Jeremy in his .xviii. chap. saith: If I shall speake euyl against any nacion, and that nacion shal repent, I wil also repent me of that euyl, which I said I would do. And that Jeremy might the manifestlier vnderstande the thinges that were spoken, he had hym go into the house of a Potter, wher he saw the Potter make a vessell of claye, which was broken in the handes of the woozkeman. But the Potter made againe an other vessell of the same clay. So saith the Lord: If they repent, I wyl also repent: I doo now make so: them euill thinges, but so: euill thinges I wyl make good: and yet as I haue saide, he chaungeth not his sentence, bicause suche thzeatninges and promyses doo depende vpon a condicion, which is sometimes chaunged, when as God yet abideth the selfe same.

Of thys thyng right well wyrteth Chrysostome vpon Genesis, in hys .xv. Homely: The Lord commaund Noe to builde an Arke, and thzeatned that after .120. yeares he would destroye all mankinde by a flood: but when in the meane tyme they nothing at all profited, he cut of twenty yeares, and sent the flood in the hundred yeare, and yet was not god chaunged, but the condicion of men varied. The same Chrysostome also (vpon Mathew, in his .65. Homely, when he interpreteth this: Verely I say vnto you, ye which haue forsaken all thynges. &c.) demaundeth: Was not Iudas one of the twelue, and shall Iudas syt vpon the twelue seates, and iudge the twelue Tribes of Israel? Dyd Chyist chaunge hys sentence? No (sayth he) but Iudas was chaunged. Whiche selfe same thing wee must iudge of the Citty of Ninieue, and of king Ezechias, whom god pronounced should dye. For neither Ninieue at that tyme perished, nor Ezechias dyed: bicause they were chaunged. God sayde at the beginning, that the feare of men shoulde be vpon beastes. But it happeneth contrarily: so: men are now afrayde of Lyons, Beares, and Tigers, bycause they are of them ostentymes tozue. But that commeth hereof, bicause of the condicion of men is chaunged, and not the counsell of God.

Wherefoze those promyses of god are to be vnderstande acco:dyng to the present state of thynges. Wherefoze when we heare the promyses of God, wee must thus thinke: Either they haue some condicion adioyned, or they are absolutely put. Farther, either they are of force so: this tyme onely, or hereafter they shal be fulfilled. And as touching the condicions of promyses and thzeatnings, we must diligently marke, that some promyses are of the lawe, and some of the gospel: & what they differ one from an other, I haue befoze aboundantly entreated. And this will I now bryefly say, that promyses of the lawe are those which haue a condicion annexed, so that the promise is not due, vnlesse the lawe be most perfectly fulfilled: and so those condicions may be called causes of rewardes, if we coulde fulfill them, which thing, seing by reason and this corruption and vice of nature we are not able to perfo:me, god is not bounde to render the reward. Wherefoze, seing we cannot fulfill the lawe as we ought to doo, all cause of meryte is utterly taken away, and yet are not those promyses geuen in vayne.

How we must take the promyses of God.

Promyses of the lawe haue a condition annexed.

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For although by reason of infirmity, we cannot performe the condition, yet yet we flee vnto Christ, and being regenerate, do begin a better lyfe, the promises of which were promises of the law, are made promises of the Gospel: not because we liuing vnder grace, do fulfil those conditions, but because by Christ they are made absolute and perfect, whose righteousness is imputed vnto vs. In this manner must we thinke of the promises of God.

Promises of the Gospel.

How we must vnderstand the threatnings of God.

Chrysostome.

A difference betwene Princes of the worlde & God.

In like manner is it of threatenings: because often tymes muste bee added this condition: Except ye repent. I sayde often tymes: because vniuersallye it is not true, as it appeareth in Dauid, who repented, and yet suffered those thinges which Nathan threatened. Moses also repented, and yet came hee not into the promised land. And as touching the condition of repentance, we must not ouer passe this, that it is not perfect in vs: otherwise the forgiveness of syns should be due vnto vs as a rewarde: wherefore wee must holde this for certaine, that the condition of repentance is Euangelicall, and when there is repentance founde in vs, it is a fruite of fayth, and not a merite. Of this thing ryght well wyrteth Chrysostome in hys. v. Homelye to the people of Antioche, where hee comforteth the people, because of the threatenings of Theodosius. He byingeth a place out of Jeremy the. xliii. chapter, and addeth that the sentence of God is farre other wise, then the sentence of Princes of this worlde. For the sentence of a Prince is straight waye, as soone as it is once spoken, performed, and can scarcely be chaunged: but the sentence of God, if it haue threatened any thyng, is not headlong vnto destruction, nor vntreatable, yea rather it maye seeme a degree and a certaine beginning vnto saluation. For by this meanes God oftentimes reuoketh synners vnto the right waye, and saueth them. And thus much as concerning conditions.

But as touching time, we must not alwaies looke, that God should straight way performe his promises. If he deferre it, wee ought thus to comfort our selues, he hath not yet accomplished, but he will doo it in due tyme. He will in the meane time after this manner exercise our faith. God seemeth many tymes to do nothing lesse, then that which he hath promised and threatened. He promised vnto Dauid a kingdome: but by what tribulations did he exercise him, befoze that he accomplished his promises: For first he was poore and a Shephearde, afterward being taken into the court, he began to be hated of Saul, and so endauengered, that there wanted very litle, but that he was almost fallen into his power. When our Lord and sauiour Jesus Christ should be bozne of Mary, the Angell promised, that he should haue the thzone of Dauid his father, and yet till he was thirty yeares of age, he lyued in a maner vnknown. And then was he odious vnto the high Priestes, Phariseis and Scribes: and was in that sozt long tyme yll handled, and at the length by them crucified. Wherefore Esay very wel admonisheth, that he which beleueth, shoulde not make haste. For God will in due tyme performe those thinges which hee hath promised: but it is our part in the meane time, not to prescribe any thing vnto him. Paul in the. i. to the Hebrwes writeth: ye haue neede of pacience, that doing the wyll of God, ye maye obtaine the promise. For yet a litle while, and he that shall come, wyll come, and wyll not tarye: and the iust liueth by faith. But if any withdraue him selfe, my soule shal haue no pleasure in him. The same thing also must we determine of threatenings. God sayde he woulde ouerthrowe the Babilonians: but they flourished and triumphed, yea and they led awaye the people of God captiue. Wherefore God would not then accomplish his threatenings, which yet afterward when he saw his time, he performed.

Let vs apply these thinges vnto our place. What sayde God: I wil not helpe you, that is, at this present: but afterwarde when I see oportunitie, I wil helpe you. Yea and God oftentimes answereth vnto vs also inwardly, & in our hart;

I wil

¶ I will not helpe you: for ye are laden with sinnes. What shal we then doo: shall we cease of from prayers? Not so. Let vs rather imitate the Hebzeues: they, the more sharply God answered them, the more they increased their repentance. Iohn saith: If our hart accuse vs, God is greater then our hart. Our hart doth then accuse vs, when we say vnto our selues: God will not heare, because of our synnes, God doth the more accuse vs, because he seeth more in vs, then wee our selues can see. Wherefore Dauid said: Cense me Lord from my secreete synnes. What remedy is there then? For who is he, whom his hart accuseth not? Let vs turne our selues vnto Christ: and if that our hart shall say, he will not helpe, let vs say vnto it: This I may wel beleue, if I should looke vpon my selfe onely, but I looke vpon the sone of God, who hath geuen himself for me. Hereof springeth that confidence which Paul had, when he said: Who shall lay accusation against the elect of god? It is god which iustifieth. &c. Wherefore if god accuseth vs not, neither will our hart accuse vs, when we beholde Christe. For we haue now confidence to wardes god, and we shall obtaine. And whilist wee are conuerted vnto Christ, not onely accusation and sinne is abolished, but repentance also is augmented, as we now see is done in the Hebzeues.

What we must answer to the accusation of our hart.

15 And the chyliden of Israel answered vnto the Lorde: we haue synned, doo vnto vs whatsoeuer is good in thyne eyes: onely wee pray thee deliuer vs this day.

16 Then they put awaye their straunge Gods from among them, and serued the Lorde: and hys soule was grieved for the miserie of Israel.

17 Then the chyliden of Ammon gathered together, and pytched in Gilead, and the chyliden of Israel assembled them selues, and pitched in Mizpa.

18 And the people and princes of Gilead sayde euery one to hys neyghbour: whosoever wil begyn the battayle against the chyliden of Ammon, shalbe Captaine ouer al the inhabitantes of Gilead.

The repentance of the Hebzeues profited: god answered very sharply: I will not heare you. But they crye againe: Doo what seemeth good in thine eyes, that is, what soeuer pleaseth thee. This vndoubtedly is to repent, when we are not onely repentaunt for the synnes which wee haue committed, but also we willingly suffer, what soeuer pleaseth god. A notable example is set forth vnto vs, in that they put awaye their straunge gods, and woozhipped the true god. It is not sufficient to take awaye euill thynges, excepte in the place of euill thynges we substitute thynges that are good. Many haue taken awaye Idoles, idolatries, and superstitions, and yet haue not woozhipped god trulge: because he is not woozhipped by wordes, but by true sayth & good woorkes. But there are very fewe which embrace these thynges.

The property of true repentance.

And hys soule was grieved. This Hebzeu woorde Tiktad signifieth to draw together. When we reioyce and are merie, the spirites in vs are made more ample: but when wee are soye, the spirites are contracted vnto the hart. So it is said that God contracted hys soule, and was after a sorte soye for the miseries of his people. This kinde of speeche is not proper of God, but impropet. For God is not soye, neither is he touched with affections. Wherefore it is a speeche after the condition of men. For often times those thynges are ascribed vnto god, whiche are noted to be in men. And often tymes thynges which happen vnto men, are ascribed vnto God. For men are syll grieved for the miserie of an other, befoze they haue compassion of them.

Contraction & ampliation of the mynde.

Affections are impropetie ascribed vnto God.

καταχρησις. ἀνθρωπινὰ θεία.

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R. Moses Maimon Therfore (because God doth that, which men do that are grieved; that is, because he helpeth) it is said he has grieved, which things happeneth in men that helpe those that are in misery. Such a kinde of speche is ther in the booke of Numbers the .21. chap. The soule of the people was faint, because of the iourney: for that wilderness grieved the people. But R. Moses Maimon sayth, that this word Catlad signifieth not onely a minde, but also a wil, which being before ready to reuenge, did now after a sort withdraue it self. Wherbest the first interpretation seemeth to hang wel together. The Ammonites on every side grievously oppressed all Israel, but because Gilead was a notable City and wel fenced, they determined therfore first of all to conquer it. But the children of Israel pitched in Mispa, so far from thence, that they could not easely succour those that were besieged. Wherfore the Gileadites in so great a danger, thought they had neede of a captaine, for the administration of things: for the state consisting onely of the people, there could be nothing well done, vntill some one man were made ruler ouer them. Euen after the same maner, as the Romanes were wont in great dangers to create a Dictator. Wherfore the Gileadites saw that they needed a Captaine, but who that should be, they could not easely prouide.

Ammon VVho so euer say they wyl begyn the battayle agaynst the Children of Israel, let hym be our heade. Peradventure they had desired a captaine of the Lord, and receaued an answer, that by this token they should know who should be receaued as their captaine: namely he, which first should begyn the battaile against the enemies. Such signes God sometimes bles, without any voice or outward oracle: as when he promised the seruant of Abraham, that she should be Isaacs wife, which should geue drinke vnto the Camels. It maye also be that the Citizens decreed so among themselves, that the chiefe man of the city being stirred up with the desire of the rewarde, might the more courageously and cherefully fight against their enemies. In this maner Chaleb, when he besieged Hebron, encouraged the mindes of his soldiers. Whosoener (said he) shall conquer Hebron, I will geue him Achsa my daughter to wife. Which which promise Othoniel being moued, conquered the City, & was made the sonne in law of Chaleb. So in these hard times, when things were in great danger, it was necessary to vse such counsel. But what if he which first would haue begon the battaile against the aduersaries, had bene a naughty and wicked man? What I say should then haue bene done? What also if he had bene vnmeet to gouerne the publike wealth, although he had had warlike strength? This obiection maketh me rather to allow the first sentence, that is, that the signe was offered of God, and therfore they were sure, that he would not geue them an euill captaine. Although as touching the question, we may thus answer: All ciuill promises are so farforth to be kept, as they may be performed by honest wayes & right meanes, that is, so much as conscience and the word of God will suffer.

The .xi. Chapter.

AND Jiphtah the Galaadite was a mighty man, the sonne of an harlot: and Gilead begat Jiphtah. And Gileads wyfe bare hym sonnes, which when they were come to age, thrust out Jiphtah, and said vnto hym: thou shalt not inherite in our fathers house: for thou art the sonne of a strange woman.

Here is set forth vnto vs Jiphtah, a man able and obscure, not as touching his Tribe: for he was of the Tribe of Manasse, but as touching his mother: for he was the sonne of an harlot. Wherfore his brethren thrust

thrust him out as a bastard. The name of his father was Gilead, who seemeth to have bene so called by the name of the mounte and cite. And that man had not onely this bastard to sonne, but also he had other which wer legitimate chyliden. Wherefore though Iphthah had a noble man to his father, yet that nothing profited him, because he was a bastard, and not bozne in lawfull matrimony. Wherefore by the ciuil law of the Hebrewes, it was not lawfull for him to have place in the congregation of Israel. For in Deut. it is written: Mamzer shall not enter into the congregation or assembly. Zor is in Hebrew a stranger. And a bastard is so called, because he pertaineth not unto the samely of the father.

Bastards had not place in the congregation of Israel.

She that bare Iphthah was not a wife, but a harlot. This Hebrew word Zonah signifieth two thinges. Firste a bittler, that is suche a one as selleth thinges pertaining to viuales, for Zon signifieth to seide or to bying by. It signifieth also an harlotte. Paradeniture for this cause, because bittlers are oftentimes euill spoken of, as touching chastity. As it appeareth by a certayne lawe of Constantine, which is had in the Code ad. l. Iulian, de adult. And vndoubtedly eyther signification may aptly be applyed vnto this place. Some of the Hebrewes thinke that Iphthah was not the sonne of an harlot, but only the sonne of a concubine, whych was not espoused with wedding tables or bonds, and a dowry. But that seemeth not very wel to agree. For the Hebrewes called not a concubine Zonah, neyther had it bene lawfull for his bzyethern to have thrust out Iphthah as a stranger, if he had bene the sonne of a Concubine. For the baninge of Concubines of that sort, was with the Jewes true Patrimonye. Farther, wee muste knowe that the Hebrewes had an other word, which signified an harlot. And that is Kedashah, as though a man would say, sancta, that is holy, as Virgill sayth: The holy hunger of gold.

The mother of Iphthah was not a Concubine.

This word Kadash signifieth to prepare. For as godly men prepare and sanctify themselves to the worshipping of god: so do harlots prepare themselves vnto the decking and gayne of the body.

And in Deut. the. 23. it was commanded, that no such whoze should be in Israel. And it is added, that the hire of zonah, that is of a whoze, shoulde not be brought into the sanctuary: wherefore we may thereby gather that zonah and Kedashah, are taken both in one significatio. In the. 21. of Leviticus it was not lawfull for a priest to have such a one to wife. Thou wilt say peradventure, what should it anaple to make such a lawe, if there were no harlots in Israel? I aunswere, that god in dede commanded there shoulde be none, but the people obeyed not. But why would not god have a bastard to come into the congregation: Not because that he shoulde be the woyle man, if he shoulde live byrightly: but that the people might know, that god detesteth whozedom. And not to enter into the congregation, was nothing els, then to be made vnapt for the executing of an office, either ciuil or holy. Although otherwise he had to his father, eyther a priest or a ruler. Wherefore it was not lawfull for bastards to execute the office either of a Tribune, or of a Peto, or Magistrate, or priest.

Why bastards were not admitted vnto the pub. wealthe. What not to enter into the congregation signifieth.

Handwritten note: Kadash is the name of a harlot. The mother of Iphthah was not a Concubine.

Why therefore doth god now make a bastard ruler over his people? Because he prescribed the law vnto men, and not to himselfe. An other cause is, least they which are so bozne, shoulde be therefore straight waye discouraged. Farther, that they myghte remember that they are not excluded for theyr owne faulte, but for theyr fathers faulte. But now to returne vnto Iphthah, bys bzyethern coulde not have thrust hym oute, excepte he hadde bene bozne of an harlotte. Otherwise a Concubine was a lawfull wyfe, and the chylde of Jacob whych were bozne of bys Concubynes, abode wth thre other bzyethern.

Am. 11.

Am. 11.

Cap. II. A Commentarie vpon the

and wer inheritors together with them. But thou wilt say: Abraham did thrust out Ismael. That was done befoze the law, and by the singular wil of God, that the whole and perfect inheritance myght come vnto Isaac. Other wise by the ordinary lawe of the Hebrewes, the children of Concubines, were not utterly excluded from al inheritance.

Of bastardes and children vnlawfully bozne.

A diuision of
children.

What childe is
called a bastard

But to make the thing moze plaine, we wil thus deuise children: namely that there are some which are lawfull, and not naturall, as they that are adopted. Other some there are which were naturall, and not lawfull, as they which are bozn of Concubines. (But here I speake of Concubines after the manner of the Romaynes: For as touching the Hebrewes, they which wer bozn of them, wer legitimate). And there are other which are both legitimate and naturall, as they which are bozne in lust matrimony. Lastly, there are some which are neyther legitimate nor naturall, as are bastardes. A bastard is he, which can not tell who is his father, or if he can tell, it is one, whom it is not lawfull for him to haue to his father, as it is witten in the Digestes de statu personarum, in the lawe Vulgo concepti. There is a greates difference betweene the conditions of children: but we, as touching this matter that we haue in hand, will neyther entreate of children adopted, nor of children legitimate naturall, but onely of naturall children, and bastardes, which seme to be moze obscure then the other.

Chrysostome.

Children naturall not legitimate, may be made legitimate, as it is in the Code de Naturalibus filiis. Legē Anastasii. And the wayes how they might be made, are described in the same Code, in the law Si quis. But bastards could not be made legitimate. If we wil speake of the children of Concubines after the manner of the Jewes, they wer legitimate, as we haue befoze taught. But the Romaynes counted them not as legitimate, onely this they ordeined, that they might be made legitimate. Farther, bastards are not in the fathers power, neither can they be: but they that are naturall, may be, if they be made legitimate. These things I speake, that we mighte vnderstande in howe greates miserie bastards are. Wherefoze Joseph could not attayne to the inheritance of his father. And these lawes were made, that men might be plucked from whozedom, if it were but onely for the ignominy of theyr children. For when they do beget bastards, they hurt them without hope of recovery. Wherefoze Chrysostome vpon the epistle to the Romayns (where he enterpreteth these wordes: How is the houre for vs to rise from sleepe) vehemently inuerygeth agaynst whozedomongers. Why dost thou so lye (sayth he) that which is not lawfull for thee to reape? Or if thou doo gather, it is ignominious vnto thee: For infamy wil thereby come, both to him which shal be bozne, and to thee also. For he as long as he liueth, shal be full of ignominy, and thou, both while thou art liuing and when thou art dead, shalt alwaies be noted of filthy lust, &c. Wherefoze it is ordeined by the lawes, that bastards should not be admitted to the inheritance of theyr fathers.

The ecclesiastical
cannons.

The father when he dieth, may geue somewhat vnto naturall children, yea they succede, though they be not put in the will, when there are no other children. But yet they succede not in the whole, but onely in two twelue partes, as appeareth in the Code de Naturalibus liberis, in the law Licet patri. But the bastard was so farre of from succeeding the father, that he could not desire of him so much as should serue to finde him, as it is in the Code de incestu nuptiis, in the law ex complexu. But the Ecclesiasticall Cannons deale somewhat moze gentyle: for they permitte that a bastard should haue somewhat geuen him to finde hym withall, as it is: Extra, of him which married her, whom befoze he had polluted with aduoutry in the chapter Cum haberet. And herein both the lawes of god and man do agree. Rep-
ther

ther as I haue befoze sayd, were these lawes wrytten of hatred or cruelty agaynst bastardes, but that at the least by this meanes the filthy lustes of men shoulde be kepte vnder.

Howbeit this I will not ouerpasse, that by the lawes of the Romaines, the bastarde myght succede his mother, as it is had in the Digests ad Senatus consultum Tertul. L. 1. he may also complayne of his mother, if she leaue him out of her wil, as it is had in the digestes de inofficioso Testamento. L. 29. which is to be vnderstand, except the mother be noble. And why bastardes are not counted in the steepe of children, and are depriued of their fathers inheritance: Augustine besides these reasons which I haue befoze brought, bringeth also an other out of the holy scriptures. For it is wrytten in Levit. the. 20. chap. He that commeth to the wyfe of his vncle, shall dye without children. But (sayth he) many are borne also of incest, whose parents are not children. He answereth, that the Lord so speaketh in the lawe, because such are not counted for children. Wherefore they fathers are iustly sayd to be without children, althoughe they haue children: because it is as one, as if they had none. And because such children are contened of the father, neyther are they rightly brought vp nor chastised, oftentimes they proue worse then the other. Chrysostome vpon the Epistle to the Hebrewes the. 12. chapter, in his 29. homely, exhorteth the people, to thinke that god doth like a father when he chastiseth vs: for the father neglecteth vnlawfull begotten children and bastardes. Wherefore god when he chasteneth, doth part of a true and lawfull father. Plutarch in his Problemes the. 103. Probleme, sayth that the Romaines had foure surnames, so that some were called Cnei, and other some Caii, and those names they noted by two letters onely, or by thre. Wherefore he demaundeth, why Spurius is a bastard, was wrytten by these two letters Sp. because sayth he, the fyrst letter S, signifyeth Sine, that is without, e P, Pater that is, a father, because he was borne of an vnknown father. Althoughe that maye also be applied vnto Posthumus, that is such as are borne after they father is dead: but to them it was not cōtumelious to be called Spuri. For Sp. Melius, Sp. Cassius and other of that name were very notable citizens. We haue harde the law of God, and the ciuill law, now let vs see the Cannons.

In the decrees distinction. 56. chapter. Presbiterorum, bastardes are not suffered to be admitted vnto holy orders, vnles they wer first brought vp in monasteries, as though by this meanes they might be amended. But the Canons which after ward folloiw, are somewhat moze gentle. Chrysostome vpon Mathewe in hys. 4. homely, as it is in the same place recited, chapter Nunquam, teacheth vs so to be borne, ought not to be hurtful vnto the children. For if a man haue bene a thiefe, a whozemonger, or a murderer, and then repent him, his former life shal not be hurtfull vnto him: much lesse oughte the sinne of the father to be hurtfull vnto the child, yea rather if the child behaue himselfe wel, he shal be so much the moze notable, and worthy of moze prayse, in that he hath not followed the steppes of his father. Jerome in his Epistle contra Ioannem Hierosolomitani ad Pamachium, as in the same decrees appeareth in the chapter Nascitur. Bastardes sayth he, are not to be contemned: for they haue the hande of god to make them, neyther did god disoayne to make them, and to geue them a soule, &c. Gregory also in the same place in the chapter Satis peruersum, sayth, that it is a thinge vnworthy, that the child shoulde be so punished, for the pleasure of the father, that he shoulde not be promoted vnto the holpe ministerie. Jerome in the same place chapter Dominus. If Christ in his genealogy vouchsafed to recke bastards, why shal not we then admitte them to the ministerie, &c.

After these Cannons which are somewhat fauorable vnto bastardes, is what the law brought out a strange argument on the contrarie parte. Whozemongers (saye they)

Shall.

they)

Augustine.

Bastardes proue oftentimes worse then other children.
Chrysostome & Plutarche.

What the Canons decree of bastards.
Chrysostome.

Jerome.

Gregory

What the law saith
ther hindereth bastards.

Cap. II. A Commentary vpon the

they) do seme to poure in a certayne power into the seede, whiche power passeth also into the children, wherof follow euill inclinations, and therof are they iudged to be worse then other, bycause when they ar children, they are not corrected. Wherfoze if they be promoted vnto the holy ministry, the churche shall receaue dammage. Yet at the last it is added, in the chap. Cenomanensis, if there be any that are notable, they maye be admitted vnto holpe orders: but yet not that it shoulde be a generall rule of all, but onely a p^rueledge. And these thinges are w^ritten in the decrees.

The iudgment
for promotinge
of bastardes
must be left vnto
the church.

But in the decretalles de filiis presbiterorum it is had, that bastardes if they be made monks, may come vnto orders, but in suche sorte that they be not promoted vnto dignities, and be not made eyther Abbottes or P^riozs. But if they liue w^thout the monastery, the bishop may ordeyne them, and geue them small benefites, but that is by his anthozity, and (as they commonly cal it) by dispensacion. But ecclesiasticall dignities must not be geuen them, but by the Pope: for that power he kepeth to himselfe alone. But suche releasinges of Popes and bishops tend onely to gayne. The iudgemente of these thinges shoulde haue bene left vnto the church: which ought herein to haue a respect to two thinges, to her owne necessite, and to the excellent vertues of him whome it will promote. If the Church shall haue greate neede, and he excell in vertues, the manner of his birth shall nothing let him.

A trifling distinction
of the decretals.

Bastardes
might be made
Decuriones.

For Paule to Timothy and to Titus, when he diligently w^riteth of the election of bishops and priestes, forbiddeth nothing of this kynd of men. But thou wilt say, in the olde lawe bastards were excluded from the ministry. I graunte that, but we ar not now bound to that law, & it was made onely for the detestation of aduoutry. But nowe if they can much profite the churche, they election is not to be prohibited. And it is vayne which is w^ritten in the decretals, that legitimates maye be chosen, but bastards oughte to be relected, except with dispensacion, as it is had in the title de electionibus. For these coulours and deceates the Romayne Bishops haue inuented to amplyfye theyr dominion. But the sentence which I haue allowed, agreeth with charite: and we may gather the like of it out of the civil law, wher it is entreated of Decuriones, for these wer ciuill Judges for p^riuat cities and towne. Wherfoze it is decreed that bastards might be made Decuriones, if necessity so required. In the Digests de Decurionibus in the lawe generaliter, paragrapho. Debet enim. The lawe therfore woulde haue that order namely of Decuriones to be ful. Howbeit if an other legitimately borne, were a suter to gether for the same, he shoulde be preferred befoze the bastard. So thinke I must we do in the churche, that if anye man be as good and as apte for the ministry, being legitimately borne, let vs haue no regard vnto the bastarde, who muste geue place in that lawefull case. It is added in the lawe: If they be honest and good, the faulte of the birth nothinge hindereth them. In the same tyle in lawe Spurio, and in the lawe followinge. These thynges haue I therfore mencioned that we myghte vnderstande, by what ryghte Iphthah was of his b^retherne th^ruste oute, and to see howe the Cyuill lawes agree with the law of God.

Whither the sonne shall beare the iniquity of the father.

But in this place ariseth a question wayghtier and farre moze hard, bycause it seemeth that the sonne beareth the iniquity of the father. For he that is borne, playd not the whozemonger, but the father, whom he could not let. Moze sure in Deutronomy the .v. chap. it is w^ritten, and also the same thinge is sounde

In Exodus, I will visite the finnes of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generatiō. And the same did God repeate vnto Moyses, when he passed before him. For among his Propheies this also is added: visiting the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third I say, and fourth. And it seemeth merueilous, by what meanes that may be numbred among the titles of mercy. This thing the Heretikes, as the Martionites, Valentinians, and Carpocratians, what I Heres
left not vnspoken of, who for that cause reiected the old testament, and affirmed tikes repute
the authoꝝ thereof to be an euil God, as he whiche spared the fathers that sinned, in the old testame
and punished the innocent children, being so far from mercy, that he can not for
get sinne, but reserveth anger, euen to the third and fourth generation. The
Iewes also tooke that in euill parte, who in Ezechiel the .18. chap. sayd: Our fa
thers haue eaten softe grapes, & the childrens teeth are set on edge. What was
as much as if they should haue sayd: Ieroboam erected calves, Manasses set forth
idolatrie, & must we be punished for them: But the Lord answered by the Pro
phet: All soules are mine, both the soule of the father, & also the soule of the sonne.
The soule that sinneth, it shall dye, and the sonne shall not beare the iniquity of
the father. These thinges seeme not very well to agree together.

Some thinke that here must be vsed a distinction of euils and punishments. A distinction of
For there are some punishments say they, whiche pertayne vnto eternal dam, punishments,
nation: and there are other, whiche dure but for a tyme. And they vnderstand the
place of Ezechiel before alledged of the first kinde of punishments: for as tou
ching eternall saluation or damnation, euery one shall beare his owne burthen.
And agayne the soule whiche hath sinned, it shall dye. Neither do they otherwise
vnderstand a place of Jeremy in the .31. chap. But as touching punishments which
dure but for a tyme, as are sickness, pouerty, banishment, death, &c. they affirme
that it is not agaynst the iustice of God, but that in these kinde of punishments
he maye punish the sonne together with the father, and the people with the
princes. And in that sort they expounde that which is sayd in the law: I will vi
site the finnes of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the thirde and fourth gene
ration. Augustine seemeth sometymes to haue allowed this distinction. For in
his questions vpon Iosua the 8. question, when he reasoneth concerning Achan,
whiche had hidden some of the thinges that were cursed, for whose sinne all the
Israelites were miserably afflicted, and for the same cause not onely Achan was
punished, but also his sonnes and daughters were put to death together with
him: Augustine (I say) sayth there, that those punishments may both profit, and
also hinder, which thing God hymselfe knoweth, and therfore he tempereth them
acordyng to his iustice. For god so moderateth the, that they do both afflicte the
wicked, and are not hurtfull to the good. For such is his prouidence, that those
thinges whiche seme euill, he can make good: but as touching eternall punish
mentes, because they alwayes are hurtfull, euery man woꝛthily suffreth them
acordyng to his euil desert. No man (sayth he) suffreth these punishments for an
other mans faulte. The same Augustine writeth agaynst the aduersary of the
lawe and the Propheies in his .2. booke and .16. chap. There is no doubt (sayth he)
but that in this life one is beryed for an other. And agaynst Iulianus the Pelagian
is his .6. booke the 12. chap. he maketh a diuision of the estate of people, and sayth
that some are regenerate in Christ, but other some are not yet regenerate. And
the finnes of those that are regenerate, are visited vnto the third and fourth gene
ration, that is, vpon all their posterity. And he alludeth it vnto originall sinne,
whiche was by Adam solued into all his posterity. But thou wilt say, why is it
visited vnto the third and fourth generation: The same father answereth, in
his 42. question vpon Deut. because thye soyned with sower make seuen, whiche
is a number of fulnes, so that to say vpon the third and fourth generation, is all
one, as if he had sayd vpon all generations. Which kind of speakyng Amos vsed, The number of
sayyng: For thye transgressions, and for soure I will not turne to it. herfore
of fulnes.

Augu.

Augustine vnderstandeth these wordes of the lawe, for visitynge the iniquities of the fathers vpon the childe vnto the thirde and fourth generation, as touching those that are not regenerate. For the lawe (sayeth he) entreated of those whiche were vnder the lawe. But Ezechiel and Jeremy entreate of menne regenerate, and of the gift of regeneration whiche should be geuen by Christ. But men that are regenerate shalbe iudged euery mā accordyng to his own desertes, and not accordyng to other mens synnes. And so þe sonne shal not beare the iniquity of the father, but the soule whiche hath sinned, it shal dye. But before regeneration, original sinne infecteth and destroyeth all posterities.

Ezechiel and
Jeremy wrote
both the selfe
same wordes in
 sundry places.

This distinction of Augustine I disallow not, but I doubt whether it be sufficiently applyed vnto the meaning of Ezechiel and Jeremy. Both those Prophetes wrote these selfe same wordes. The fathers haue eatē sower grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge, when as yet the one was in Ierow, and the other carried away into Babilone. Whiche is a manifest argument, that they spake both with one and the selfe same spirite. But Augustine sayeth that the exposition of Ezechiel is to be sought for in the .31. chap. of Jeremy. For there after the same wordes it is added: Beholde the dayes will come, and I will make a new cōuenaunt, &c. Wherfore that place is wholly to be applyed vnto regeneration: and therfore by these wordes of Jeremy, the wordes of Ezechiel are to be interpreted of those that are regenerate. In this manner that father thyneketh this question is fully answered.

But when I more attentuely doo weighe the chap. of Ezechiel, I thinke that he speaketh of the punishments and afflictions of this lyfe. For why complayned the people, saying, that the fathers had eaten sower grapes, and the childrens teeth were set on edge? Did they complaine of the payne of hell? No vndoubtedly, but because they were led away captiue into Babilone and tyed in seruitude. They complayne that God seemeth to deale to hardly with them: because for as much as their fathers were idolaters, yet they whiche had not sinned, were punished. For those punishments the people lamented: wherfore it was necessary, that the Prophet should aunswere them of the same punishments. The soule of the father is myne, and the soule of the sonne is myne. The soule whiche hath sinned, it shal dye. These wordes therfore haue a respect vnto the punishments of this lyfe. Although I do not deny, but that it may also be transferred vnto spirituall punishments: but not, vnles it be by an argumēt from the les to the great. And that after this maner, God doth not for an other mans sinne punish, with paynes which dure, but for a tyme, those whiche are utterly innocent, therfore much les will he punish them with spirituall and eternall punishments.

Argumentum
a minori ad
maius.

Ierome.

Ierome when he interpreteth this place of Ezechiel, hath the solution, which Augustine also afterward followed, as in his place we shall declare. But the interpretations do vary, because it is a thing obscure, and the difficulty hereof resteth, because it can not be denyed, but that God doth bere some for other mens sakes. For although Cham vncouered the filthines of his father, yet the curse was transferred to Chanaan his sonne. And when the Sodomites had grievously sinned, the childe were also burnt together with the fathers. And when David had committed aduoutry, God caused that the sonne whiche was bozne of þe aduoutry to dye. Wherfore in a thing so obscure Ierome byingeth his owne interpretation, but he declareth also other mens iudgements as touching this question. First he sayth that there were very many, which did vnderstand this place of the lawe. (That God will visite the iniquity of the fathers vpon the childe vnto the thirde & fourth generation) allegorically of euery singular soule, or man.

In Allegorical
exposition of
Ierome.

Four degrees
of sinnes.

1. 2. 3. 4.

For there are in vs certayn naturall passions, impulsions and violences to euill, (as other say) first motions. Then followeth deliberation, when a man determineth with himselfe to do euill. Thirdly is perfozmed that whiche was determined. Fourthly, followeth boasting of the wicked aye, when he reioysseth and hath a pleasure in his sinnes. So in a maner are numbred foure generacions: but

God

God is so gentle, that in the first and second generation, that is in the first motions, and in deliberation he sayth nothing, and winketh at it, but the third and fourth, that is the perpetrating & boasting he punisheth, when a man both doth euill, and gloryeth in his sinnes, and will not repent. Wherefore they say that God reuengeth vpon the bowes and not vpon the rootes. For mā, as they thinke, if he neither do euill, nor boast of his euill, may be saued, althoughe otherwise he both lusteth, and deliberateth to commit euill. And in that maner they interpyete Paul vnto Timothe, when he sayth that the woman shalbe saued by procreation of children, so & they abyde in the sayth, &c. that is: The soule shalbe saued, if it worke that which is good, althoughe it haue euill motions and cogitations.

This interpretation do not I allowe: first because it is Allegoricall, when as God especially in the law speaketh simply and manifestly: mozeouer because if the wordes of God should be applyed vnto allegories, they should be made vncertainly, because that whiche is sayd is not true. For these impulsions, and first motions are sinnes, because both they are agaynst the law of God, and also they are condemned of Christ, when he sayth in the Gospell: He whiche seeth a woman and lusteth after her, hath committed fornication already in his harte. And he whiche is angry with his brother, is worthy of iudgement. For God doth not so regarde the deed, but that he much moze hath a respect vnto the mynde. Moses at the waters of contention sinned grievously, and yet if we diligently weighe that bystory, we shall finde nothing that he committed euill outwardly. But God saw the incredulity of his heart, and tooke great vengeance of hym. Wherefore those motions and deliberations of the minde are not onely sinnes, but also are grievously punished of God. Wherefore let vs leaue this interpretation, whiche Ierome also bringeth not as his owne.

But now to make the matter playne, as touchyng punishmentes of this lyfe, no man can say he suffereth that which he deserueth not: because no man is pure, no not the childe that is but a day old: there is none whiche hath not deserued euill death, why then should men say: Our fathers haue eaten so many grapes, &c. whiche as every man shall beare his owne burthen, either as touchyng this lyfe, or as touchyng eternall lyfe: But God doth not alwayes send these evils which dure but for a time, as paynes and punishmentes, but hath very oftentimes a respect vnto others endes, as Christ in Iohn answered of the man bozne blynd: Whether hath this man sinned, nor his parentes, that he should be bozne blynd, but the glory of God should be made manifest. Also Peter and Paul, when they were put to death, could not complayne that they had not deserued death. Although God, when they were killed, had not a respect vnto this, to punish the, but that by their blood might be left a testimony of the Gospell of his sonne. Wherefore saying the matter is so, and we be al subiect vnto sinnes, there is no cause why we should complayne, that God dealeth so severely with vs, if we be afflicted for the sinnes of our parentes. For God can so direct those troubles, that they shall pertaine not onely to his glory, but also to the saluation of our parentes. For oftentimes he punisheth the parentes in the children, and the prince in the people. For the parentes are no les grieved for the punishment of their chyldre, then if they themselves wer afflicted. If the chyldren dye for the parentes cause, they haue no wrong done vnto them: for death, is also deuynted then, & they should otherwise haue dyed. Wherefore if God will so vse their death, he may doe it iustly. Which thing also we may affirme of other calamities. For if the sonne be bered with sickness, he deserued the sickness: if he haue lost money, he hath lost thinges transitory and vnstable, and which were geuen hym on that condition, that they might easely be taken away agayn. Wherefore if God will with these kindes of calamities punish the parentes in the chyldren, he can not be accused of iniustice.

Wherefore Augustine in his questions vpon Iosua the 3. question: by originall sinne (sayth he) many punishmentes are deu vnto vs, which yet God conuerteth

The impulsions and first motions of the minde are sinnes.

As touchyng punishmentes which dure but for a tyme & no man suffereth whiche he hath not deserued.

God doth not alwayes send those euilles which dure but for a tyme as punishmentes.

What God regardeth in the martyrdome of his saintes.

The scourges of the chyldren, prouide sometimes the parentes.

The grieues of the chyldren are the grieues of the parentes.

God as touchyng the regenerate turneth punishmentes into medicines.

into

Cap.ii. A Commentarie vpon the

into certayne medicines, and maketh them very much to profite vs, although they seme vnto vs euill. For if the sonne had lyued, peraduenture he would haue followed the euill steppes of his father, or els committed woordes things. Wherefore if God take him out of this life, he can not complayne that he is ill delt with. For though the benefites of god his death reboundeth to his profite. For he is taken away, least by malice his heart should change. And vndoubtedly we must suffer easie euils, to attayne vnto great good thyngs. For so the afflictions with a bitter purgation trouble the throte, to restore the sicke person to his former health. In lyke maner when we haue deserued punishmentes, God yet turneth them to good. And by this meanes (saith Augustine) a certayne discipline is established in the world. For vnles it were so, men would continually proue worse and worse. A certayne continuation also and society of mankind is declared, where one after this maner is punished for the sinne of another. For they whiche perstayne vnto one kingdome or City, or Church, are after a sorte one body among themselves. And in the body one member suffereth for another. Wherefore saying this is so in the body, it is not absurde, that the same do chaunce also in the society of men.

By this means
discipline is
kepte in the
worlde.

Plutarche.

συμπόσια.

Children are
certayn partes
of the parentes

Augustine.

The lesser part
suffereth
punishment for
the greater.

Plutarche in his booke de Sera numinis vindicta, hath very well taught this. The eye (saith he) is sicke, & the dayne of y^e arme is cut, so the father hath sinned, and the sonne is punished: the prince hath behaved himselfe ill, and the people is vexed: and such compassion or suffering together is there in things humane. What author iustly accuseth the rashenes of men, whiche as often as these thynges do chaunce, do complayne that God dealeth cruelly. For the father (saith he) is either good or euill. If the sonne of a good father be peraduenture afflicted with euill, straightway they crye out that God doth vniustly, neither is it meete that the sonne should be so miserably handled, which had so good a man to his father. But if the father be euill, and the sonne come into misery, agayne they make exclamation, that here also god is vniust. For the sonne ought not to haue ben punished, when as the father sinned, wherefore the common people thinke that the sonne should by no meanes be afflicted. But what if the father be euill, and yet all thynges go prosperously with the sonne: here also they complayne (as he sayth) of the iniustice of god. For they deny it is iust that then the sonne should lyue prosperously, whiche hath so euill a father. These thynges this man, thought he were an Ethnike, writeth very godly.

Wherefore we must consider, that children are as certayn partes of the partes, and haue somewhat of the parentes in them. Wherefore it is not absurde if God punish y^e part of the parentes in the children. But I will retorne to Augustine, who saith, y^e god by this meanes setteth discipline in the world, in the publique wealth in the Church, and in the family. Whose saying in any iudgement can not be discommeded: for if the children be punished for the sinnes of their parentes, they haue nothing wherof to complayne. They owe vndoubtedly this duty vnto their parentes: for of them they haue that they are. Wherefore if they leane they lyse for them, they haue no wrong done them. For they render vnto them that whiche they receaued of them. If god should say vnto them: I will blesse your punishment to the saluation of your parentes, they can by no right refuse it. John sayth: that every one ought so to loue his brother, to be ready to lay enen his life for him. And if we must geue our life for our brother, how much more ought we to geue it for our father? God useth sundry instrumentes, wherewith he dyaweth men vnto him. Why then should he not blesse either the sickenes, or death of the children either for the chastenyng, or for the saluation of the parentes? Augustine in his 8. question vpon Iosuah, whiche I haue oftentimes alledged, sayeth: That it is iust, that the lesser part suffer punishment for the greater, as in that hystory it happened, because of the sacrilege whiche Achan committed. A selue fel in the battaile, and the whole multitude was absolved. Whereby we vnderstand

how

how great the anger and vengeance of God would have bene, if the whole multitude had sinned, when as the sinne of one manne was so exceedingly punished. And Plutarke in that booke, whiche a little before I brought: This thing (sayth he) also the Capitaynes doo in their hostes. If there be any thyng commonly committed of all, they put the tenth manne to death, that by the punishment of a feloe, the rest may be absolued: and so one is punished for an other mans faulte. But God, as it is sayde, doth no manne inturpe: for he whiche dyeth, was subiecte vnto death, and God directeth his death to a good ende, namely to helpe other, that is, that by this meanes, eyther the parentes or the prynces maye bee reuoked vnto repentaunce, or to establishe discipline. But those thynges whiche we haue sayde, can by no meanes bee vnderstande of spirituall and eternall paynes. For as touching them every man shall suffer for his owne faulte.

The manner of punishing the tenth souldier.

So we lette vs expounde the wordes of the lawe. I (sayeth he) am a zealous God, visityng the iniquity of the Fathers vpon the chyldren, vnto the thirde and fourth generation, of them that hate me. These last wordes Ierome vpon Ezechiel the. 18. chapter diligently noteth. And Augustine vpon Iosua in the question before alledged. Of those, sayeth God, which hate me: as though he should haue sayd, I will not touch the innocents, but will take vengeance of their iniquity, which imitate euill Fathers, and hath me. After the same manner he promisseth to doo good vnto chyldren, and chyldrens chyldren, euen vnto a thousande generations. But to what chyldren? Euen to those, (sayeth he) that loue me. Wherefore though the Father bee vngodly, and the sonne good, the iniquitye of the father shall nothyng hurte hym. But if the father bee good, and the sonne wicked, the godlynes of the father shall nothyng profite hym. And therefore Ierome sayeth: He auengeth the iniquitye of the Fathers vpon the chyldren, not because they had euill parentes, but because they imitate theyr parentes. The wordes themselves doo sufficiently declare, that the lawe is not to bee vnderstande of Originall synne, but of that synne whiche they call actuell. For then shall the sonne beare the iniquitye of the Father, when he lykewyse synneth as dyd the Father. Also the wordes of Ezechiel can not bee vnderstande of Originall synne, as that whiche followeth easely declareth. Although this sentence, that the soule whiche sinneth, it shall dye, maye bee vnderstande of Originall synne. For every manne hath in hymselfe a corrupte nature, and a prones vnto euill. Wherefore every manne beareth his owne synne. For althoughe that vice were by originall drawen of the parentes: yet nowe is it made ours.

Ierome. Augustine.

Every manne hath in himself his proper originall synne.

But thou wilt saye: sayng in the lawe it is sayde, Of them whiche hate me: and infantes, for as much as they hate not God, therefore it can not pertayne vnto them. I answer. That in act in dede they hate not God, but by corruption of nature, and prones vnto euill. So a wolfe that is at full age deuoureth a sheepe. A yonge wolfe whiche is but a whelp doth it not, not because it hath not the nature of the father, but because it is not able. And thus muche as touching the wordes of the lawe.

But why it is sayde vnto the thirde and fourth generation, and not vnto the fyrst and sixt, we haue hearde what Augustine hath answered. But in my iudgement we maye saye muche moze commodiously, that the parentes may lyue vnto the thirde and fourth generation. God would therefore so punish the Fathers in the thirde and fourth generation, that by that punishment of theyr posterity, some feelyng myght come vnto them, they beyng yet on lyue, & that they myght see the miseries of theyr newewes & chyldrens chyldren. For this cause the holy Scripture extendeth those generations no farther. When the posteritye are euill, and are punished of God, there is no doubt but that the parentes are punished also in them. Chrysostome vpon Genesis the.

Cap.ii. A Commentary vpon the

29. Poinely when he interpreteth these woordes: Cursed be Chanaan, &c. But he sinned not (sayeth he,) but bys father Cham. That is true in deede, he answered: but Cham was a greate deale moze sharply touched with that curse, then if it had bene pronounced agaynst hymselfe. Thys is the powze and fatherly affection, to bee moze bered with the afflictions of theyr chyldzen, then with theyr owne. Wherefoze Cham dyd not onely see that bys sonne should be euill and subiecte vnto the curse: but also he sawe that he hymselfe shoulde bee punished in hym.

This nowe resteth to bee declared, why amonge the Prophecies of the mercy of **G D**, this also was recited befoze Moses: Visiting the iniquitye of the Fathers vpon the chyldzen, when as this seemeth rather to pertayne vnto senecity. But it is not so, yea rather if we looke moze narrowly vpon the place, we shall vnderstande that it is a pointe of mercy. For where the sinne was first committed, he myght straghtwaie if he woulde, iustly bee reuenged. But he is so good that he wyll defer the vengeance vnto the thirde and fourth generation, and in the meane tyme calleth backe the father to repentance, by admonitions of the Prophetes, by sermons and benefites, and many other wayes. At the laste, when the thirde and fourth generation is come, and he made neuer a whitte the better, he goeth to stripes, and yet he doth not then vse affliction, as the laste punishment, but rather as a medecine. Who seeth not that all this is a woorde of greate mercy? Wherefoze iustly and woorthily are these woordes numbred amonge the prophecies of mercy. And it can not bee denyed, but that the Prophetes were ostentymes afflicted together with the people. For Ezechiel and Daniel were led awayne into captiuitie, and Jeremy was caste into prison, and wonderfully bered in the tyme of the siege: and afterwarde goyng with the Hebzees into Egypte, he was slayne. For God will haue the thyng in thys manner ordered, that good men, may not onely ryghtly gouerne their own lyfe, but also in suffryng thynges greuous, they may admonishe and byyng to amendement the euill. For they are conuersant together with them in the same publique wealth and Church, and are after a sorte members of one body.

It profiteth
the iust & they
are whapped in
the same punish-
ment as with
the wicked.

The afflictions
of the godly ar
not properly
punishments.

Wherefoze the good ought thus to thinke with theselues: If God afflicte the euill, we also shalbe bered together with them: we shall all be whapped with the selfe same punishment. Wherefoze we must see, that we labour for them, in reprouyng and prayng for them: for theyr saluation beyng neglected, shall byyng euilles also vnto vs. After thys sorte we muste vnderstande Augustine, when he sayeth, that **G D** by thys meanes establissheth discipline amonge men. Bycause if the people bee afflicted for their kynges, and the sonne for the father: then must they labour and trauaile one for an other. Neither yet do good men so lyue without sinne, that God can finde nothyng in them to punish. Although the afflictions whiche happen vnto the godly, can not as it is sayde, be properly called afflictions: but rather exercyses of sayth. For so God trieth theyr sayth, and whatsoener he doth in them, he turneth it to their good. Moreouer he wyll haue the to expresse in themselves their first begottē brother Jesus Christ, whiche suffred in hymselfe other mens synnes. For this also is a certayne portion of the Crosse of Christ, although they are not so innocent, as Christ was: neither serueth their crosse any thyng to redeme synnes. Daniel in his captiuitie after this manner confessed bys synnes. We haue sinned (sayth he) and done vniustly, &c. He sayd not: They haue sinned, but we. And Esaye sayeth: All our righteousnes are as a cloth stayned with floures of a woman. There is in deede in holy menne a certayne ryghteousnes, but not such a righteousnes as they can boast of, befoze the iudgement seate of God. Wherefoze if they suffer any thing, they haue no iust cause to complayne.

But thou, wilt saye: Why is it sayd & God in the punisheth the synnes of other mē, when as they also sinne? We shoulde say rather & he punisheth their synnes,
and

and not the synnes of their parentes. I answere: Becaue when god hath much and longe tyme wayted, that their father should repent, and it nothing profited, and in the meane tyme it is come vnto the thirde and fourth generation, at the length he poureth out his anger vpon the childe, whiche therefore are sayd to suffer for their fathers, because vnles the malice of their fathers had gone before, their affliction might haue ben deferred till farther time. But now because they haue fallen into the thirde and fourth generation, the consideration of the iustice of god will not suffer the punishment to be deferred any longer. And although they themselves also haue deserved those euils, yet because they are so corrected in the thirde and fourth generation, they owe that debt vnto their parentes.

And so God feareth the parentes, that they should temper themselves from wicked actes: and though they will not for gods sake, or for their own, yet at the least for their posterities sake. It also maketh the childe asrayde to imitate the synnes of their fathers, least the punishment due vnto their fathers be required of the. Neither is it vnjust that the childe suffer something for their fathers sake: for by their fathers they receaue inheritances, and are about other honored and exalted. For god did not onely make fortunat David, but also for his sake sauored his posterity. For the kyngdome perseuered in his samely space of 400. yeares.

But as touching eternall life, neither shall the father be punished for the synnes of the childe, nor the childe for the synnes of the fathers. Howbeit childe obtaine many spirituall giftes by good fathers. For Paul in his 1. Epist. to the Cor. the 7. chap. sayth: Otherwise your childe should be vncleane: but now they are holy. Wherefore the childe haue of holy parentes, some holynes, and some spirituall gift, as that place teacheth. And on the contrary part, by euill parentes many such good giftes are hindered: neither are they heard of God being euill, and not repentaunt, when they desire spirituall giftes for their childe. Yet by the prouidence of God it oftentimes cometh to passe, that of good parentes are borne naughty childe: and of euill, good, as Ezechias a good kyng, had to his son the Achaz a wicked kyng. And contrarywise the same Ezechias being a very godly prince, begat Manasses a very vngodly and cruell kyng. The same also myght I saye of Iosias. Whys therefore cometh so to passe, least wickednes should increase without measure, if of euill parentes should continually be borne euill childe. God putteth to his hande, and maketh the sonne borne of an euill father, a member of Chryste. And therewith all he sheweth that his goodnes can not be hindered by the parentes, though they be neuer so wicked. Farthermore euill childe, are borne of good parentes, that grace should be the better knowne. And that the goodnes of the childe should not be attributed vnto nature, whiche they haue drawen of their parentes. For god will haue it knowne to be his gifte, that we are saved.

This one thyng onely is to be added vnto the foresayde question: That it is in dede lawfull for god (as it is sayde) to punish in the childe the synnes of the fathers: but it is utterly vnlawfull for men to doo. For in Deut. the 24. chap. it is commaunded: That the fathers should not be punished for the childe, nor the childe for the parentes. Whiche is to be vnderstande, so that the father consent not vnto the sonne, or the sonne vnto the father. Wherefore Achan if he had bene called vnto tryall and to the iudgement seate, he should be the ordinary lawe haue perished alone, and not bys childe with hym. But God hath this bys proper law, who would haue it otherwys done, although sometimes he obserueth this also. For in the booke of Numbers: the 26. chap. When Core conspired agaynst Moses, he was destroyed: but bys childe were not together with hym extinguisht, yea rather they were kepte for the holy minister, and of their posterity was Samuel borne. Amasias the kyng was praysed, who slew the murderers whiche killed his father, and slew not their

As touching eternall life the childe are not punished for the synnes of the fathers.

Childe obtaine some spirituall giftes for their parentes sake.

Euill parentes doo sometimes hinder the childe of god spiritual giftes.

Why good childe are borne of euill parentes, & euill of good.

It is not lawfull for men to punish the synnes of the parentes in the childe.

Samuel came of the posterity of Coze.

Cap. ii. A Commentarie vpon the

Augustine.

In treason the
children are pun-
ished for the
fathers.

children: for he had a regard vnto the law of God. The cause of this prohibition Augustine bringeth: God (sayth he) may punish the sonne for the father: bycause although he afflicte hym in this worlde, yet he can saue hym in the worlde to come. And this can not man doo. Farther, god seeth that the children are not innocentes: but man seeth not that. Although the ciuill lawes are herein a great deale more seuerer, and do punish the children for the fathers sake, as it is in the digestes, and in the Code, ad l. Iuliam maiestatis: yet they put not the sonne to death for the father, but depriue hym of all his fathers goods, dignities, and honours. Howbeit they leste some parte for the daughters, whiche parte was called Falcidia, to mary them withall. Otherwise the ciuill lawes agree with the lawe of god. For in the Code de pennis in the lawe Sancimus, it is commaunded that the punishment be not transferred vnto other, either to kinsfolkes by affinity, or to kinsfolkes by blood, but onely to be layd vpon the autho of the crime. And yet as wel this law as the other before, were ordeyned both of the self same Emperours Archadius and Honorius. But the cause why it was so seuerely decreed agaynst treason, seemeth to be this, to feare men away from this kynde of wicked crime. Yet the lawes of god decree no suche thing of that matter: but this by expresse wordes they commaunde, not to kyll the sonne for the father. But for goods they ordeyne nothing. But our aduersaries haue transferred this ciuill lawe of treason vnto Heretikes. For they doo not onely punish the father whiche is an Heretike, but also they depriue his children of all his goods: howe iustly, I will not now tell. Of these thinges I haue made mention the more largely: bycause Jiphthah was thrust out of his fathers inheritaunce, and thereby seemed to beare the iniquity of his father. Nowe wyll I returne vnto the story.

3 Then Jiphthah fled from his brethren: and dwelt in the lande of Tob: and there gathered idle fellowes vnto Jiphthah, and went out with hym.

4 And in processe of tyme the children of Ammon made warre with Israell.

5 And when the Ammonites began to fight with Israell, the Elders of Gilead went to set Jiphthah out of the land of Tob.

6 And they sayd vnto Jiphthah: Come and be our captayne, that we may fight with the children of Ammon.

7 Jiphthah answered the Elders of Gilead, did not ye hate me, and expell me out of my fathers house? and why then come ye now vnto me, when ye are bered.

8 And the Elders of Gilead sayde vnto Jiphthah: Therefore we turne agayne vnto thee now, that thou mayst go with vs, and fight agaynst the children of Ammon, and be our head, ouer all the inhabitantes of Gilead.

9 Then answered Jiphthah vnto the Elders of Gilead: If ye bring me home agayne to fight against the children of Ammon, and if the Lord deliuer them before me, shall I be your head?

10 And the Elders of Gilead sayd vnto Jiphthah: The Lord heare betwene vs, if we do not according to thy word.

11 Then Jiphthah went with the Elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and captayne ouer them. And Jiphthah spake al his wordes before the Lord in Mizpah.

The

The land wherunto Iiphtah fled, was called Tob, namely of the name of the possessor thereof, otherwise Tob signifieth good. But here it is the proper name of the Lord of that land. why the same was called Tob.

Idle men. That is vaine. This word signifieth poore men, and such as were oppressed for debt. So also there came vnto Dauid, when he fledde from Saule, men that were in debt, and heauy of harte.

And they went out with him. Namely to warre agaynst the enemies of the people of God: and they liued of the spoyle. For Iiphtah being a man banished and driven oute of his countrey, hadde nothyng wherewith to maintaine his followers.

And the children of Ammon foughte. We haue tolde that the Ammonites made warre agaynst the Israelites, whiche is vnderstande to haue bene after Iiphtah departed from his fathers house: and when he shoulde goe into the land of Tob, he moued warre agaynst those Ammonites, and oute of theyr borders tooke prizes and booties. Wherefore, when the Gileadites were oppressed, they came vnto Iiphtah, to bringe him home agayne, and by his conducte to defende the city from theyr enemies. They desire to haue him to be theyr head: because when they were grievously oppressed of theyr enemies, they iudged it expedient, that there shoulde be one to gouerne their thinges. And firste they had decreed among themselves, (as we haue heard) that he shoulde be theyr captayne, which firste shoulde fighte agaynst the enemies: but whither they did that by theyr owne iudgemente and ciuill reason, or by the oracle of God, the hystorie mentioneth not. But the act or condition which the Gileadites ordeined, was fulfilled by Iiphtah: for he with a few souldiours assayled his enemies. Wherefore they saying that they were bound to stand to theyr covenant, came vnto Iiphtah and chose him captayne, because he firste of all beganne the battayle agaynst the Ammonites.

This is worthy to be marked, that the Gileadites call not Iiphtah kinge, but only captayne or ruler. Wherefore they are not to be accused as the Sechemites were. For they did chuse Abimelech kinge, but these men constitute Iiphtah captayne, to fight agaynst theyr enemies now for the presente time, and also hereafter when opportunity shoulde serue. And vndoubtedly they do wel and wisely in choosing Iiphtah: for he was a man expert and ballant in warres.

But god had with himself befoze in secret decreed, that he shoulde be iudge ouer all Israel, whiche manifestly appeareth by those wordes whiche we shall afterwarde heare: And the spirit of the Lord came vpon Iiphtah. Farther, we must consider, that Iiphtah therfore fled, because his brotherne had thrust him out of his fathers inheritance, neither left they him any thing to defend his life with all: wherfore he had rather fly, and liue in exile, then to liue with ignominye in his countrey. This vndoubtedly came of a noble stout courage, that he woulde not liue there, where he continuallye hearde his byrth vpbraidet vnto him, and where all men counted him for a bastard. Wherefore he got him to an other place, and exercised the arte of warrefare. It is also possible, that that matter came in controuersy, and the Iudges, to gratify the legitimate brotherne, did not onely iudge that he shoulde be depriued of his fathers goods, but also be thrust oute of the city, and seemeth to me verie probable. For when the Gileadites came vnto hym, and of theyr owne accord offered vnto hym the principalltye, he answered: Did not ye expell mee oute of the city? These wordes declare that Iiphtah was handled more seuerely, then the lawe commaunded. For the lawe commaunded not to banishe bastards. The Gileadites answer that they did so in dede, but as befoze they coulde expell him, so also nowe it was in theyr power, to call him home agayne and make him ruler. But nowe, sayth

II. iii.

Iph.

Iiphtah appointed captayne, not kinge.

The lawe commaunded not to banish bastards.

Iphthah, you call me agayne when ye are in miserye. As though he woulde haue saide, otherwise yee woulde not haue called me agayne. It is so, saye they, and therefore we come vnto thee, that thou maist fight against our enemies: because we are afflicted.

What place
Mizpa was.

But in that it is written we are turned agayne, we muste not so vnderstande it, as though they had befoze bene with **Iphthah**, but to turne again, is in this place to be referred vnto the mind: as though it should haue bene sayd, we haue changed our counsel & purpose. When **Iphthah**, like a wise mā, woulde not be satisfied with these words, but required the conenants of the principality to be confirmed. If I saye he, shal put my selfe in daunger, and god shal geue vnto me the victory, shall I be your hed? He did not streightway geue credite to theyr firste wordes: because he feared least they woulde not kepe promise, which had befoze doone him such hurt: nether woeker he these things priuely with them, but in a place most famous, namely in **Mizpa**. There in the olde time the kinges of Chanaan assembled against **Iosua**, whom when he had vanquished, & returned to the victory, he built in the same place an altar to the Lord. Wherfore it was a custom fro that time, that they which should take warre in hand should assemble thither: where vnto this also is to be added, **Iphthah** (as we shal afterward vnderstand) dwelled there. He woulde also haue them to sweare, that the promises might be the more certayne, as by that appeareth whych foloweth: God heare betwene me and you. For to sweare is nothinge els, then to call God for a witnesse of those thinges, which epter we affirme, or deny.

Iphthah is not
guilty of ambi-
tion.

A comparison
betwene **Abi-
melech** and
Iphthah.

A question,
whether these
mens doynges
were lawfull.

But the requeste of **Iphthah** is not ambitious. For that vice then hath place, when the office of a magistrate is sought by beryery, deceite, corruption and euil artes. But when a man seeth himselfe to be called vnto it, and that he may profite the pub. wealth, and vnderstandeth that he can obtayne the office of a magistrate vpon an honest condicion, it can not be sayde that he doth it ambitiously. **Iphthah** is now chosen, to endaunger himselfe for his country, to fight agaynst the enemies of god, he vseth no beryery nor deceat: Wherfore he is far from ambition. But **Abimelech** did far otherwise behaue himselfe, he slew his bzytherne, did violence vnto the **Sechemites**, and tooke away the holy mony.

But **Iphthah** although he were reprochfully handled of his owne friends, yet he slayeth them not, neyther didde he sollicyte the **Gileadites** to create him ruler, onely he promiseteth that he will go to the battayle, so that they woulde perfoyme that which of theyr own accord they offred.

But here may iustly be demaunded, how it was lawfull for them to geue the principality vnto **Iphthah**, or for him to take it vpon him, being **Mamzer**. For the law commaunded that no **Mamzer** should not enter into the congregation of god which was, eyther to take vpon him any sacred ministry, or els the office of a magistrate. Undoubtedly none of the **Hebryewe**, **Greke** and **latten** interpreters, that I know of, once marked this doubt. But I thinke herein may two reasons be alledged. Firste, although the law seemeth to be violated, yet god, who was the authoꝝ of the law, woulde at thime time by this priueledge haue infringed. And we may vnderstand that they wer admonished by an oracle, to chuse him prince, which should first set vpon the enemies, whatsoener he were. This if they receaued by the inspiration of god, then were they free from the lawe: for they myghte thinke with themselves, that God made the lawe for men, and not for hymselfe. This is a singular priueledge of god, wherein he commaunded that whosoener fought first, should be made the head. **Iphthah** fought: Wherfore by the conenant and iudgemente of God, it was necessarie that he shoulde be chosen the head.

But

But what if without any oracle they had determined this thing onely by iudge
ment among themselves? Sinned they or no in making a bastard their captain?

No verely. For this is to be obserued in all preceptes, as well ceremoniall as iudiciall and mozell, when two preceptes of god do seme to be contrary one to another, so that the one is a let vnto the other, that they cannot both be obserued at one time, yea rather it is necessarie that the one of the be for that time omitted, then that which shalbe iudged to be moze weyghtye and better is to be retayned.

And yet in the meane time is not that other which is counted of les value viola-
ted: because there in is nothing done against the will of god. The law commaun-
deth every man to defende the helth of his neyghbour, & if a man be magistrate,

to defend his city by munitions. The same law commaundeth not to laboꝝ on the
Sabaoth day. The enemy bessegeth the city and that on the Sabaoth daye, by

cause he knoweth that that law is layd vpon the citizens. Here seemeth contra-
dictory of preceptes: for on the one parte health is to be defended, and on the other

part the Sabaoth is to be obserued. The Iachabites iudged it best to fighte, by
cause the health of the publike wealth seemed greater and of antiquitye, then

the ceremony of the Sabaoth. Also the law is to feede the hungry, and an other
law commaundeth, that the shew bread should be eaten of none, but of the priests

onely. David being hungry cometh vnto the priest, he hath nothing but the shew
bread: wherfoze two contrary preceptes come together. But the wise priest follo-

weth and obserueth that which is the greater, namely to feede the hungry, and
bringeth forth the shew bread, and helpeth David. Also ther is an other law, that

we muste minister weapons vnto the Magistrate, for he muste be holpen of his
subiectes. And it is contrarily ordeyned that thinges consecrated vnto god shall

not be transferred to other vles. David the kings sonne in law, and his captayne
which made warres for him, as the chiefe of his warrefare, was then unarmed,

the priest had no weapon at hand, but onely the sword of Goliath. Here are two pre-
ceptes which seme contrary, the priest followeth the one, & giveth vnto the magi-

strate the sword, because he iudged it better to arme the magistrate, then to ob-
serue the ceremony. There is also a law that the church shoulde not be without

ministers, so that it shoulde be destitute of them. And there is an other lawe in
Paule that Neophytus, that is, a man newely entred into Christian religion,

shoulde not be made a bishop. The church of Epellan was without a bishop, nei-
ther could it finde a mete bishop, which was both pure from the sect of the Arri-

ans, and therewithall had also greate authorite and doctrine of god. There is
none but Ambrose, but he is Neophytus & Catechumenus. Here too two lawes

mete together, which in shew seme contrary: but it was mete that the lesse law
shoulde geue place vnto the greater. For Christ so taught, when by the sentence

of the prophete he sayd: I will haue mercy and not sacrifice. And yet he doth not
say that he will not haue sacrifice, but if two preceptes mete together, whereof

the one is of mercy, and the other of sacrifice, he testifieth that he had rather haue
mercy then sacrifice. So it seemeth was now don as touching Iiphtah, that whe

two lawes bzged, the one to defend the city from straungers: and the other that
a bastard shoulde not be made a Magistrate, that law was to be obserued, which

serued best for the safety of the city.

12 Then Iiphtah sent messengers vnto the kinge of the childzen
of Ammon, sayinge: what haste thou to doe with me that thou arte
come agaynst me, to fyght in my land?

And

what is to be
done when two
preceptes for
one time are co-
trary one to an-
other.

A similitude.

An other simi-
litude.

The iii. simi-
litude.

The fourth si-
militude

Ambrose a Ne-
ophyte and new-
ly instructed in
religion is made
a bishop.

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13 And the kinge of the children of Ammon answered vnto the messengers of Jiphtah: because Israell tooke my lande, when they came from Egipte, from Arnon, even to Jabor, and vnto Iarden, now therfore restore them with peace.

14 Yet Jiphtah sent messengers agayne vnto the kinge of the children of Ammon.

15 And sayd vnto hym: Thus sayth Jiphtah, Israell tooke not the land of Moab, nor the land of the children of Ammon.

16 But when Israell came vpp from Egipte, and walked thorow the wyldernesse, even to the Sea Suph, then they came to Cades.

17 And Israell sente messengers vnto the kinge of Edom sayinge: Let me, I praye thee, goe thorow thy lande. But the kynge of Edome woulde not consente. And also they sente vnto the kynge of Moab, but he woulde not. Therefore Israell abode in Cades.

18 Then they wente thorow the wildernes, and compassed the Lande of Edome, and the Lande of Moab, and came by the East syde of the Lande of Moab, and pitched beyonde Arnon: neyther came they wythin the coaste of Moab. For Arnon was the border of Moab.

19 Wherefore Israell sente messengers vnto Sihon kinge of the Ammorhites, and king of Hebron, and Israell sayde vnto him: Let vs passe, we praye thee, by thy land into our place.

20 But Sihon trusted not Israell, to goe thorough his coaste, but Sihon gathered together all his people, and pitched in Jaaz, and fought agaynst Israell.

21 And the Lorde GOD of Israell gaue Sihon and all his people into the handes of Israell, and they smote them: so Israell possessed all the lande of the Ammorhites, the inhabitantes of that country.

22 And they possessed all the coaste of the Ammorhites, from Arnon even to Jabor, and from the wildernes even vnto Iordan.

23 Nowe therefore the Lorde GOD of Israell hath caste oute the Ammorhites before his people Israell, and shouldest thou possesse it?

24 Wouldest not thou possesse that whiche Chemosh thy God getteth thee to possesse? So whome soeuer the Lorde our God driueth out before vs, them will we possesse.

25 And arte thou now farre better then Balac the sonne of Zippor king of Moab: Did not he strue with Israell: Did not he fyght agaynst them?

26 When Israell dwelte in Hebron and in her towne, and in Aroer, and in her towne, and in all the Cities that are by the coastes of Arnon, 300. yeares? Why did ye not then recouer them in that space?

27 Where-

27 Wherefore I haue not offended thee: but thou doest me wrong to warre agaynst me. The Lord the Judge be Judge thys day betwene the chyldzen of Israel, and the chyldzen of Ammon.

28 Howbeit the king of the chyldzen of Ammon hearkened not vnto the wordes of Iiphtah, which he had sent hym.

When Iiphtah by his messengers saith vnto the king of Ammon: what hast thou to do with me: he vseth a phrase very much vsed of the Hebrewes. He inquireth the cause, as though he woulde haue sayde: why inuadest thou our landes: what discorde or iniuries are there betwene thee and me: The king of the Ammonites answered, that he therfore made warre, because the Israelites did hym iniury, which tooke away his landes, namely from the borders of Arnon, euen to Iaboc and Iarden. He complayneth that all that coast was taken from hym, which was betwene those riuers. This he pretendeth to be the cause of the war. And he desired that they would restore peaceably, that is, without warre, that which they had taken away from hym. He seemeth to promise that he will leaue off from warre, if the Israelites woulde perforce this. Iiphtah denieth that the thyng is so: VVe haue not taken away (sayth he) your land. And bringeth a reason: Because when the Israelites came vp out of Egypt, they of their owne wyll sent messengers vnto the kyng of Edom, that they might haue leaue to passe through his borders: which thing he would not let them doo: so farre is it of that wee byd them iniury. The people abode in Cades: so muche tempered they themselves fro violence and weapons. They went on the syde of the land of Edom: for the Edomites would not permit Israel, to go straight through the myddest of their country. Wherefore my people rather iourneyed with great labour, then that they were troublesome vnto any man. And pitched beyond Arnon. There were the endes of Moab. Wherefore ye can not complaine that we do anye man iniurye. Wherefore when the Israelites saw that they could not leade their host through the borders of Edom or Moab, they sent vnto Sihon king of the Amorhites: But he would not: neither did he onely denye them passage through his borders, but also assembled an host, and pursued them. And the battaile being ioyned, God deliuered hym in to the handes of the Israelites. Wherefore (sayth he) we haue done thee no wrong: for this land we possesse by the right of warre. Sihon assailed vs with his power, and the victorie fel on our syde: wherfore both he, and all his land by the right of warre came into our power.

The Israelites possessed this land by the right of warre.

And the Lord deliuered. Wherefore, so much as Israel by the ryght of warre succeeded Sihon, that land which thou desirest, is not thine, but in the olde tyme pertained vnto Sihon the king. Wherefore when we occupied this land, thou didst not possesse it, but the Amorhites.

Neither do we possesse this land by the right of warre onely, but also by the gift of God: for the Lord our God, which is Lord of al kingdomes, hath geuen it to vs, and deliuered it into our power. This is the second reason that Iiphtah vseth: for by the first he onely sheweth that those places came vnto hym by the right of warre, without any wrong doing. But some man might say: how knowest thou y God gaue thee this land: Because (sayth he) he expelled the old inhabitants the Amorhites before vs: and wilt thou succede the Amorhites: as though hee would say, by what right: He bringeth an argument a simili, that is from the lyke. You (sayth he) worship the God Chemos, and you thinke you haue your lād by his benefite, and ye beleue that ye possesse it by very good right: So we haue receiued our land, not from an idole as you haue, but from the true God, and we retyne it by very good ryght. He calleth not Chemos god, because he beleued that idole to be a god: but speaketh in this maner, because they iudged that it was so.

They also possessed it by the gift of God.

It is well perceived that god gaue it because he drave out the Ammonites.

Chemos the god of the Ammonites.

Art thou better then Balac the sonne of Zippor? This is the thyrd reason, We possesse it (sayth they) not onely by the right of warre or gyft, but also by

They possessed also by the right of prescription.

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so by the right of prescription: for we haue had it now in our handes this. 300. yeares, and Balac thought he were a mighty Prince, and other also, neuer required it againe: wherefore then dost thou demaund it againe, especiallly seeing we haue had it so long time: What which we translate, Art thou better? in Hebrue it is Tob tob. For because they want the comparatiue degree, they vse in steede of it a repetition of the positius degree.

Why Balac fought agaynst the Israelites.

Balac of whom he speaketh, was he which hired Bileam to curse the Iewes. And when he fought against the Israelites, he did not therefore fight, because he would wrest from them that land: this was onely his entent, that they shoulde not enter into his borders.

Hesbon.

Hesbon was the kingly Citie of Sihon. There dwelled Israel and in all her townes. 300. yeares, and now at the last demaundest thou it agayne? If a man wyl count the number of the yeares enen to this time, he shall not fullye finde. 300. yeares, but onely. 270. But so vse they to doo which prescribe any thing by time, to adde somewhat aboue the iust number. Although the scripture also is wont in supputacions, many times to follow the greater number. And. 270. yeares come nere vnto. 300. yeares, then to. 200. yeares. And so that cause it seemeth that the number should be put whole.

Wherefore Iphthah concludeth after this maner: I haue not offended thee. Because thou art the occasion of the warre, and haue shewed thee my reasons: now resteth to put the matter in Gods hand, he wyl iudge best. This was the message of Iphthah.

We must first entreate by messengers, before we go to weapons.

Titus Livius.

This Oration, as farre as it appeareth, pertaineth vnto the iudicial kynde, and entreateth of possession, and the reasons are layde forth. But now let vs marke that Iphthah before he moueth battail, sendeth messengers before. What is a custome verie laudable: For Titus Livius writteth in his first booke, that it was the maner of Rome, that before warre was proclaimed againste their enemies, messengers were sent to complaine of the iniuries, and to require againe the thinges taken away. And if by their message they nothing profited, they returned vnto the Senate: who vnderstanding the matter, proclaimed war by the publike assent. For wise men iudged it not best, rashlye and sodainlye to fall to warres. So Iphthah, though he were a warlike and valiant man, yet woulde he governe the matter wisely and moderatlye: For he was not so light bryained as many now adayes are, who firste prepare them selues to battaile, and make a bragging, before any man know that there is any warre proclaimed. God thus ordained in the. 27. chap. of Deut. when thou shalt come to any Citie, thou shalt firste offer peace. So Iphthah assayeth firste to compose the matter by wordes, before he goeth to hand strokes. The king of Ammon alledgeth a cause in dede, but it is but a fained cause: for first it was not the land of Ammon, but of Moab, and the Amorhites drave them out, as the second chap. of Deut. testifieth. For Israel had none of their landes. For God had before said that he woulde geue nothing vnto the Israelites, of that which pertained either to the Edomites, or to the Ammonites, or to the Moabites: and when they offered no wrong vnto any man, Sihon the king of the Amorhites pursued them with an host, and assayed to destroy them: but God gaue the victory, wherein both Sihon was slain, and his kingdome came to the Israelites. Wherefore it can not semie that they did wrong vnto the Ammonites: for that land at that time longed to the Amorhites, which they before had taken away from the Moabites.

Whither the Israelites sent messengers vnto the Moabites or no.

But in this place ariseth a doubt: for it is written that the Israelites sent messengers vnto the Moabites, and that is not found in the. 21. chap. of Numb. The Hebrue interpreters say, that that may be gathered out of the. 2. chap. of Deut. where it is after this sorte written: I sent messengers vnto Sihon the king of the Amorhites with wordes of peace, saying: Let vs passe throughe thy lande, and we will go by the high way, we will not decline neither to the right hande nor to the

the least. Sel vs meate for money, for to eate, geue vs water for money to drinke. Onely, geue vs leaue to passe through, as did the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Arre.

There are three principal pointes in this message: for first Jiphtah answereth that he possesseth this land by the right of war, secondly by gift, & lastly by prescription, I thinke it good to examine these thinges singularly and aparte.

What were the chief points of Jiphtahs message.

Of things whych are taken by the ryght of warres.

As touching the first, we learne that it may be, that some thing may be claymed by the right of warre, which maye be confirmed both by mans lawes, and by the lawes of God. But I wyl begyn with mans lawes. In the Digestes de captiuis et postliminio reuerfis in the law Postliminium: The thinges that we haue lost in war, or in affaires of war, if we after ward recouer the same again, we shal possesse them by the law Postliminium. For so long as they are not recouered, they are possessed of our enemies. And thys ryghte is towarde those, whyche are declared to bee enemyes. But suche were declared to bee enemyes, against whom the people of Rome publikely proclaimed warre, or they which publikely prohibited warre against the people of Rome, as it is had in the same title, in the law Hostes. For Pirates or theues cannot by this meane attain to be owners, or possesse any thing by the law of warre. For warre ought to be made, to the ende to attaine something by the right of warre. And in the Digestes de acquirendo rerum dominio, in the law Naturale, paragrapho the last. Such thinges as are taken from enemyes, by the common law of all men, agreeing vnto naturall reason, are straightwaye made theirs which take them. And thus the lawes of man as touching this thing, are very manifest.

Postliminium, a law by which we recouere as gayn & which we lose in warres.

So is it also by the lawes of God. Abraham, as it manifestly appeareth in the booke of Genesis the. 14. chap. made warre against the. 5. kinges, which had led away Lot prisoner. The battaile being finished, they praye came into the handes and power of Abraham: which maye easely be proued, because of that pray he gaue tithes vnto Melchisedech. But it had not bene lawfull for him to haue geuen tithes of an other mans goods: therfore they wer his own, of which he gaue. Therfore we must beleue that that pray was trulye in his possession. For in that he gaue it to the king of Sodom, it was of his mere liberality: for he was not therunto compelled by the law. I coulde make mencion, what thinges Iosua, Othoniel, David, Salomon, and manye other mo possessed by the ryght of warre. For when those Princes had the victorie, the thinges taken from their enemyes, came into their possession. But it is not sufficient to make warre, to clayme something by the right therof, but the warre also must be iust. Bycause vnles it be iust, it is not warre, but robbery.

Warre is iust woorke to attayne possession

But how shal we know when war is iust or vniust? Augustine (as he is alledged in the. 23. Question. 2. chap. Notandum) writeth that this war betwene Sihon and the Israelites was iust. For they desired to passe without hurt, through his kingdome, which thing by humane fellowship should not haue bene denyed them, especiall seeing they had faithfully promised, not to be troublesome to any man. This sentence of Augustine, the Glosse goeth about to defende, and that by ciuill lawes. In the Digestes de aqua pluuiæ coerenda, in the lawe in summa, in the Paragraphe item varus, something is permitted in an other mans ground, so that it be done without the hurt of the possessor. And in the Code De Seruitutibus, in the law per agrum, Maximianus and Diocletianus doo thus ordaine: That no man can prohibite thee to vse the common high waye. And that thing onely did the Israelites desire: wherfore being repulsed, they iustly tooke warre in hand. So much sayth the Glosse, whose reason doth not so fully satisfy me. For that which Augustine speaketh of private men, may easely be admitted, and these thinges which are brought out of the ciuill law, do seeme also to be

whereby iust war is knowen from vniust. Augustine.

whether a war ought to be geuen vnto any one

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be written concerning private men. But if a man will leade an host through another mans country, and if they faithfully promise, not to be troublesome, yet, whether a way ought straightway to be graunted him, or whether he ought to be beleued, it is not certaine. They promise (thou wilt say) that their host shall do no harme, but if they stand not to their promises, then shall the lands be in their power. Undoubtedly Iulius Cesar would not permit the Heluecians to passe through his Province, although they promised, that they would passe without doing iniury or hurt. But I say that the warre which the Israelites made against Sihon, was iust, but not therfore because he denied them leaue to passe through his country, but because he came out of his borders with his host, and willingly offered wrong vnto the Israelites. For every man ought to defend both himself and his against violence. That which Augustine bringeth, hath some shewe, yet his reason is not firme. For how could Sihon know certainly, whether the Israelites would do him no hurt, especially they being so many in number: For there were six hundred, three score & six thousand armed souldiours, & well appointed to the battail. He might peradventure haue permitted them to haue passed, and that safely, although not all of them together, but by bandes. But seeing the first reason before alledged is sufficient, wee must not much labour for Augustines sake.

The Israelites fought iustly against Sihon.

What manner of warre is iuste. But now I will generally declare, what manner of war is counted iust. Such a war is counted iust, whiche is taken in hande at the commaundement of the Magistrate, either to demaund things againe, or els to put away iniuries, or to reuenge them, as it is had in the 23. question, the 2. chap. iustum, and they at the wordes of Isidorus. For first we must beware that war be not taken in hande by the authority of a private man. But the causes wherfore war may iustly be made, are these, to require things taken away, or els to repulse iniury. Wherunto is agreable that which Augustine writeth in the same place in the chapter Dominus: Iust war is that which is taken in hand to reuenge iniuries. After this manner war is iustly proclaimed against Cities, when they will not either render things taken away, or amende those things which of theirs was vnjustly done. For if they will not punish the guilty, it is lawfull for other to make warre against them. So all Israel tooke war in hand against Benjamin, that a most filthy wicked crime should not remaine unpunished. But Augustine addeth, that those warres also do in especial seme iust, which are taken in hande by the commaundement of God, as are many which were done in the old Testament. For if God commaunde once to make warre, wee muste not seeke for any other cause of iustice. For God knoweth very well what is to be rendered vnto every man. For then both captaine and souldiours are not so muche to be counted authors of the warre, as ministers of God & of his law. And therfore when the people are after this manner called to war, they ought not to neglect the commaundement. Wherfore the same Augustine in his 207. epistle to Bonifacius the Earle, a man of war, which at that time gouerned Affrike vnder Cesar: Thou oughtest not (saith he) to thinke, y they which with weapons serue the publik wealth, can not please God. This was the proposition, wherof after ward he bringeth reasons. For David saith he, made many wars, and yet was he dearely beloued of God.

Augustine

And undoubtedly I could bring forth very many examples out of the old testament. But the Anabaptistes cry, that the old Testament pertaineth nothing vnto vs. I will therfore make mention of those things whych Augustine alledgeth out of the new Testament. The Centurion came vnto Christ, and desired him to heale his seruant which was sicke: but Christ said he would come to his house. The Centurion said: I am not worthy that thou shouldst come vnder my rooffe: but onely say the word, & my seruant shall be healed. And other wordes which are red in the 8. chapter of Mathew. At the last Christ answered, that he founde not so muche faith in Israel, no not in those whiche seemed most holie.

And

And the same man was a Centurion, and had soldours vnder him: vnto whom
for all that Christ ascribeth a very good and most excellent saythe. In the Actes
also of the Apostles, the .x. chapter, it is written that Cornelius so lyued in war-
fare, that the Angell testified of hym, that his prayers wer heard of God. Yea &
God also so regarded hym, that at Peters hands he hearde the Gospell, was bap-
tised, and receaued the holye ghost. And the Soldours when they came vnto
John, to be baptised of him, as it is in the third chapter of Luke, asked what they
should doo. John answered, ye shall doo violence vnto no man: bee ye content
with your wages. Neyther called he them backe from warfare, but rather con-
firmed them, when he commaunded them to be content wth their wages. The
same Augustine againste Faustus in his .xxii. booke, and .lxxiii. chapter saythe:
The Lord was tempted of the Herodians, whether it were lawfull to geue tri-
bute vnto Cesar, and he answered: Geue vnto Cesar that which is Cessars, and
the thinges that are of God, to God. By which wordes he woulde signifye no-
thing els, but that tributes are to be geuen vnto Princes. And tributes are ge-
uen, that Princes should vse the sword, defend the right of the publike welch,
and make warre, when neede shall require. Which thing if it had not bene law-
full, the Lord would neuer haue commaunded them to pay tributes vnto them.

But to returne to the Epistle of Augustine. In making of iust war, saith he,
many thinges are to be taken heede of. For it is not sufficient that the warre
be iust, except also the warre be iustly handled. Wherefore he admonisheth his
Carle: when, saythe hee, thou putttest on thyne armour, remember that thy
strength is the gyft of God, and determine wth thy selfe not to abuse that gyft
against God. Yea rather doo this, fyght for his lawes and name, let promises
be kept euen with enemies, but muche moze with friendes, for whom thou ma-
kest warre. By which wordes hee reprehendeth those Soldours, whiche are
moze grieuous in Cities, then the very enemies, of which we see in our dayes a
great many mo then we woulde, which when they are in their places where they
wynter, it is wonderfull to see how they handle the Citizens, and the men of
the country: it is horrible to see what filthye and abhominable thinges they com-
mit. He addeth also the thirde caution. Thinke wth thy selfe that warre must
not be made but for necessity. Wherefore let the minde alwaies be enclined vn-
to peace. Make warre, bicause thou canst not otherwys doo: but if thou canst
make peace, refuse it not.

Warre is taken in hand onely to amende thinges amysse. Yea, and the A-
postles afflicted certaine, that they might become the better. Paul sayd vnto the
Corinthians, deliuer sache a one to Sathan to the destruction of the fleshe, that
the spirite may be saued. And to Timothe he sayth of Hymeneus & Alexander, I
haue deliuered them to Sathan, to learne not to curse. So oughte they also to
restrayne Princes, that they maye bee made better. Augustine also in his .xii. *Augustine.*
booke De ciuitate dei, sayth, that warres though they bee neuer so iust, yet vnto
godly men, they seeme both troublesome and grieuous: for besydes other thinges
which the nature of man escheweth, they shall see the iniquity of their aduersa-
ries syde, for which they are compelled to fyght: and they cannot but be soze for
it. And in the Epistle before alledged: Rage not, saythe hee, nor ware not inso-
lent agaynst those that submit them selues, but shewe mercye to those that are
ouercome. Wherefore Virgil sayth: Spare them that submit them selues, and *Virgil.*
destrope the pzonde.

Moreouer he admonisheth the same Carle, to beware of vyces, whiche are
wont to followe hostes, namelye of sylthye luste, of rauenous pyllynge, and of
dronkennesse. For it is a thyng molte vyle for thee therefore to make warre,
to amende the vices of others, when as thou in the meane tyme art a great
deale moze vicious, and muche moze art ouercome bothe wth affections

and diseases, then they are whiche are overcome.

For in warre we reproue not the ende, but the desire to hurt, the crueltye of a uengement, the outragiousnesse of rebelling, and the lust of bearing dominion. These thinges saith he, are condemned. For they, which forsakinge suche vices doo make iust warre, are the Ministers of God and of the lawes. The same saith against Faustus Manicheus: This order saith he, is to bee kept, that the war be proclaimed, either of God, or of Princes, to breake the pryde of man, and to tame the stubburne.

Farther, the Souldiours oughte to bee perswaded, that the warre is iustlye made, and not taken in hande againste the woorde of God: otherwyle let them not fight. Neither doo I to this ende speake these thinges, bicause I woulde haue Souldiours to vnderstand the secretes of Princes, but that knowinge & wittingly they suffer not themselves to fight againste true and iust causes. Yet it may be (saith Augustine) that the Prince may make warre againste his conscience, and yet his Souldiours nothinge offende, so long as they obey the ordinarie power. For the people must obey their Prince. And in their so doyng, it may be doubtfull vnto them, whether their Prince make warre contrarie to the commaundement of God. But they are excused, so long as they obey their owne Prince in a doubtful cause, their owne Prince I say, and not a straunge Prince. Therefore those hired Souldiours can not be excused, which hauing no respecte vnto the cause, but onely for mony and rewarde sake do serue straunge Princes. Therefore Iphitah thus reasoned, as touching the first point of his Oracion, we haue taken the land by the right of warre: therefore thou vniustly request the same of vs.

Againste hyred
Souldiours.

God is & distributer
of kyngdomes.
Virgil.

Augustine

The next poynt is, our God hath geuen it vnto vs, whiche is the Lord and distributer of all thinges humane. He bynkerh his argument from the gyfte of God. And that God might geue and distribute kingdomes, the verie Ethnike authours also saue. And therefore in Virgil Eneas doth so often boast, that hee by the commaundement of God went into Italy, and for that cause would not abide either at Carthage, or in Sicilia, when he mought haue obtained either of those kingdomes. Augustine in his .v. booke De ciuitate dei, the .xxviii. chap. Of kingdomes sayth he, and prouinces it is certayne that God distributeth them, both when, and howe muche, and to whom hee wyl: and that by secreete iudgements, but not vniust. In the booke of Genesis, God promised vnto Abraham and his posterity, the land of Chanaan: but hee promised it after foure hundred yeaeres. Now, saith he, I wyl not geue it, for as yet the synnes of the Chananites are not full. I wyl not cast them out now, but I wyl tary till their iniquitye be come to the hyghest: after ward I wyl bring you in. Also in the seconde chapter of Deutronomy, it is wrytten, that the Horites dwelled in mount Seir, which were men experte in warres and very valiant, whom God sayth he dyaue oute of those mountaynes, that the Chyldren of Esau myght possesse the lande. And in the same chapter he testifieth that he dyd cast out the people of Emim, & gaue their kingdomes vnto the Ammonites, and dyaue out Zanzumim oute of theyr places, and placed the Moabites there.

If thou wylt say, that thys was done by God peculiarly agaynst these nations, because the Edomites had their offspring of Esau, the Ammonites and Moabites of Lot, which was kynsman vnto Abraham, and had together with hym accomplished most daungerous viages: I answer, the same may be saide also in the same place of other nations, which came not of Abraham. The Capadocians dyaue out the Hewites whiche were the first inhabitants, who going out of Capadocia, destroyed them, and in their place inhabited those Regions. And in Deutronomy the .xxxi. chapter it is wrytten, when God by lot deuided the Gentiles, and the people according to the number of the Chyldren of Israel.

How regions
are sayde to bee
deuided by lot.

in that it is sayde to be done by lot, al that is to be referred vnto our vnderstandyng, whiche sees not the causes of thinges. But wyth God nothing is done by lot. God hath distributed the nations accordyng to the number of the chyldren of Israel. For the Israelites were not yet increased, when God put the people in those Regions, who at the laste gaue place vnto the Israelites when they came.

Neither ought we to be offended, if by this distribution oftentimes fertile and fat landes happen vnto the vngodly. For Augustine in bps. 4. booke De ciuitate dei, the. xxiij. chapter, sayth: That giftes whiche dure but for a tyme, happen both to the iust and vniust. For God maketh his sunne to shyne, both vpon the good and the euill, and rayneth vpon the iust and vniust. But by this common benefite the godly haue this commoditie onely, that they vnderstande that these thinges are not the chiefest gyftes which wee oughte to looke for, bycause these are common both to the good and to the euill. But the godlye wayte for other more excellent, which are not common to the good and euill. As Danyel saith: The name of the Lord be blessed for ever: for it is he whiche transferreth kingdomes, and byeth out the first inhabitants, and byingeth in other. Neither doth he onely bying men into prouinces, but also setteth Angells to rule ouer them, as we there reade of the Prince of the Persians and Grecians. And he hath not onely deuised men by landes, but also by tounes and manners. Farther, we must remember that these mutacions were not done onely at the begynning, but also in the latter times. For the Frenche men possessed Gallia, and the Englyshe Sarones Britane, but the Britanes being cast out by them, found new places in Gallia by power and violence, and that part whiche they obtayned, they called Britane of them selues. The men of Gallia also of late, going out of their own bozders, possessed a great part of Italy. The Hunnes subdued vnto themselves the Pannonites, and called the Countrey Hungaria. So God distributeth kyngdomes, casteth out some, and byingeth in other some, as it seemeth good vnto his iust iudgement, which is secrete. For the earth is the Lordes, and the fulnes thereof. This distribution chaunced euen from the beginning to the sonnes of Noe, and afterwarde to those whych builded the Tower of Babel: for God dispersed them throughtout the whole world.

Now I wyl declare by what meanes God is wont to geue kyngdomes. He geueth them of his owne liberalite, no right compelling him thereunto. That is the true manner of gifte, which otherwyle is not a gift, vnlesse it be free. And yet nothing letteth, but that God by the duties and obedience of godlye men, may be prouoked to geue. He geueth in deede often tymes manye thinges vnto godly men, but yet of no dute. For there hath bene none at anye tyme so godlye, that he coulde desyre any thing of God, as his owne by right. For hee muste doo his dute, though God geue nothing. And yet is a gyft a certayne rewarde, which although it be free, and geuen wythout any right compelling thereunto, neuerthelesse, because it is after a sorte bestowed vpon duties, it hath a shewe of a rewarde. So in Ezechiel God gaue a gyft vnto the king of Babilon. Bycause (sayth he) he laboured in the siege of Tirc, I wyl geue vnto hym the lande of Egypt.

There are also amongst men recompences, when one office is recompenced with an other office. These also are voluntarie, neither can they bee demaunded by iudiciall action, and therefore they are counted among giftes. But we haue nothing which we can geue vnto him. Therefore if we attempt to bying any thing vnto him, we render vnto him his owne. And therefore there is no respect of merite to be referred in vs towarde him. Therefore God geueth liberally, no lawe compelling hym thereunto.

Augustine.

God distributeth kingdomes of his mere liberality.

A gift in waye of rewarde.

We haue nothinge to geue vnto God.

pm. ii.

But

Cap. II. A Commentary vpon the

Giftes maye be
renoked.

But it may be demaunded, whether suche giftes maye bee renoked? Why should they not? when as the giftes of men also are sometimes renoked, as it is in the Code De reuocatione donacionum. First, if they haue condicions annexed to them, whych haue not bene performed. And after that manner vndoubtedlye God gaue the lande of Chanaan to the Chyldren of Israel, namelye that they shoulde woozshyppe hym, not onely in ceremonies, but also in good manners and holynes. But seing thys condicion was not performed, God iustlye renoked hys gyfte, and ledde them awaye captiue, and gaue the lande vnto the Babilonians, Assirians, Egyptians, and Romanes.

Giftes of God
are without re-
pentance.

A great ingratitude also of hym that is endued wyth the gyfte, debilitateth the gyfte: so if he be so ingrate, that he wyll bee contumelious and reprochfull vnto the geuer, the gift is then renoked. So God in Ezechiel complayneth: I haue clothed thee with vestures and garmentes of sundye colours: thou haste made those proper vnto Idolles, and haste geuen them to Baal. Therefore wyll I take away my garmentes from thee, and my clothings of sundye colours. But thou wylt say, the giftes and vocation of God are without repentance, as it is wyrtten to the Romanes. I graunt that: but the chaunging is in vs, and not in God. For if we shall continue thankfull, and stande to the condicions, the gyft shoulde be firme and ratified. Farther, Paule in that sentence spake of giftes and calling, whych come vnto men by the eternal pzedestination of God, and not of those which are geuen but onely for a time. Therefore seing God had not for the causes befoze rehearsed, cast out the Israelites from the lande of Chanaan, the gift remayned ratified and whole. And Iphthahs argument drawen of it, hath his strength and sure foundacion. Moreouer it may also seeme that God gaue that lande vnto the Israelites in the name of a dowry: for he woulde after a sorte wedde vnto hymselfe the Church of the Iewes, and geue vnto it somewhat for a dowry. And yet gaue he not that lande vnto them, to the iniury of the Chananites. For they were vngodly, and defiled with most grieuous wicked actes, as it appeareth in the .xx. chap. of Numbers. Neither coulde they complaine that they were cast out wrongfully: wherefoze Iphthah doth verie well make his argument from the gift of God.

The land was
geuen vnto the
Israelites with-
out any iniury
to the Chana-
nites.

He addeth farther the third argument, deriued from pzescription: VVe haue now (sayth hee) possessed thys lande three hundred yeaes. Therefore thou doest vs iniury, in requiring it now of vs at the last.

Of Pzescription.

Why the lawe
of pzescription
was brought in

Hereby we gather that the right of pzescription is no newe thing, but a thing grafted of God hymselfe in the hartes of men. But why it was founde out, I wyll in fewe wordes declare. It may be, that a man may possesse an other mans thing vniwittinglye. As for example: There is an heyze whiche succeedeth him that is deade, and among hys goodes he findeth somethinges that were vsurped by the former, while he lyued, or receaued for a pledge, which he being ignoraunt of, possesseth all those things with a good mynde. And so being ignoraunt and vniwitting, possesseth an other mans thing as his owne. What then: shal the heyze neuer seeke for the iust possession thereof? If the true owner doo neuer require his thing, ought the ignoraunt to defraude the heyze for ever, that he shoulde neuer possesse againe that thing as hys owne? For if the owner neuer demaunde hys owne thing againe, that is to be ascribed vnto his owne slothe and sluggish negligence. Therefore in detestacion of suche sluggishnes, and in commendacion of an byryghte sayth, and lastly for publike peace sake, the lawe of pzescription was found out. Iphthah nowe vsyth thys lawe agaynst the Ammonites.

He saith he, haue possessed this land this thre hundred yeares. Why then dost thou make this garboyle and tumult agaynst vs? Except some certayne time were appointed, within the space whereof, and not beyonde, thinges myght be demanded agayne, the possession of all thinges should be vncertaine: but from that humane thinges doth wonderfullye abhorre. Wherefore this euill is remedied by the right of prescription. And it is defined in the Digestes de vsucapionibus, law. iiii. that it is an addition or claime of dominion by continuacion of possession, by the time appointed by the lawe. The definition is plaine and manifest. But in these daies they make a difference betwene prescription and vsucapione, when yet in the Digestes, and among the olde Lawyers they wer not seperated.

The definition of prescription.

In the tyme of Antonius Pius (as I remember) these beganne first to be seperated, so that vsucapio taketh place in thinges moueable, and prescription in thinges vnmoueable. But thus much by the way. But in our hystorye this is to be marked, that Liphtah doth wisely deuise his argumentes: for he doth not first place the lawe of prescription, but before all thinges he obiecteth the right of warre, afterward the gift of the true God: and his cause being so confirmed, at the last he vseth the lawe of prescription. And that hee doth therefore, because a possession continued, doth not by it selfe and alone prescribe: but it hath neede of a good title, and an vpright faith. A good title is, that the thing be gotten by right order and lawfull manner. For he that hath gotten any thing by theft or rapine, although he haue long possessed it, yet it prescribeth not. But if both the title be good, and his faith vpright, and continuance of tyme be added, the prescription is firme and good. If we haue gotten any thing, eyther by bying, or by gift, or by inheritance, or suche lyke wayes, the title is good: but farther wee haue neede of an vpright faith, whereby we are assured in our selues, that no mans right is iniured, and that we know that there is nothing which maye by iust meanes let vs. Wherefore Liphtah hath a good title, the ryght of warre, and the gift of God. He possesseth also with an vpright faith, because hee meaneth neyther fraude nor rapine. Wherefore he very well vseth the lawe of prescription.

What difference is betwene prescription and vsucapio.

What thinges are required to the right of prescription.

But the tyme of prescription in thinges moueable, is as touching our ciuill lawes thre yeares: but in thinges vnmoueable, tenne or twentye yeares, if ignorance happen not. For if the owner knowe that it is his owne thing which is possessed of an other, and he hold his peace so long, hee cannot afterwarde demande it againe. And the lawe seemeth iustlye to punishe suche negligence. But if the owner be ignorant, the tyme is farther proroged, namely to thirtye or fortye yeares. And this is done when ignorance happeneth, and that he possesseth it for himselfe, and not for an other: otherwyse it is no prescription. Nowe be it thus we must knowe by the waye, that the Ecclesiasticall Canons, as touching prescription, doo differ from the ciuill lawes. For they, as we haue sayde, doo appoynt thirtye yeares, though the possessor be of an euill faith. For they determine that euill faith cannot let prescription. But as it is had in the .vi. De regulis iuris, chapter Possessor. A possessor of an euill faith, prescribeth by longnes of tyme. For we should haue a respect vnto the woorde of God, and wyth what conscience a man may possess any thing. These thinges haue I alleaged, that we might vnderstand, how Liphtah vseth the lawe of prescription.

Of the tyme of prescription.

Of Custome.

Nowe because althinges are certayne and manifest, I might retorne vnto the hystorye. But yet I thinke it good somewhat to speake, although briefely, of Custome, because it hath great affinitye with prescription, and because our aduersaries doo styre by great tumultes, because of it, and woulde utterly oppress

pm. iiii.

press

Cap. II. A Commentarie vpon the

preſe vs with Cuſtomes.

What cuſtome
is firme.

Cuſtome as
gainſt the word
of God, is of no
force.

Hoſtienſis.

What cuſtome
is vicious.

What difference
is betwene a
lawe and a cuſ-
tome.
Ariſtotele.

Auguſtine.

Ciprian.

Aquarii were
they whiche in
the Eucharist,
bleſſed water in
ſteede of wyne.

Cuſtome (as it is had Extra. de Conſuet. chapter the laſt) ought to be agreeable vnto reaſon, and lawfully preſcribed. The ciuill lawes aſſigne vnto cuſtome ten or twenty yeares, the Canons, thirty or forty yeares. But moſt firme is that cuſtome, the memoꝛye of whose beginning is not extant amonge men. And this ought to be firme, that thoſe thinges which are againſt the word of God, do by no meanes preſcribe. Wherefoꝛe that which the Papistes affirme, namelpe that the Communion hath bene geuen but vnder one kinde thys ſoure hundred or fyue hundred yeares: bicauſe it is manifeſtly againſt the word of God, they cannot pꝛoue that it is preſcribed by cuſtome. Foꝛ ſuche a thyng is not (as you would ſay) preſcriptible. By whiche ſelfe ſame meanes they can not bring the cuſtome of the ſole lye of Miniſters, as preſcript: foꝛ it was at the beginning extoꝛt by violence, and it is againſt the word of God: althoughe Hoſtienſis ſaith, that the power of Cuſtome is ſo great, that it compelleth Prieſtes to ſole lye, in the diſtinction. cxi. chapter Placuit. But, as the ciuill lawes determine, that Cuſtome is vicious, which eyther is againſt nature, or els agaynſt the common lawe. But that which I haue affirmed, hath hys foundation in the holpe Scriptures. Foꝛ when Chriſt ſayd vnto the Phariseis: Hypocrites, why violate ye the commaundement of God, bicauſe of your owne tradicion: Foꝛ God ſaith: Honour thy father, and thy mother. But you ſay: whoſoener ſayth to father or mother: The gyft. &c. they might haue preſcribed vnto hym cuſtome, but it was not lawfull, bicauſe it was manifeſtly againſt the word of God.

In the country of Taurus there was a cuſtome, to kyll ſtraungers and geſts. The Perſians had a cuſtome, neuer to deliberate of waighty matters, but in ſeaſes, and when they were dronke. Among the Sauromates there was a cuſtome, that when they were drinking, they ſolde their daughters. Theſe preſcribe not, when as they are manifeſtly vicious and euill. But that cuſtome preſcribeth, which is neither againſt the word of God, nor the law of nature, nor the common law. Foꝛ the right of cuſtome commeth of the approbation, and ſecrete aſſent of the people. Otherwiſe, why are we bound vnto lawes: but bicauſe they were made, the people conſenting and agreeing vnto them: Foꝛ this is the difference betwene a cuſtome and a lawe, bicauſe in the one is a ſecrete aſſent, but in the other an open aſſent. Wherefoꝛe ſuch cuſtomes cannot be reuoked wythout daunger. Ariſtotele in Politicis admoniſheth, that men which haue learned to doo ſiniſter thinges, ought not to be compelled to do thinges dextere. Wherefoꝛe in thinges indifferent, and of no great value, cuſtome is to be retayned. It is an old Proverbe, νόμος ἔσθ' ἡ χώρα, that is, Law and Country. Foꝛ euery region hath certayne cuſtomes of their owne, which cannot eaſely be chaunged. But as it is ſayde, when they are againſt the word of God, or againſt nature, or the common lawe, they do not preſcribe. Foꝛ then are they not cuſtomes, but beaſtly cruelties.

It is very wel read in the Diggeſtes, De legibus & Senatusconſultis, in the law de quibus: Cuſtome without reaſon, hath no force. And in the decrees, diſtinction the. lxxi. chapter Veritate, Auguſtine ſayth: The truth being ſounde out, let cuſtome geue place: let no mā preſume to preſerre cuſtome befoꝛe truth and reaſon. And in the next Canon, Chriſt ſayd: I am the way, the truth and the life, he ſaid not, I am the cuſtome. Ciprian againſt the Aquarii. Let al cuſtome, though he ſaid be neuer ſo auncient, geue place vnto the truth, otherwiſe Peter when he was reprehended of Paul to the Galathians, myght haue claymed cuſtome, but he aſſerted rather, that cuſtome ſhould geue place vnto the truth. Ciprian in the ſame Epiſtle agaynſt the Aquarii: Cuſtome (ſayth he) without truth, is the auncientnes of error: and the moze it obteyneth, the moze grieuous it is. Let the Papistes therfoꝛe ceaſe to bragge of their cuſtomes, which are altogether ful both of error and alſo of vngodlines.

Sporeouer

Whosoever to establish a custome it is not sufficient, that some men do a thing, or that a thing be often done, vnles it be so done, that it be receaued into a vse, & an institution to be obserued. For many thinges are done either rashely or of necessity, which yet we will not haue drawn into a custome. In the digestes de iur. here, & actu priuato, in the law. 1. and last. Graunt that I go thorough the fild once, and agayne, and the thyrde tyme, bycause peradventure the byghe way is so soule, that a man can not passe thorough it. Whither, bycause I sometymes go and returne thorough the fild, do I therfore get vnto my selfe in it the right of dominion & seruitude? No: for I entended not with that mynde to go thorough the fild, but bycause I was of necessity compelled thereunto. In the decrees distinction the. 1. chap. Consuetudo: Custome is said to be a certain right, instituted by manners, whiche is taken for a law, when a lawe sayeth. When in the first tymes of the Church, when tyannes persecuted Christian religion, godly men thorough feare were compelled to assemble together in houses and caues by night, and in the darke, thys assembly was by a certayne right & maner then instituted, counted lawfull. But if we would, now that the Church is constituted, wo:shyp God after the same maner, we should both be derided & laughed at, & also it wer not to bee suffred. For they vsed not that manner, to the end they would haue it drawn into a custome, or that it should be an institutio which other men should folowe. Ambrose beyng Catechumenus, that is, newly converted to the Christian faith, and not baptised, was chosen Bishop of Millan, and Nectarius of Constantinople and peradventure other. Yet is it not lawfull for vs now to folowe the same custome, and to elect a Bishop, which neiether hath seene sacred seruices, nor hath ben washed with the water of Baptisme. But they did so. They dyd so in deede, but compelled by necessity: bycause they had no other, which were both learned & endewed with authozity, whō they might oppose against the Arrians.

What establis
sheth custome.

What custome
is.

So is that easely confuted, whiche they are wont to byng out of the Hystory of Eusebius, for the communicatyng vnder one kinde, that Serapion sent a child, and commaunded the bread to be dipped in the wyne. I could in deede expounde that place otherwise: but at this tyme it shalbe sufficiēt to say, that that was not therfore so done then, thereby to byng in a custome which should be imitated of others. Wherfore custome is not made by examples, but by the assent, approbation, and institution of the people. Otherwise ther are in many places bzonkēnes and night robbynge. But these thinges, bicause they are not allowed of the people, as institutions to be obserued, haue not the power of a custome.

An answer to
an example of
Eusebius.

And that the thing may the better be vnderstand, I will byng a definition of custome, which I found in Hostiensis, in the title de Consuetudine. It is an vse (saith he) agreeing with reason, allowed by the cōmon institution of them that vse it, whose begynnynge is tyme out of mynde, or whiche is by a lutt tyme prescribed and confirmed, so that it is by no contrary acte interrupted, but allowed with contradictoꝝ judgement. This is (as he thinketh) a full definition. But in that he saith: That that vse ought to be agreeing with reason, it is not sufficient, but first it is to be sayd, that it ought to agree with the woꝝde of God, for that is to be counted for the chiefest reason. Afterward, it must be allowed by the institution of the people: for as much as it is not sufficient, that it be done ether rashly, or of necessity, or for some other cause, but it ought also to be allowed by the assent and institution of the people, and of whose begynnynge there is no mention, or that it is prescribed by a lutt tyme, and appoynted by the lawes, neiether is interrupted by any contrary action. For if the iudge or pꝛince shal geue iudgement agaynst it, the custome is broken, as it also happeneth in pꝛescriptio, when a mā is cast out of his possessio, or h matter is called into law, & the matter is in plead, the pꝛescription is broken. Also the allowyng of the contradictoꝝ judgement ought to be had, that is, that when one part alledgeth the custome, and an other part denyeth it, if it be pꝛonounced on the custome side, that doth confirme it. But

An other definitio
tio of custome.
Hostiensis.

Cap. 11. A Commentarie vpon the

all these thynges, as I haue befoze sayde must be renoked vnto the rule of the woorde of God.

A custome that
is burdenous
to the Church
is not to be suf-
fred.

Augustine.

Now this onely is to be added, whiche is had, Extra de Consuet. chap. 1. that a custome can not be suffred, if it be burdenous to the Church. Augustine also cōplayned, that in his tyme were so many new ceremonies & rites brought in, that the Church was greuously burdened, and the state of Christians, at that tyme was nothing at all moze tollerable then in the old tyme the state of the Jewes was. That also we laye agaynst our aduersaries: that the Church should not be burdened. This is their owne lawe. Why do they not acknowledge their owne wordes? These things haue I therfoze mencioned that we might vnderstand how firme an argument Iphthah bled of Deserption, namely that the Israelites possessed that land. 300. yeares: whiche is much moze firme and of greater force, then if they had possessed it but. 30. or. 40. yeares. Now let vs go to the other part of the chap. wherein Iphthahs victorie agaynst the Ammonites is described.

29 Then the spirite of the Lord came vpon Iphthah: and he passed ouer to Gilead, & to Manasseh, he passed ouer also Mizpa Gilead, & from Mizpa Gilead he went to the children of Ammon.

30 And Iphthah bowed a bowe vnto the Lord, and sayd: If thou shalt deliuer the children of Ammon into myne hand.

31 Then that thing that commeth out of the doores of my house to meete me, when I returne in peace from the children of Ammon, shall be the Lordes, or I will offer it for a burnt offering.

32 And so Iphthah went vnto the children of Ammon, to fight agaynst them, and the Lord deliuered them into his handes.

33 And he smote them from Aroer, euen till thou come to Minnith, twenty Cities, and eue to Abel, a very great region of vineyardes: Thus the children of Ammon were humbled befoze the children of Israel.

Two Mizpas

Mizpa Gilead, is an other City, differing from that Mizpa whiche lay in the tribe of Iudah. The spirite of the Lord, which is sayd to haue come vpon Iphthah, was the spirite of strength. For there are sundry gifts of the spirite, as of wisdom, of vnderstandyng of Counsell, &c. Among which, also is reckened the spirite of strength. Wherfoze the Lord gaue vnto Iphthah this spirite, that is, all warlike might, as well of the minde as of the body, that he might valiantly execute that warre. But we knowe that those giftes, whiche in schooles are called

Free gifts iusti-
fy not.

gratuita that is free giftes, do not iustifie: for they happen as well to the euill as to the good. But the spirit of god is thre maner of wayes in men. First, in that he is god: for so he is infinite, & is euery where. Secodly he is in men by free giftes,

The holy ghost
is thre maner
of wayes in me

namely of miracles, wisdom, strength, &c. And these two wayes he is as wel in the euill as in the good. But the third way he is in men by sanctification, and reuocation. And this dwelling of the spirite of God is to be wished for of all the godly. God had befoze ordeyned Iphthah to be head ouer al the people of Israel: but he was vnknown vnto the people. And the Gileadites when they made Iphthah theyr captayne, thought nothyng of a Iudge whiche should gouerne all Israel. Here God sheweth his iudgement, when he inspired hym with the gift of strength, & all men might vnderstand that God had chosen him to be captayne. Neither yet do I thus say, that Iphthah had the spirite of strength, as though he had not also the spirit of sanctification, for as much as he might haue both. But being moued with this spirite of strength, he went out with a great courage, and finished the thing valiantly. But befoze he went to handstrokes, he bowed a bowe vnto god, as the Hystory declareth. It was the maner of Captaines, that when they should

Captaines were
wont to bowe.

make

make any great warre, they vowed something to God, so that they got the victory. In Leui we rede oftentimes, & the Romaine Captaynes vowed riche spoiles, prayes, temples, and such like, either vnto Iupiter, or vnto Apollo, or to other Gods. So the people of god (as it is written in the booke of Numbers:) when king Adar invaded them, they vowed to make his land Cherem. Now also Iiphtah vowed: but his vow was confused, and desired no certayne thing.

What soever (saith he) shall come forth, that shall be the Lordes, and shall be sacrificed. There are some expositors, whiche thinke this letter Vau otherwise a copulative, to make in this place a disjunction: as though he should haue sayd: Either it shall be sacrificed vnto the Lord, if it be of that kynd, that it may be sacrificed: or if it be not, yet it shall be the Lordes, that is, it shall be dedicated vnto the Lord. And in deede D. Kimhi is of that opinion. The like manner of speaking is there in these wordes: If a man strike father and mother, he shall dye the death: for there also Vau is a disjunction. And the meaning is. If a man strike either father or mother, &c. Herein what I thinke I do not declare, I will afterward increase more largely of this matter. It is not gathered by these wordes, & Iiphtah made this vow by the inspiration of the holy ghost. The spirite in deede moued hym, valiantly to achieve the enterpryse, yet we rede not that it moued hym, to make a vow.

Kimhi.

Iiphtah was not by the inspiration of the holy ghosts

The Latine translation hath: That whiche shall first come forth, but & word first is not in the Hebrew, but must needs be vnderstand: otherwise he had bound all thinges that should come forth of his house. But as I haue said it is an ambiguous & confused vow. For what if such a thing should haue met him as myght neither haue ben sacrificed, nor dedicated to the Lord: What if a dogge had met Iiphtah at his returne, as it is a louing beast, and oftentimes meeteth his Lord returnyng home. But it is an uncleane beast, neither may it be sacrificed, nor redeemed with any price. It is wonderfull that so great a Captayne was so ignorant of the law of God, that he vowed not more distinctly. It may be sayd that the Israelites had so longe tyme worshipped Baal vnder the Ammonites, and other nations, that they had forgotten the worshipping of the true God. But especially Iiphtah which was both a bastard, and a banished man, and also a man of warre, which kinde of men do not so much thinke vpon the lawes. Wherefore he vowed, but not according to the prescript of the lawe. But we must knowe that it was lawfull for the Jewes to vow menne also vnto God, and to dedicate them vnto hym. And the redemption of manne is sealed in the lawe by the variety of kynd and age. Hanna the mother of Samuel dedicated him from a childe to the deuine worshyping, and it is very likely that Holkana her husbände allowed the vow.

It was lawfull to vow menne also vnto God.

But that which Interpreters say of the virginity of the daughter of Iiphtah, it cannot be gathered by the wordes of the history. And rather it is not true: although some Rabines were of that opinion, but yet without example and testimony of the word of God, I know that that Hanna, of whom Luke maketh mention, was dayly in prayers, and other women for prayers sake, watched continually at the Tabernacle, and that the sonnes of Hely accompanied with discipules of them, but the scripture testifieth not of any that vowed chastity, neither did God in the olde Testament euer speake any thing of this kynde of vow. Wherefore this sentence: And I wyl offer it for a burnt offering, is an interpretation, for it expoundeth and contracteth the first part of the Oration: It shall be the Lordes. Now shall it be the Lordes: He declareth howe, when he addeth: And I wyl offer it for a burnt offering. Other make Vau a disjunction, as I haue before touched. But that is not certayne. Neither is the vow therfore refused, but that it was vnwarely made. For there mought easely haue met him a dogge (as I before admonished) which could neither be sacrificed vnto God, nor dedicated vnto hym.

The vow of Iiphtah was vnwarely made

He

He went forth and smote. The victorie is not here onely described, but also amplified, namely that there fell many in that battayle, and that he ouerthrew twenty Cities, and subdewed vnder him the Ammonites.

34 Then Jiphtah commyng to Mizpa to hys house, beholde hys daughter came out to mete him with timbrels and daunces which was his onely child, and of hym selfe he had neither other sonne nor other daughter.

35 And when he sawe her, he rent his garmentes and sayd: Alas, Alas my daughter, thou hast brought me lowe, and thou art among them that trouble me. For I haue opened my mouth vnto the Lord and can not go backe.

36 And she answered hym: My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth vnto the Lord, do vnto me as thou hast promised, saying that the Lord hath auenged thee of thine enemies the childre of Ammon.

37 And she sayd more ouer vnto her father. Do thus much for me: suffer me two monethes, that I may go downe to the mountaynes and bewaple my virginity, I and my friendes.

38 And he sayd. Go: And he sent her away two monethes. So she went with her friendes, and lamented her virginity vpon the mountaynes.

39 But after the ende of two monethes she returned to her father, who did to her accordyng to the bowe, whiche he had bowed. Wherefore she had knowen no man, and it was a custome in Israel.

40 The daughters of Israel went fro tyme to tyme to lament the daughter of Jiphtah the Gileadite, fower dayes in a yere.

When he had gotten the victorie agaynst his enemyes, he returned home to Mizpa: for there he dwelled. And therefore we heard before how he made the covenant with the Gileadites before the Lord in Mizpa. Here let vs note with howe great a moderation godly princes in those tymes made warres, they prolonged them no longer then necessity required, but as soone as their enemyes were tamed, they straightway returned home. So also the dictatoz among the Romaynes, his enemyes being vanquished and all thinges accomplished accordyng to his minde, he straightway forsooke his office of a Magistrate. Jiphtah is sayd not to haue had other children of himselfe: because peradventure he had by his wyfe children in lawe. Yea and he might haue children whiche were adopted. Of him selfe he had begotten onely this daughter. And this is put in, that we might vnderstande howe we heard and bitter it was vnto hym, to slaye hys onely daughter. She went out to mete her father by the waye with timbrelles and daunces, to reioyse for hys victorie, and to singe a songe of victorie, for so were the thynges that were nobly done by princes wonte to be celebrated with daunces and songes. The mayden also when Saul returned, came and met hym with reioysing. And vndoubtedly suche reioysinges were nothyng elles then publique greuyng of thanks.

Things nobly
done of princes
wer publiquely
songe.

In that it is sayd, thou hast brought me lowe, In Hebrew it is expessed by this verbe Caraa: as though it should haue ben sayd, thou hast thrust me downe or thou hast humbled me: of late I was puffed vp with the victorie whiche I obtayned agaynst myne enemyes, but thou hast thrust me downe, yea rather thou hast utterly destroyed me and brought me to nothyng, for as muche as my posterity is vndone, myne enemyes did greivously bere me: and now thou my daughter al

so art one of them whiche trouble and afflicte me.

I haue opened my mouth. This is a circumscription or description of the vow. He tate hys garmentes, after the manner of the Hebrynes, when they sawe that they were ouerwhelmed with any greuous calamity vnlooked for, they tate theyr garmentes, signifyng that they were now subiect vnto the anger of God, and not worthy to be couered with garmentes. I haue opened my mouth (sayth he.) The lawe of God in the booke of Numbers, the. 30. chapter intreatyng of Vowes, vseth such a forme of speakyng, whereby myght be vnderstande, that the vow was conceaued, not onely in mynde and purpose, but also outwardly expessed by wordes. Wherefoze they were called calves of the lippes, whiche a man had promised to God, not onely in mynde, but also in voyce. And I can not go backe (sayeth he.) It is meruelous why he should say so. For in the last chapter of Leviticus are many thynges wyrtten of the redeemyng of vowes, whiche I wyll thus gather into a fewe. If any had vowed a man, it was lawfull to redeme hym with a pryce, and there was an estimation set. And therfore it was called the vow of estimation. For they vowed either themselves, or theyr seruantes, or theyr chyliden, and it was lawfull for every manne to vowe them which he had in hys power. From twenty yeares vppwarde to sixty, they payd for the male fifty sicles, for the female. 30. From fyue yeares vppwarde to twenty, for the male they payd twenty sicles, and for the female tenn. If a manne had vowed a house vnto God, and would redeme it, the house was esteemed, and the redemer added the fiftth parte besides the pryce. If a manne had vowed a fiede, the estimation was taken of the seede thereof, an Homer of Barly was esteemed at fifty sicles of Silver. And how much nearer the yere of Jubile was, so much the more was there abated of the pryce. A cleane beast beyng once vowed ought vnto be sacrificed, neither mought it be redeemed: but if it had ben vncleane, it might haue ben redeemed.

What the tearyng of garmentes signifyeth.

What to open the mouth in vowyng signifyeth.

Wherefoze sayng God did so diligently prouide for the redeemyng of vowes, howe doth Iphthah saye, that hys vow can not be reuoked? This maye bee answered two wayes. Firste it myght bee, that Iphthah as he was a man of warre, so was he ignorant of this manner of redeemyng of vowes. An other waye it maye bee answered, that he promised not the vow of estimation, but Cherem, that is a curse. And thys kynde of vow neuer returned to hys owner, neither could it be conuerted to a prophane vse. A fiede after thys manner dedicated, was alwayes appoynted for the tabernacle: yea and asses and horses serued the Lorde, neyther could they be redeemed. So if a man had vowed to be a Nazarite all hys lyfe tyme, he was neuer redeemed: althoughe that were not in vse. And vnto thys kynde of vow pertayned, if a man had made himselfe Cherem, because he neuer returned into libertie. With suche a vow was the City of Jericho bounde, neyther was it lawfull for the Jewes to touche any of the thyngs that were without life, pertaynyng to the City whiche were vnder this vow. Wherefoze Achan sinned most grienously, whiche tooke to hymselfe some parte thereof. But there was an other kynde of Cherem, whiche was not vowed but vowed to the death vnto the Lorde, and what soeuer was after this maner vowed vnto the Lorde, the same ought without redemption to be slayn: so were the Amalekites vowed, and Saul most bitterly reprehended, because he had spared Agag their kyng, and saved some of their oren on lyue. Wherefoze it may be that Iphthah vowed, that whatsoeuer thing met hym firste out of hys house when he returned, should be slayne. But he was very much deceaued: for thys kynde of vow had not place, but in wicked men, and such as were declared to be the enemyes of God: therfore he was not bounde by this lawe of vowes to slaye hys daughter. Wherefoze in that he sayeth, I can not call backe, if we vnderstande it generally of vowes, it is not true, because it was lawfull to redeme them, but if we haue a respect vnto Cherem, the person vowed ought to be slaine,

if the

Note the two manner of vowes.

Two kynds of the vowe Cherem.

1.

2.

Cap. II. A Commentary vpon the

if the vow had ben of force: whiche thing could not haue place in this mayden, bycause she was not declared to be the enemy of God.

*Augustine.
Ambrose.*

My father, If thou hast opened thy mouth. The godlynes and obedience of this daughter is very much commended: she obeyeth her father, and confirmeth the vow. Do (sayth she) as thou hast promised. For this was a great obedience, and therefore she is praised of the fathers, Augustine I saye and Ambrose. She thought haue lustily not obeyed, saying her father had vowed so rashely, but it easely appeareth, what she had a respect vnto, for it is added: Saying the Lord hath auenged thee of thine enemyes. She had a regard onely to the glory of God, as though she should haue sayd: Seeing the Lord hath geuen thee the victory ouer thine enemyes, it is not greuous to me to dye. And God, saying he hath heard thee, seemeth to haue allowed the vow.

*What was the
bewayling of
virginity.*

But here aryleth a doubt: Why God heard this vow, when as it was vnadvisedly vowed. I aunswere. I doubt not but that God gaue the victory: but that it was geuen for the vow, it is not founde by the wordes of the History: otherwise we should be compelled to allowe this vow. The daughter both in deede obey the father, but in the meane tyme she requireth a litle space, namely of two monethes, that she might together with her fellow virgins comfort her self, and bewaile her virginity. But how is it sayd: That she would descend to the mountaynes: For we go vp to mountaynes, & not go downe. Peradventure Iphthahs house was situate vpon a mountayne, and the mayden desired leaue to discende to the litle hilles vnder it: or peradventure she asked leaue to go to an other mountayne, vnto whiche she should go by a valley, and so we must vnderstande that she first descended, and then after ward ascended. She bewayled her virginity. Bycause that seemed a heuy and lamentable thing, that a virgin should dye, leaving no children behynd her. For it was a certayne curse, if any dyed without children. God had at the begynnyng commaunded men to multiply and fill the earth. Farther, the Hebrewes endozed to augment the holy publique wealth. They hoped also that Iphthah should be bozne of their stocke.

*Ambrose.
Two frendes
of Iphthahs
school.*

She returned at the tyme appoynted. Ambrose sayth: That those two Pithagorians were muche to be praised, of whiche the one gaue hym selfe for a pledge for his fellowe, whiche was condemned to death: and the other for his friendes sake saythfully returned to death at the tyme appoynted: but muche moze is this mayde to be commended, whiche after two monethes returned to her father, to be slayne, bycause she seemed to do that onely of a zeale to godlynes, and the woishipping of God.

And it was a custome in Israel. The Hebrew word is Choke and it signifieth a lawe not written, but a custome vnwritten.

From tyme to tyme. That is from yeare to yeare: for it was a certayne yearly assemblie. This Hebrew word Littenoth signifieth to speake, to mourne, and to comforte. The daughters of Israel went euery yeare and bewayled, and seemed to lament, bycause that mayden was slayne: for they would not haue so great a thing to be put in obliuion. And peradventure they did it to admonish the parentes, not to binde themselves hereafter with such a vow.

Of the Vowe of Iphthah.

*Whether Iph
tah sinned in
vowynge.*

Here seemeth to be demaunded, whether Iphthah sinned in so vowynge, and in fulfillynge his vow. It is a heard question, bycause it pertayneth not to the lawe, but to the acte. We knowe that in those tymes it was lawfull to vow, but what is to be thought of this acte, nothyng can be gathered by the wordes. It is possible that he so vowed by the inspiration of God, whiche being a singular example, ought not to be dynen into imitation. As there are very many of this kynde in the holy Scriptures. There are whiche contend that Iphthah dyd not

not in very dede offer his daughter, but only punished her wth chaste death, namely in separating her fro^m the comon cōuersatiō, so y^e she liued onely to god, geuing her selfe to prayers onely, and liuing a parte from other men. And they seeme to affirme that y^e vowe was Cherē, but not such, that the mayde should be bounde to be killed: but y^e she should lyue dedicated to God, and should continually geue her selfe to y^e wo^rshipping of god. And euen as a field o^r house vowed with this vowe Cherem, could not be reuoked vnto the first owner: so say they, thys mayde being once dedicated vnto the Lo^rd, could not returne to her old estate.

Dauid Kimhi in defendyng this sēteⁿce byngeth these reasons. First he weigbeth the wo^rdes of Ziphtah, what soeuer cometh out of my house, shalbe y^e Lo^rd, & I will offer it fo^r a burnt offering. This letter Vau being a cōiunction copulative, as we haue befo^re said, he thinketh to make a p^ropositioⁿ disiuⁿctiue: as if it should haue ben sayd: If it be such a thing as may be sacrificed, it shalbe sacrificed: but if otherw^{ise}, it shalbe the Lo^rd, & it shalbe dedicated vnto hym. Farther he sayth y^e y^e mayde desired space, to betw^ayle her virginity: neither is it w^ritten to betw^ayle her soule o^r life. Wherfo^re it seemeth y^e she betw^ayed this onely, that she should w^at a husband & child^re. But if she should haue ben offred bp, she ought chiefly to haue lamented fo^r her life. Lastly saith he y^e y^e very wo^rdes of y^e histo^ry declare this thing. Fo^r it is not sayd y^e Ziphtah sacrificed her: but did acco^rdyng to hys vowe. If he had killed her, it should haue ben w^ritten, And he offred her a burnt offering to the Lo^rd. Of the same opiniō is R. L. ben Gerson, & he addeth, y^e it is w^ritten in the terte, And she knew no man. As though hereby might be vnderstād, what kind of sacrifice y^e was. And he thinketh y^e Ziphtah builded a house fo^r her, where she should liue a lone, & he permitted her fellowe virgines once in a yea^re to go and se her, and betw^ayle her virginity together with her. And afterwarde he addeth that a man so dedicated, ought not to lyue without a wyfe, bycause the man is not subiect vnto the wyfe. Samuel, althoug^h he were dedicated vnto the Lo^rd by the decree of hys mother, yet had he wyfe and child^ren. But a woman beyng so dedicated coulde not marry: bycause it was necessary that she should serue her husb^ande, and if he remoued any whether, she should go together with hym. And therfo^re it is w^ritten, that Ziphtah dyd vnto her acco^rdyng vnto hys vowe, and she knew no man.

The same sentence Lyranus emb^raceth, and there are of the newe w^rytters whiche are of greate learnyng, whiche doo follo^we this interpretation. But Lyranus pondereth these wo^rdes. And the spirite of the Lo^rd came vpon hym, and he sayth. That that spirite would not haue suffred Ziphtah to committe this murder. Farther he w^ryteth, that there were two monethes space geuen, so that he mought aske counsell of the P^riests. But it is, not very likely, that he asked not then Counsell of so weighty a matter, o^r that they tolde hym not that he myght haue redeemed hys vowe. Neither is it p^robable that thys Ziphtah consulted any thing rashely. When as the Epistle to the Heb^rues calleth hym holy. If thou wilt saye: He dyd vnto her as he had vowed, but he had vowed a Sacrifice, and to offer what soeuer mette hym, they w^{yl}l aunswere: He vowed in dede, but vpon this condition, so that it were lawfull. But when his daughter met him, either he learned, o^r els he vnderstood y^e it was not lawfull. Wherfo^re if he had killed her, he had not accomplis^hed his vowe, but should haue contaminated hymselfe. But on the contrary part it seemeth wonderfull that he was so abashed, and rente hys garmentes, if the mayden should not haue bene offred bp. Farther, what should the virgines haue lamented her: Fo^r if she should not haue bene slayne, there seemed no iuste cause of mournyng. Po^rzeoner if her virginity should haue bene offred vnto G^od, it should haue bene geuen wth a w^{yl}lyng mynde and not wth an vnw^{yl}lyng mynde: and in renderyng vowes thys thing was chiefly regarded, to render them w^{yl}lyngly and with a chieresfull mynde. Besides these thynges, Ziphtah had no example in the

R. L. ben Gerson.

Lyra.

What is chiefly regarded in vowes.

An. i.

in the

in the scriptures, & it was lawfull for the father to binde his daughter by a vowe, to kepe her virginity: but God contrarily promisseth aboundaunce of children vnto the obseruers of the law, in Deuteronomy the. 7. and Exodus the. 23. Wherefore that which God promised in the place of a great benefite, the same could not be bynded by a vowe. Farthermore, the arguments of the Rabines are cold and weake, as after ward shalbe more abundantly declared.

Paul in his. 1. Epistle to the Corinthians the. 7. chapter writeth: If the father shall determine firmly in his hart, hauing power ouer his owne will, to keepe his virgin vnmarried, he doth well, &c. And by writeth he hauing power ouer his owne will: If the mayden her selfe will, the father may keepe her vnmarried, so that she consent. But Iphthah knew nothing of the will of his daughter, whē he vowed, wherfore he ought not to thinke his vowe to be ratified, when his daughter met him. And if this kind of vowe was not firme in the new testamēt, it was of much les value in the olde Testament, where the vowe of virginity was not knowen. But of this thing I haue spoken more in my litle booke of Vowes.

There were other whiche thought that Iphthah did in very dede offer & mayden, which in these tymes ought not to seme so new and vnaccustomed a thing. For God required of Abraham to offer his sonne, and such a vowe was thought of many to be most acceptable vnto God, and that opinion also did spread abroad among the Ethnikes wherfore, this sentence is often spoken: Thou hast asswaged the windes with bloud, & with & virgin slayne. There are twookes of Poetes whiche make mention of Pollixena & Iphigenia: & also Histories of the Curtians and Decians. And vndoubtedly with this exposition agreeth the Chaldey Paraphrast, which among the Hebrewes is in a maner in the same estimation and authority that the holy scriptures are in. That Paraphrast sayth, that the mayden was immolated: & reponeth Iphthah, because he asked not counsell of the hygge priest. And the same thing do al the auncient Rabines thinke, which also reprehēd the highe priest, because he of his own accord went not vnto Iphthah. Iosephus also is of their opinion. Chrysostome also writeth many thinges of this matter, but altogether farre from the History: he followeth allegories, so that in a maner no certapnty can be gathered out of him. But Ierome writeth agaynst himselfe. In his Epistle to Iulianus, he sayth that Iphthah was numbred among the sayntes, because he offered his daughter. But in his. 1. booke agaynst Iovinianus he writeth, after the minde of the Hebrewes, that because he made an euill vowe by the dispenfatiō of god, he felt his error in & death of his daughter. For there mought haue met hym either a dogge, or an asse, whiche had ben wicked to haue offered: and so in one place he praiseth that, whiche in an other place he dispraiseth.

Iosephus.
Chrysostome.
Ierome.

Ambrose.

Ambrose in his. 3. booke de Virginitate sayth, & the mayden was in very dede immolated, & he writeth & Iphthah vowed not befoze the battaile, but in the fight, & in the very confliat, when things were doubtfull. And he addeth: I do not allow & murder, but I se a laudable feare, & he would not violate his promise & he had made. And he saith moreouer, & this act is to be cōferred wth the woꝝke of Abraham. For Abraham, when he was about to kill his sonne, the Lord cried out vnto him: Now I know, & thou lonest me. And he concludeth, & after the same maner may Iphthah be praised, because he shewed by his example, & the oracle of god, wherein he cōmaunded & vowes should be perfoꝝmed, was to be preferred befoze childꝝ, although the onely begotten child should be killed. But he demaūdeth, whether God haue a respect vnto persons, whiche letted Abraham, & he should not offer by his sonne, but with stode not Iphthah. He denieth & God accepteth persons, but it behoued (saith he) to declare vnto Abraham, & he delighted not in humane sacrifices. Afterward succeeded the law, which in Deut. & Leui. prohibited the immolation of childꝝ. Wherfore the will of god was already declared both in Abraham, & in the law, wherfore there neded no new oracle, or new prohibition. Farthermore, he noted that in Iphthah was not that perfection whiche was in Abraham.

For Abraham wept not, tare not his garmentes, deferred not two monethes, but straightway went, and Isaac followed hym. Wherefore it is no meruaile (sayth he) if God prohibited not Liphthah, for so muche as he woulde punishe hym longe taryng.

And in his thyrde booke de officiis the. 12. chapter, he writeth: I will neuer be persuaded but that Liphthah boved vnadvisedly, for so muche as he afterwarde repented. And he addeth that in dede he alloweth not the acte, but he sayeth that in a godly feare he fulfilled his bove, but in suche sort, that he appointed his posterity to lament it. He sayeth farther, I can not accuse the mā, because it was necessary for hym to paye that whiche he had boved, but it is a miserable necessitie (sayth he) whiche is payed with parricide: and it is better not to bove, that thyng whiche he wyl not, vnto whome thou bovest. And straightway he saith: All promises are not to be kept: for eue god also sometymes chaungeth his will. By which wordes he alludeth vnto the place whiche is written in Numbers the. 14. chapter, of the prayers of Moses.

Wherefore Ambrose is utterly of that sentence, to thinke that the mayden was offered: and for that cause (as I haue sayde) preferreth her before the two Pythagorians. And of her he sayeth in his exhortation to virgins: She payed with her bloude the vnadvised bove of her father. And vpon the firste Epistle to the Corinthians the. 15. chapter he sayth: In a thyng whiche could not be acceptable, he was founde saythfull, offering his daughter, as he had foolishly boved. And agayne. The acte is not allowed, but the perseuerance of sayth is worthy to be brought forth for an example to followe.

But these wordes of Ambrose are not so lightly to be passed ouer: for they can not be simply allowed, and as they be spoken of hym. Yet haue I brought them, to shewe that he thought that the mayden was offered in very dede. But in his wordes this firste I marke, that he affirmeth a certayne godly feare to be in Liphthah, whereby he was led to perforce his bove: and that childe was not to be preferred before Religion: thirdly that Liphthah was found saythfull in that thyng, whiche could not be acceptable vnto God. Lastly that his perseuerance of sayth is brought forth for an example to followe.

What thynges are to be noted in the wordes of Ambrose.

As touching the first, I knowe not, how that may seeme a godly feare, which driueth a man to parricide: for he calleth that kylling parricide, and that thre or foure tymes. Ther are in dede affections in vs which are grafted by god, but yet to vertues, and to do well. A feare, to eschewe sinnes. An anger, to punishe wicked actes, &c. Wherefore feare, when it is applied vnto vertue, may be called godly: but if it serue for vice, it can not seme godly, yea rather, it hath a certayne manner of vngodlines. Otherwyle þ endeuer of idolaters might be praised: for we see them diligently laboꝝ to worship god, but because they apply not themselves to the sincere worshiping of God, their endeuer can not be called godly. So when that feare of Liphthah drave him to commit parricide, howe could it be godly? If thou wilt say that by parricide he vnderstandeth not the sinne, or the wicked acte, but þ immolatio of his daughter: I will demaund, why he sayth þ he alloweth not the acte: vndoubtedly if he ca not allowe it, then perceaueth he þ it is sinne.

Godly feare driueth not a man to commit parricide.

What affectiōs are to be counted godly.

But in that he sayth: That the loue of childe is les to be esteemed then Religion. That is true: but that was no religion, but a foolish vnadvised, and rashe bove. Neither is the loue of childe to be les esteemed then such religion.

Thirdly he sayeth, that he was founde saythfull. But what fidelity is there in that thyng, whiche could not be acceptable to God? If my seruant should do that whiche I had forbidden hym, can he therein seme saythfull?

But in that he calleth the vnbchangeable mynde of Liphthah constancy, in my iudgement he erreth, when as rather it was willfulnes, whereby he woulde nedes fulfill that whiche he had vnadvisedly boved: neither can perseuerance in an euill thyng bee called constancy. He attributeth vnto hym a feare, whiche also he

callet a godly feare, and yet afterwarde he sayth that he repented. If he repented hym, he dyd agaynst his conscience: but no man ought to doo any thyng agaynst it. For what is not of sayth, is sinne. Farther, if he repented, why amended he not his faults? For if any thyng had ben done rashely, that ought to haue ben amended. If G D D (as he sayeth) doo sometymes chaunge his sentence, why then is it not lawfull for vs to chaunge a sentence that is not ryght? Afterwarde he sayth: he can not but prayse Iphthah. But what will he prayse? An vncircumspect bove: But that ought rather to bee reprehended. What, will he prayse the perfozmaunce of the bove? But that he calleth parricide, neyther can that bee prayed. I saye therefore that Ambrose affirmeth, that the mayden was in very deepe immolated: and yet are not al his wordes to be allowed.

Augustine:

Let vs heare now what Augustine sayeth of this thyng. In his question 29. vpon this booke he writteth that out of this place, the enemyes of the olde Testament, snatch the occasion to speake euill of G D D the creator of the world. For they called hym both an euill G D D, and a cruell. Suche were the Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites, and suche lyke pestilences. When he deligh- teth (saye they) in the bloude of manne, howe can he not but bee cruell? Augu- stine aunswereth: So farre is it of that G D D reioyseth in the bloude of man, that he reioyseth not euen in the bloude of beastes: onely he suffred for a tyme that sacrifices of beastes shoulde be offered, by lytle and lytle to instruct men. But what the sacrifices of the Elders signified, whiche serued to theyr erudi- tion in that place, he declareth not, but I will in fewe wordes shewe it. First was set forth in those sacrifices, that the rewarde of sinne is death. And that dyd he after a softe testifie, whiche brought the sacrifice, namely that he had be- serued to be kylled, but by the goodnes of G D D his death was transferred to the sacrifice. By this meanes were the Elders instructed, that they shoulde eschewe synnes. Farther, those sacrifices directed the myndes of menne vnto Chyste, and they were certayne visibill sermons of hym, and taught that Chyste shoulde bee that sacrifice whiche shoulde take awaye the synnes of the world, and vpon whom our death and damnation shoulde be transferred.

God reioyseth
not in bloud.

What the sacri-
fices of the El-
ders signified.

God mought
haue required
humane sacri-
fices.

Wherefore G D D of hymselfe delighted not in bloude, but by this schoo- lyng he instructed his people. Yea if he had delighted in sacrifices, he mought haue required them of the number of menne. For what shoulde haue letted hym, or what injury shoulde he haue doone vs, if he woulde haue had sacrifices of menne offered vnto hym? For manne must needes sometymes dye. Wherefore to preuent the tyme one yere or two, it woulde not haue bene so grieuous, nei- ther shoulde he haue doone vs any inurye, chiefly when we shoulde vnder- stande that with hym we shoulde lyue for ever. Undoubtedly in this thyng no manne coulde haue accused G D D as cruell. But now we seying he hath re- moued all those holy seruises, he manifestly teacheth that he reioyseth not, nei- ther in the bloude of menne, nor in the bloude of beastes. Yea the firste boone of menne, when they were bounde vnto hym, he woulde not haue them sacri- ficed, but redeemed with a price: whiche he woulde not haue doone, if he had ta- ken any pleasure in bloude. In Deuteromy the 12. chapter he sayeth: The sa- tion whiche I wyl expell besoze thee, doo sacrifice theyr sonnes and daughters: but see that thou do not so.

God woulde
haue the firste
boone of menne
redeemed, and
not sacrificed.

Certayne kyl-
lynges of men
are acceptable
vnto God.

But Augustine demaundeth farther, whether there be any slaughter of men whiche is acceptable vnto G D D: He aunswereth that there is. But what slaughter? When menne (sayeth he) are kylled for ryghteousnes sake: not that the death of Martyrs of it self pleaseth G D D, but because faith towardes God & piety is by that, both declared and also kept. And the death of Chyste so pleased God, that it redeemed the whole world: and the death of Chyistians whiche they suffer in Chyistes name, may be called after a softe a sacrifice. Wherefore Paul in the 2. to Timo. the last chapter writteth, *tyv oridoyat*, that is, I sacrifice, &c. in whiche

Martyrdomes
are lyke sacri-
fices.

whiche saying he calleth his death an immolation. And to the Phil. the. 2. *ἡ δὲ θυσία τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν* that is, but if I offre in an oblation and service of our sayth. And yet do not such sacrifices make satisfacti-
on for sinnes: for that doth the death of Christe onely. But the death of *ἡ δὲ θυσία τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν* that is, but if I offre in an oblation and service of our sayth. And yet do not such sacrifices make satisfacti-
are acceptable, because the cause is thankfull. Augustine was baptised of Ambrose: and being wonderfully affectioned toward him, he followeth his opini-
on as his scholemaster, as much as he may, but somewhat more warily. He co-
pareth Iphthah with Abraham: but he putteth a difference, whyche Ambrose no-
ted not. Abraham, sayth he, had the woorde of god to sacrifice his sonne, so had
not Iphthah, yea rather he had the law against him, that he shoulde not sacrifice.
And in Abraham not the death pleased god, but the faith. Farther, there is great
difference, for a man to do any thinge of himself, and to haue a will to doo those
thinges that are commaunded him. And Augustine doth subtilly admonish, that
Iphthah holued an humane sacrifice, not deceaued, but willinglye. Whatsoeuer
sayth he, shall come out of my house, I will offer it for a burnt offering &c. Doo
we thinke that beastes woulde come forth to meete him returninge home? Men
use to go and meete such as haue the victorie, and to resople. Wherefore he holued
an humane sacrifice.

The scripture only maketh mention of this acte, but praiseth it not: as also it
is there written that Iudas had to do with his daughter in law, but it is not allo-
wed. So there can nothing be gathered by these wordes, why the acte of Iphthah
shoulde be praised. Farther Augustine thinketh with Ierome, that god woulde
punish the rashness of the holw in the father, by the death of his daughter. But
there are two places, sayth he, why I cannot reprehend Iphthah. Because in the
Epistle to the Hebrewes he is numbered among the saints, & in this place it is writ-
ten, that the spirit of the Lord was upon him. But those holy men which are re-
koned vnto the Hebrewes, did they neuer sinne? Undoubtedly their sinnes also
are set forth in the holy scriptures. Gideon, who is in the number, a little before his
death made an Ephod, which was a destruction both of himself & of his house. But
as touchinge the other place: The spirit of the Lord came upon him. But this
nothing letteth, but that after ward he might fall. But Iphthah thou wilt saye
had the victory, but Gideon after that acte, nothing went well with him. Yea ra-
ther sayth he, Gideon did before after a sozt tempt God, & yet he had the victory.
So much of Augustine.

But I would say otherwise. For I agree not with Augustine, to thinke that
Gideon tempted God. Wherefore I would aunswere after this maner: David comit-
ted aduoutry, & straightway after ward obtained the victory, & toke the city Rabath-
Ammon, in whose siege he prepared that Urias shoulde be slayne. Saule persecut-
ed David, in the meane time there were brought him messengers from the Phi-
listians. He leaving David, went to war, and obtained the victory. Moses sinned
at the waters of strife: the people also hadde sinned many waies, and yet they ob-
teyned the victorye agaynst Sihon and Og moste myghtye kynges. Where-
fore wee will graunte that Iphthah was numbered amonge the sayntes, and
yet he mighte sinne, and althoughe he sinned, he obteyned the victorye. And
we will graunt that the spirit of the lord came vpon him, but we haue already in-
terprieted that it was the spirit of strength. And although the spirit of the Lord
was vpon him, yet is it not of necessitye that he did all thinges by that spirit.
For we also which are Christians, haue the spirit of Christ, when as yet none of
vs is renewed in all partes, yea rather we all very oftentimes sinne.

Augustine addeth mozeouer, that although the fathers sometimes sinned, yet
it nothing letteth, but that god maye vse theyr sinnes, to signifye those thinges
whych myght instruct the people. For god is so good, that euer of sinnes he pic-
keth out laudable commodities, and maketh them alligozically to declare what

Cap. 11. A Commentarie vpon the

semerth profitable vnto hym. As in that Iudas played the whozemonger with his daughter in law, it signified that god would couple vnto himself & church, which before was an harlot: so also maye it be, that by this acte of Iephthah he signified, that god so loued mankind that he would geue his onely begotten sonne vnto the death for it: for he did not in vaine, and without any cause suffer such a thing to be don by the fathers. Although they greuously sinned, yet god could vse their actions to the instruction of his people. They were amazed at the sacrifices of beastes, neither did they as it was mete, lift vp & eyes of their minds vnto christ. Wherefore god would by this meanes stirre vp the sluggish, that they should be endued by the humayne sacrifice of Iephthahs daughter to thinke vpon Christ. For he should geue his lyfe, and be made a sacrifice for mankind.

God so requi-
reth obedience
that he with-
draweth no
affections.

The error of
Augustine.

Farthermore, Augustine toucheth a reason whereby he defendeth the acte of Iephthah. It may be said, saith he, that he was moued by the spyrte of god to make a vow, and led by the same spirite to performe it. Wherefore he is the more woorthy of praise, so far is it of, & he should be reprobated. But & cannot be gathered by the wordes of the hystory. But that whiche some saye, as we haue before touched, he wepte, tare his garments, and was exceedingly sorre: therefore he was not moued by the spyrte of God: this I saye doth not muche moue me. For god so requieth of vs the duties of piety, that yet he withdraweth not fro our minds humayne affections. Christ himself when he should willingly go, so dye for our sakes, sayd for all that: my soule is deuaue euen to the death. He prayed also, farther, if it be possible, let his cup go from me. But Augustine intendeth to declare how Iephthah might be defended: which I also would gladly do, if I had any part of the hystory to helpe me. But that which followeth in Augustine, is spoken to imitate Ambrose. For he writeth: The error of Iephthah hath some praise of faith, which thinge (as I haue before shewed) can not be receaved. For if it were an error, then can it not be ascribed vnto the motion of the holpe ghoste. Farther, if it were sinne, what praise of faith can there be in it? Because he feared not to render that which he had promised. What if the vow were not lawfull? Can faith be there praised? Whereupon he saith: He declined not from the iudgement of God, and he hoped that he would haue prohibited him, fro killing of his daughter. He would rather vtterly performe the will of god, then contemne it. These thinges were well spoken, if he had bene assured of the will of God. But he was not assured of it: yea rather god had other wise prohibited it in his lawe. Wherefore if it were an error, it ought not to be praised. But if the spirit moued him, then was there in it no error. That which he after ward addeth is mosse true, and maketh on my syde. Firste he sheweth, that it was prohibited that a man should kill his childre, both by the example of Abraham and by the law. Farther, why the maidens wept, he bringeth the same reason that I brought, namely, both that the fathers should beware, not to bynd themselves with such a vow, and that so great an obedience of this mayden should not be put in oblivion. These thinges we haue out of Augustine, by which wordes appeareth, that he thoughte that this virgin was in very dede immolated, and not compelled by the vow of chastite to liue alone. Which sentence I my selfe also do altogether allow.

Question. whether
she were midid sacrificy

Reasons which
confirm the in-
terpretation.

1. They which think otherwise, haue not passing two or three authoys, but I haue many which are on my side, and especially the auncient Rabbines, whiche liued at that time, wherein the Chaldee Paraphrase, and the writinge of the Talmut was made. For the Chaldee Paraph. affirmeth, that the mayden was slayne. Iosephus, Ambrosius, and Augustin are of the same opinion. And we haue reasons not to be contemned. First, because there was no law in the old time, that maidens should vow chastite: yea rather it was a curse, if a woman had dyed without children and baren. Yea and god promised vnto the hebrewes, if you obserue my law there shall be no barren woman among you. Neyther is it very lykelye, that
2. holy men would by theyr vow hinder this promise. Farther in all the scriptures reueled

reueled by god, there remaineth no example of such a thinge. Also by this inter-
pretacion, we should seeme after a sort to confirme monasticall bowes, which ar
playnly against þe holy scriptures. For Paule admonisheth þe which cannot con-
taine, should marry a wyfe. I will not speak how Iphthah taried not for the consēt
of the mayden before he bowed, without whiche (as I haue before shewed) the
bowe of Virginitie could not be ratified. I haue opened my mouth (sayth he) be-
fore the Lord, and I cannot go backe. Wherefore he bowed not the Virginitie of
the mayden, when as he asked not counsell of her. For this also serueth the wee-
ping of the Virgins, and therewithall the weeping of the mayden herselfe. For
she desired, that shee mighte with her fellows bewaile her Virginitie. But if it
were a bow, why should she haue lamented it? We vse to bewaile our sinnes, &
not our bowes. But the cause that moued the Rabbines, Kimhi & Ben Gerson,
was this, because they will eyther allowe or excuse the acte of Iphthah. But wee
must not laboꝝ for that: not that we would willingly vncouer the defaultes of
the fathers, but because we see that thinges whiche are not well doone, are not
to be excused. Moreover, also this doth not a little moue me, because þe Iewes at
this day haue not this bowe of Virginitie among them. Wherefore al these rea-
sons lead me to think that the daughter of Iphthah was in very dede immolated.

But if it be demanded, whyther he sinned or no in doing this; it may be answered two manner of wayes. Firſte, bycause as he was a man, ſo mought he ſeme, as very many of the elders fel. Secondly, it may ſaid, y he did this by the impulſion of the holy ghoſt, not as though god would haue other men to imitate this act, but that men might by it vnderſtand, that Chriſt ſhould dye for their ſalvation. It is indifferent for every man to choſe eyther of theſe aunſweres. But I thinke rather he ſell . Nowe reſteth to confute the argumentes of the Rabbines.

In that they say the mayden was not killed of her father, but only punished wth ciuill death, namely that she should liue a part from the fellowship of men wth out a husband and childzen, it is not wel sayd: because it can not be p^{ro}oued by the holy scriptures that there was any such kind of bo^u in the old time. I know that there were Nazarites, whiche abstained from wyne and stronge drinke, and all drinke which would make one dronke: but they abstained not from matrimony. Samuel and Sampson beyng either of them a Nazarite, had wiues, and Samuel had childzen, as the holy hystory declareth. But departinges from the companie of men, are not altogether to be disallowed, so that of them come some fruite vnto the church. Christ departed .40. dayes, and fasted: but afterward he returned to instruct the people. Iohn Baptiste went a parte, but yet so: certayne dayes, & baptised and p^{re}ached. So some of the fathers went sometime a part, wher they gaue themselves both to p^{re}ayers and godly meditations, wherby they might re- turne the better instructed to p^{re}ach. But I can in no case allow the perpetuities of solitarie life: for wee are not bo^une to oure selues, but to other also. But that in the olde time there were some whiche were Nazarites for euer, that was not don by the institution of man, but by the commandement of God: which thing is w^{ri}tten to haue happened to Sampson and Iohn Baptiste. Other wisse Nazarites bowed but onely for a time. Wherfoze that which the Rabbines clayme, is false: for there was no ciuill death by the law, whereby men or women were for euer dep^{ri}ued of matrimonye.

Kimhi sayth that this letter Vau maketh sometimes a proposition disjunctive. I graunt that the same is found in certayne places of the scripture. But it is not a firme argument, if we shall say: It is thus sounde in some places, therfore it is so also in this place. But rather for the most part Vau maketh not a disjunctive proposition, but a copulatiue. And vndoubtedly here it is brought in by exposition. It shalbe the Lords sayth hee. After what manner: For I will offer it for a burnt offering.

The questions
answered two
swaps. 7

1st It must needs
 be a sinne. wch way we
 not consider it.
 2^d If von was not made in
 judgment. & therefore sinfull
 according to Jer: 4. 2.
 3^d If accomplishment was
 not of Gods commandment
 4th If Sh.^e might have been
 redeemed & vallored by
 y^e Levite, according to
 y^e law in levit. 27.

How depart-
ings from the
company of
men are allo-
wed or disal-
wed.

Cap. II. A Commentary vpon the

Farther the reason: The mayden despyed space of time, wherein to betwaille her virginity: neither saith she, her soule or life. This argument hath a shew, but no strength. For if death be to be lamented, vndoubtedly then is it muche more to be lamented when it hath a bitter condicion annexed wyth it. The mayden was sure to dye at some certayne time, but that seemed vnto her very hard, that she should dye without childre. Therfore that condicion is expessed, which made the cause more miserable. He sayth moreover: It is not written that Iph tah offered her for a burnt offering, but onely that he dyd accorde to his vow. I answer. That there is sufficient sayde, when it is sayde that he dyd according to his vow. And it is often sene, that in narrations the sharpest thinges are not expessed. And although the wordes be not all one, yet is it sufficient, if they be equall.

Leui Ben Gerson reasoneth of this, that it is written, and she knewe no man. Therfore sayth he, she liued, but married not. But this reason hath no force. For this sentence is an exposition of the wordes that go before. For why did the virgins betwaille her? Because she was vnmarrried, and was not coupled to any manne.

But Liranius sayth: The spirite of the Lorde came vpon Iph tah, wherfore he vowed not his daughter for a burnt offering. This reason Augustine (as we haue hearde) answereth. That spirite vndoubtedly was the spirite of strength and warrelike knowledge. Neither can al that Iph tah after ward did, be said to haue come from the same spirite. Moreover sayth Liranius, ther was two monethes space betwene, wherein he asked counsel of the priestes, and thei gaue him counsell to saue his daughter a Virgin. For but the ancient Jewes affirme that he was so stubborne that he woulde not aske counsell of the priestes. And for that cause he is reprovied by the Chaldee Paraphrast. Neither is it any newe thinge, that men somtimes sinne, because they thinke not that they haue neede of counsell, and that is wont most of al to happen vnto princes. For they haue a high mind and proude stomakes, wherfore they thinke that they haue counsell inough. But he is numbred among the sayntes. To this Augustine answereth also, that o ther were also numbred amonge the sayntes, whiche yet greuously sinned. Lastly he saith: If he had sacrificed his daughter, he should not haue fulfilled, but contaminated his vow. I graunt that. Neither is it any maruaile, that he erred, seing he was a man, and might fall.

Now shoulde remayne to declare what I thinke of vowes in vniuersall: but because of that matter, I haue written aboundantly in an other place, namely in my Apology against Smith, therefore I remitte the reader to reade ouer that booke,

The xii. Chapter.



Ad the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and passed ouer Northward, and sayd vnto Iph tah: Why haste thou passed ouer to fyghte agaynst the children of Ammon, and haste not called vs to goe with thee: we will therfore burne thee and thyne house with fyre.

And Iph tah sayde vnto them: I and my people were at greates strife with the children of Ammon, and when I called you, ye deliuered me not out of thei handes.

3 So when I sawe ye deliuered mee not, I put my lyfe in myne handes, and went vpon the children of Ammon. And the Lord hath deliuered them into myne hande. But why are ye come vpon me this day, to fight agaynst me?

4 Then Jiphtah gathered all the men of Gilead, and foughte agaynst Ephraim. And the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they sayd: The Gileadites are abiectes among the Ephraimites, and among the Manassites.

5 And the Gileadites tooke the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites. And when the Ephraimites that were escaped sayd: Let me passe, the men of Gilead sayd vnto him: Art thou an Ephraimite? If he sayde, Nay:

6 Then sayde they vnto hym: Say now Siboleth: but he sayde Siboleth: for he coulde not so pronounce. Then they tooke him and slewe hym at the passages of Jordan, and there fell at that tyme of the Ephraimites twoo and fourty thousand.

Here is a sedicion set forth vnto vs: the cause whereof was the pride of the Ephraimites, whyche was so great, that they thought there was nothing which was not due vnto them. Euen the lyke did they vnder Gideon, as wee haue before heard in the. viii. chap. But nowe are they moze insolent, for they would not be content with Jiphtahs defence. These Ephraimites also did the like when they instituted Ieroboam king, against the house of David. They which are infected with pride, doo euermoze endeavour themselves to be aboue other, and to excell them in dignify and other commodities. Cicero in his booke de Partionibus, sayth that Pride followeth the loftynes of the minde, in aduancing of his own thinges. They which are proude, are swelled like bodies that are puffed vp, which haue not sounde fleshe and synes, but consist of a vaine swelling. So the proude, although they excell not others in vertue, yet do they aduance themselves aboue them. The true noblenes of the mynde consisteth herein, that we should contemne thinges vile, and be occupied about those thinges, whych are in deede great thinges. But they that are proude haue not a noble minde, but a vayne, for they study not for true glozy, but for vaine glozy, wherefore they are iustly called vayne glorious. And they which are infected with this disease of the mynde, the same men are enuious, as Aristotle teacheth in his. 2. booke of Rethorikes, and he declareth that both the ambitious persons, and the vayne glorious are enuious. Which thing Paul also to the Galathians confirmeth, wher he saith: be not ye made desirous of vaine glozy, prouoking and enuying one an other. Enuy doo straightway spring sedicions. Wherefore by these two vices the Ephraimites fel into sedicion.

The Ephraimites were very proude

Cicero

Pride & noblenes of minde are compared together.

Aristotle

Aristotle

Vere gathered together. Not vndoubtedly by any order. For no lawfull Magistrate assembled them together, but they were tumultuouslye styred vp. And they passed ouer Northwarde. For they passed ouer Jordane, to inuade the Galaadites.

Of Sedicion.

At that of haughtines and pride doo arise sedicions, the Apostle in the. 2. to the Corin. the. xii. chap. very well declareth, οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχρολογία, where hee sayneth haughtines with sedicions. In what thng this vice chiefly consisteth, appeareth by the Code de sediciosis, in law. 1. where it is thus had: They are counted sedicions, which doo gather the people without anye certayne commaundement, and doo defende them against publike discipline. And also many thinges hereunto

Pride is joined with sedicions.

Cap. 12. A Commentarie vpon the

hereunto belonging, may be had out of the Digestes, ad l. Iuliam de vi publica. In summe, the chief is sedition, when by a tumult, they which are of one & the selfe same company and body, doo mete out of sundry partes, to fight together. This vice is in especial contrary to peace and civil concord. For in sedition there are manye partes of one people, and the vnity of Citizens is troubled and endangered.

Wherin the v-
nity of citizens
consisteth.
Augustine.

What company
may be called a
people.

But that we may know in what thing the vinity of the people consisteth, let vs geue eare vnto Augustine in his seconde booke De ciuitate dei, who in his xxi. chapter byngeth something out of the bookes of Cicero de Repub. that are woothy to be knowen, where Scipio thus speaketh: Those men called not euery company a people, but a company associated together by consent of the law, and communion of vility. Wherefore there are two bandes of the people, one is that they agree in the same lawes of thynges diuine and humane: the other is, that they haue among themselves a communion of publike vility. Whoso euer ryse vp agaynst these thynges, maye iustly be called sedicious. Suche tumultes when they happen for doctrines of religion, or Ecclesiasticall matters, are tooont to be called schismes. And they are moze grienous offenders in this wycked crime, namely of sedition, which first haue sowed the matter, the cause and seedes thereof, althoughe the other also which are adherentes vnto the authors thereof, are not vnguilt.

We are falsely
accused of the
Papistes as se-
dicious.

And although the people are two partes at the least, which runne together in a sedition with contrary mindes, yet are not both parties guiltie of sedition: but onely that part is to be accused of so great a wicked crime, whiche inuadeth the bondes of vinity, that is, common lawes and publike vility. But they which resist such troublesome men, are not to be counted sedicious, but good Citizens. And hereby it is manifest, how falsely we are accused of the Papistes as sedicious, when as in very deede we desyre to haue the lawes of Christian Religion, which haue bene enen from the beginning receaued by the wooorde of God, to remayne safe and perfecte: and we by all meanes procure to reedify the publike vility of eternall saluation, and of the woozshipping of God, which are on euery syde fallen in decay, which two thynges vndoubtedly, pertaine (as it is sayd) vnto good Citizens. But they haue to their power ouerthrowne these good thynges, and do continually hinder them. Wherefore they are iustly and woozthely both to be accused, and also to be condemned of sedition.

What are the
punishments of
sedicious per-
sons.

But with what punishmentes this wicked crime is to be punished, it is easily gathered, both out of the lawes of God, and the lawes of man. God punished Dathan and Abiran with the opening of the earth, vpon Core and his fellows he sent fyre, sometimes also he vsed the stinging of Serpentes, and at length for this wicked crime aboue al other of the number of the Israelites, which wer first hundred, thzee scoze and sixe thousand, when they came out of Egypt, there diminished so many in the space of .40. yeares, that two onely, namely Iosua and Chaleb entred into the land of Chanaan. Also by the iudgement of God Absolon came vnto an euyl ende, and Syba the sonne of Bichry, and Adonias, which moued sedition agaynst Dauid. But the Romanes, as farre as we can gather out of Liui and Plutarch, byd put to death the tenth man of sedicious Soldiours. The Ciuill lawes, as it is had in the Code, in the title De Sedicionibus, l. i. punisheth this wycked crime with extreme punishment, that isto saye, with cutting of the head: or if they had a respect vnto the dignity or condicion of the person, they that were sedicious, were somtymes hanged on a forke, and somtymes throwne to wyld beasts, or banished into an Ilande, as it is written in the Digestes, De penis, in the law Si quis aliquid.

The ingratis-
tude of the Ca-
tharites as-
gainst Iphthal

Wherefore nowe that wee haue byeflye shewed the causes of this trouble, some commocion, and haue defined the crime of sedition, and declared the grienousnesse thereof by the punishmentes, nowe lette vs see howe ingrate the Ephra

Ephramites were against Iiphtah. Hee, seeing he had excellentely well deserved of Israel, they ought undoubtedly by the lawe of iustice and honestye, to haue gone and met him, to haue soong songes of victoꝝ, and with great honour and prayles haue exalted and commended him. For as much as iustice and honestye do require this, that we should geue thanks vnto them, which haue bestowed benefites vpon vs. Nature followeth this order, that we shoulde conuert the effects into their causes, for as much as they haue their conseruacion and increase from thence, from whence they spring.

This therefore was due vnto Iiphtah, for as muche as he shoulde haue had either the highest place, or next vnto the highest, among those that had well deserved of the publike wealth. For first thou seest some, whiche when they bestowe benefites, haue onely a respect vnto them selues. So doo shepheards, neateherds and swineherdes, when they prouide pastour for their cattel, which they haue charge ouer: for there they hunt onely for their owne gayne and commoditie. Otherwise they haue no loue to Oren, shepe and swine. There be others which in doing good, haue a regarde both vnto themselves, and also vnto them whom they doo helpe. For the poore doo serue ryche men and Princes, partly because they loue them, and partly to get some commoditie at their handes. They are to be placed in the third degree, which doo in suche sorte bestow a benefite vpon any man, that they looke for no recompence of him. It oftentimes happeneth that when we see one in misery, we are touched with mercy, and we helpe him: which without doubt proceedeth of humanity. For as much as we are men, we thinke that nothing that is humane, but it pertayneth vnto vs. They are counted in the last and chiefest place, whiche benefite others euen with their owne griefe, hart, and losse. After which maner Christ did towarde vs: he redeemed mankind, with the losse of his owne lyfe. Vnto whom Iiphtah after a sorte is lyke, who brought the Israelites into liberty, & that to his great daunger, which he declareth by this sorte of speaking: I haue put my lyfe in my handes, that is, I haue not refused to endaunger my lyfe. Wherefore the Ephramites were most ingrate, towarde so great a benefite.

The degrees of benefites.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Iiphtah touched almost the chiefest degree of good beneficence.

The first place of ingrate men is, when they recompence not againe good thinges bestowed vpon them. The seconde is, when they praise not, neyther allow those thinges wel of good men, which are wel done vnto them. The thirde is of them which doo forget the benefites that they haue receaued. The fourth and worst of all is, when for benefites, injury and hurtes are rendred. After this maner the Ephramites behaued them selues towarde Iiphtah, who because hee had gotten the victoꝝ, would haue burnt him and all his. What other thyng is this, then to contemne both the benefites bestowed, and also the benefite geuen? But these men are most of all vngate, soasmuch as in so doing, neither are men onely or other creatures despised, but God himselfe is contemned. For whatsoeuer benefites we receaue of men, we haue them of God, which bleth the laboꝝ of men to relieue the miserable and afflicted. Wherefore they which are ingrate, are void of charity, aswel towarde God, as towarde men.

The degrees of ingrate men.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Whether benefites are to be withheld from the vnhankful

But thou wilt say: when men that bestow benefites, doo sometimes light vpon ingrate persons, what ought they to doo? Shal they straightway withhold their benefites from them? Undoubtedly they deserue this: but we must not so doo straightway, because men, by reason nature is corrupt, are slow, neither are they without difficulty moued to doo their duty. Wherefore we must go forward in wel doing: for he which is not moued to be thankfull with the first benefite, shal peradventure be stirred vpon with the second, third, fourth, or fifth. But if he altogether stycke in his ingratitude, we may iustly withhold from him our benefites, not moued therunto by hatred or desyre of reuengement, but that he may be corrected, and that he doo not continually reproche the benefites, which are the gifts of God. This thing doth God also, who by Hosea the Prophet sayth vnto

the

the vntthankful Hebrewes: I wyl gene vnto you a beauen of brasse, and an earth of yron. I wyl take awaye from you my wooll and my flaxe. &c. because ye haue made them Baals thinges.

Twoo kyndes
of benefites of
God.

Thou wilt aske perdanenture: why did Christ commaund vs, that we should be perfect like our heauenly father: which maketh his sunne to aryse as well vpon the euil, as vpon the good, and as it is wrytten in Luke. 6. chap. He is good to wardes the ingrate: I answer: That this sentence of the Lord, is not against the definition now declared. For God hath two kyndes of benefites. There are certayne which are pzyncipal, as the reuelacion of the Gospell, sayth, iustification, & lastly glorification or eternal lyfe. These he geueth onely to his. There are certayne other tempoꝛall and common gistes, whiche yet are in especiall geuen for the electes sake: but because without a miracle it is not possible that they shoulde come vnto the good, vnles the euil be also made partakers of them, therfore he geueth them as wel to the one as to the other. How shoulde a shewe be prohibyted, that it shoulde not moysten the fieldes of the wicked? God might doo it in deede: but yet not without a miracle. And soz as muche as he wyl not alwayes woork miracles, he wyl rather, that the vngodlye also shoulde bee partakers of these benefites, then that the good shoulde be destitute of commodities necessary for the lyfe. Kinges also doo not make euery Citizen a Ruler, a President, or other officer longing to a Magistrat, but onely them that are iust & wise: which thing if they doo not, they erecute not their office. But when they gene vnto their people lyberall gistes, or a banquet, or distribute cozne, because withoute great labour and grieve they cannot seperate the good Citizens from the euyl, therfore they bestow such thinges which are of this kinde, mixedly vpon al men, and chuse rather to deserue wel of euyl citizens, then to defraud the good of their liberalty, for whose sakes they are chiefly moued to be bountifull towarde the people. Let vs also imitate this, that when we bestow pzyuate thinges, although we light vpon one that is ingrate, let vs not straightway withdꝛawe from hym our humanity, but let vs behaue our selues in such maner, as we haue befoze declared, that if he stubburnly pꝛoccede to be ingrate, let vs at the length cease for his coꝛrection, to bestow any benefite vpon him. But such benefites as are common and publike, let vs continually bestow them, yea euen vpon y vngate, as we are of God commaunded, and let vs rather chuse to haue our good thynges distributed to godly and holy men, then to cease of from doing good, y the euyl shoulde not be made partakers of them.

A similitude.

How we shuld
behaue our sel-
ues toward the
ingrate.

But now let vs retorne vnto Liphtah, whom the Ephramites offended most grienously. First, he is accused of them, because he went to the battail and called not them. This seemeth to be the colour of their complaint, because people confederated together, ought not to take in hand any warre, befoze they haue called theyꝛ fellows, and made them of counsell. Liphtah purgeth himselfe of this false accusation, and sayth that they haue a false ground, because he called them, but they denyed to come. But these men when they saue that by iuste meanes they coulde not defende that whiche they objected, they pleade not againste him at the iudgement seate, neither by the order of law, but make a tumult, and sediciouly bzag of suche complaintes. And here we see the state of holy men sufficiently expessed, how they are alwayes wꝛapped with new troubles, so that they are almost no sooner passed out of one, but an other is at hand. But by the goodnes of God, euen that woorketh to good in vs: for we are so coꝛrupt and viciate, that when thinges go prosperously with vs, we are wonderfullye puffed vp, so that by our insolency we are made intollerable: which thing that it shoulde not happen, God bleseth agayne to exercise the elect with troubles, after that he hath graunted them some prosperity. Therfore let none of vs thinke, when we haue obtained any good successe, that straightway we must fight no moze. Yea rather wee must prouide that then chiefly we may euen weary God with prayers, whereby

The saintes are
alwayes wꝛap-
ped wꝛth new
troubles.

be

he may bring to a perfect and absolute ende, the good woorde that he hath already begone in vs.

We must also marke the wysdome of Iiphtah, how first he would proue all things, before he would take weapons against his brethren. First he maketh his Apologie, wherein he sayth that he did not rashly moue warre, but because there was a very grievous contention betwene him and the Ammonites, and that he was much oppressed by them, and therefore he could not abstayne from weapons. Farther, he denieth that he called them not. I cryed vnto you (sayth he) but when ye saued me not, I tooke in hande warre my selfe, to mine own great daunger. Wherefore he addeth, that God deliuered the Ammonites into his hands, which myght haue bene a token that God disallowed not his act. Which kinde of argument is in this place of force, for as much as he attempted no vniust thing: otherwyse there can bee no firme reason deriued of it, because God sometimes fauoureth the enterprises of the vngodly, by reason of his counsels, which are alwayes iust, but sometimes hidden from vs. Ieroboam the sonne of Nabat was by a sedicion created king ouer the ten Tribes, and obtayned that which with naughtie conscience he desired. NabuchadNezar also fought tyrannously and ambitiously agaynst the Hebrewes, and obtayned the victorie, when yet no man can allowe those doinges as godly, because of the successe of them.

The Ephramites were not content with this Apology. Wherefore Iiphtah fought against them, neither overcame he his enemies onely, but also followed the victorie, and that they shoulde not escape, he prevented them, and possessed the passages of Iordane.

He found out by a phrase of their speeche, who were Ephramites. They which would passe ouer, might peraduenture be either Rabenites or Gadites, or of half the tribe of Manasses. Wherefore least they shoulde be deceaued, he tryed them by experience of their tounge. Neither neede we to maruaile at the diuersity of pronunciation among the Hebrewes, when as euery nacion, althoughe they vse one common tounge, yet haue they some differences in diuers partes therof. All the Grecians spake Greke, and yet among them the Iones, Attici, Dares, Acoles, and such lyke, had some difference in their speaking, and that a notable difference. The Preneestines also which dwelt not farre from Rome (as we reade in Plautus) for Ciconia sounded Konia. In Italy also there are at this day very many differences of properties of speche. But it may be doubted wherof they shoulde come. Some answer that it cometh of custome, which is not sufficient inoughe: because we wil demanda againe why the first inhabitants of these places beganne so to speake or to talke. Wherefore there are other which being led by naturall reason, doo referre that diuersity vnto the ayre, water, and sundry aspecte of heauen. But we ascribe the beginning of this thing to haue bene from the building of the Tower of Babel. For in the booke of Genesis it is written, that the differences of tounge sprang thereof, which as they are perfect & very great betwene nacion and nacion, so are they found to haue begon in euery nacion.

Diuers properties of speche in one and the selfe same tounge.

From whence the diuersity of the properties in speche is.

They chosed this woorde Schiboleth, not rashly, but suche a one as made very muche for this present matter. For it signifyeth both an eare of corne, and also a passage of a Riuier, as it is written in the xxi. chapter of Esay. Wherefore when they were at the passages of Iordane, they put forth this woord, whereby they would proue whither the Ephramites shoulde passe ouer, which woord shoulde signifye the passage it selfe. They might in deede haue tryed the same in many other wordes, if they would: but they proued it in a woorde, whose significati- on was agreeable with the place.

Wherefore Iiphtah made ciuill war, but yet not vniust warre. For he had the sword, wherewith his duty was to punish not onely the enemies, but also the citizens, when they offend either against the lawes of man, or the lawes of God.

Althoughe war is not vniust.

God had geuen him the victory. The Ephramites contemned it. God would haue the Galaadites pertaining to Manasses to possesse y^e land: the Ephramites en- deuoured to disue them out from thence, and to destroye them. They inuaded their borders, they reproched them, and called them the runnagates of Ephra- im. As though they were to be counted as certayne fugitiue bondslaues, if they were compared with the moste noble Tribe of Ephraim. Or els they so called them, as though at some other tyme they had made warre, and they as fugi- tiues escaped out of the battayle. But in the holye Scripture there is no suche battayle founde.

The gift which was geuen vnto Jiphtah, could not be reuoked.

They also violated humane ryght and the lawes: for wth weapons they inuaded those that were condemned by no ryght, and they would take awaye the dominion ouer the Galaadites whych was geuen vnto Jiphtah. But gyftes can not be reuoked by anye humane ryght, vnlesse peraduenture there happen any ingratitude. But that Jiphtah was not ingrate, the benefites whiche he be- stowed on his, doo declare. Yea and also in the Digestes (De donacionibus, in the lawe last saue one, in the Paragraphe Si quis) it is hadde, that a gyft geuen vnto a man, so; that that he hath deliuered the geuer from theues, could not be reuoked not so; ingratitude, if any shoulde happen. But Jiphtah deliuered hys, not onely from theues, but also from moste greiuous enemies, from the Ammonites I say.

Wherefore the principall tye of hys Countrey being geuen hym, he coulde not iustly be spoyled of it. Whereunto thou mayest adde, that he was instituted a Judge by God. Wherefore he ought to defende both hym selfe and hys in pu- nishyng wycked men. Let vs in this place note the seuerie iudgement of God, vpon sedicious and ingrate persons.

7 And Jiphtah iudged Israel syre yeares: then dyed Jiphtah the Gileadite, and was buryed in the Cities of Gilead.

8 After hym Jibzan of Bethlehem iudged Israel.

9 And he had. xxx. sonnes, and. xxx. daughters, whych he sent out, and tooke. xxx. daughters from abroade for his sonnes. And he iud- ged Israel seuen yeares.

10 Then Jibzan dyed, and was buryed in Bethlehem.

11 And after hym Elon a Zebulonite iudged Israell, and he iud- ged Israel tenne yeares.

12 Then Elon the Zebulonite dyed, and was buryed in Aialon, in the lande of Zebulon.

13 After hym Abdon the sonne of Hillel the Pirathonite iudged Israel.

14 And he had. xl. sonnes, and. xxx. sonnes sonnes, that rode on. 70 Coltes. And he iudged Israel. viii. yeares.

15 Then died Abdon the sonne of Hillel the Pirathonite: and was buryed in Pirathon, in the lande of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amelachites.

The Hebrewes fable that Jiphtah for hys wycked crime, in kyllinge hys daughter, was so smytten of God that hys members rotted, and walked away. And that when he walked throughe the Cities of Gilead, he lost in euerye one of those Cities some part of his fleshe. And therefore it is not sayde that he was buryed in any one certayne place, but in the Cities of Gilead.

Other

Other say that he was very desirous of glory and renowne, and therefore he provided to have monumentes made for him in manye Cities of that Province. These are things frivolous and full of fables: which other Interpreters seeing, do thus expounde that some of speaking, that In the Cities of Gilead, is nothing els, then in some one certayn of the Cities of Gilead. But I thinke that it might be that the principal Citye of the Gileadites was so builde, that it seemed to be not one Citye, but many. Wherefore it myght bee sayde in the plurall number Cities. So in Hungary is a Citye called Quinque ecclesiar, whyche is fyve Cities, and Siracusa a Citye in Sicilia. So that Are Gilead was the proper name of one Citye.

After hym Iibzan iudged Israel. Some confecture that this man was that Boaz whych maryed Ruth: but that cannot be confirmed by any authoritie of the scripture. He had thirty sonnes, and thirty daughters. And that we shoulde perceiue that they remayned long on lyue, it is sayd that they were all by hym coupled in matrimony. This man is counted to be Boaz.

But because the actes of this Judge, and of the other twode, whych are afterwarde mencioned, were not (as it is to be thought) notable: therefore they are not spoken of. But this Judge was of the Tribe of Iuda, whych thyng Bethlehem bys Countrey declareth.

Elon, whych was Judge after hym tenn yeares, was of the Tribe of Zabulon.

Abdon the sonne of Hillel the Pirathonite, as the name of his countrey declareth, was an Ephramite, and he also was famous by his posterity: for he had fourtye sonnes, and of them thirtye Petieues. It is declared that they all came to ripe age, for it is sayde that they were all hoysmen, who (as it is to be thought) in ryding compassed the sydes of their father. Unles a great number of chyldren were an excellent gift of God, it shoulde not so diligently haue bene mencioned of in those places. God promised vnto his friend Abraham, that bys seede should be increased lyke the starres of heauen, and sand of the sea. To haue many Chyldren is an excellent gift of God.

David also syngeth: Thy wyfe shall bee lyke a fruitfull vyne in the sydes of thy house, and thy chyldren lyke Olyue bzaunches, rounde about thy table. Priamus also is renowned of the Poetes, because he had fysty chyldren. The Romanes made a lawe, called the lawe of thre Chyldren. For if anye at Rome had thre chyldren a lyue, they were excused from personall offices. Throughout Italy, to obtayne that liberty, foure were sufficient. But in a Province, fyue wer required, as it is in the Code, of those which haue deserued an excuse by the number of Chyldren, in the lawe de Personalibus, and Eos vero. The lawe of Chyldren among the Romanes.

But there are some whych doo hate plentiful fruite, because they haue no confidence in the goodnes of God, and doo dispaire that they shoulde be able to nozyshe them. And there are other whiche are infected with this wicked affection, because they desyre to auoyde the troubles of bynggng them vp, and are afrayde that they shall leaue their Chyldren beggers behynde them. But this thing happeneth vnto them, because they doo enyll esteeme the benefites of God, neyther vnderstande they what great honour and dignyty he geueth them, as often as they haue issue. They synne whiche hate a plentifull issue.

As God is the Father of men: so also would he haue men to be the Parentes of men, that they should vnderstande by the fatherlye loue or affection, what mynde and beneuolence God beares towarde vs. What is the dignyty of the Parentes.

1.



At the Children of Israel continued to commit wickednes in the syght of the Lorde, and the Lorde deliuered them into the handes of the Philistines fourtye yeares.

2 And ther was a mā in Zorah, of the family of the Danites, named Manoah, whose wyfe was barren, and bare not.

3 And the Angel of the Lord appeared vnto the woman, and sayd vnto her: Behold now thou art barren, and bearest not. But thou shalt conceaue, and beare a sonne.

4 And now therfore beware that thou drinke no wyne, nor strong drinke, neyther eate any vncleane thyng.

5 Bicause lo thou shalt conceaue and beare a sonne, and no rasoꝝ shall come on hys heade: foꝝ the Childe shall be a Nazarite vnto God from hys byrth, and he shall begyn to saue Israel out of the handes of the Philistines.

This affliction of the Israelites is longer then the other.

God afflicted the Israelites, and deliuered the to their enemies, bycause they returned to their old nature, and forgetting the Lord their God, woozthyped Idoles. And this affliction dured fourtye yeares. We reade of none longer then this. From the death of Abdon the last Judge, enen almost vnto Hely this affliction endured: bicause Samson did not fully deliuer the people. He in deede smote the Philistines, but he did not utterly repell them from oppressing of the Hebꝛues. This wooꝝde Zorah is a name of a place, and not of a samelye, as we shal after ward vnderstand, towarde the ende of the chapter.

The prophetic of Jacob as touching Samso.

Of the Tribe of Dan. The learnerer soꝝte doo to this place referre those thinges which are wꝛitten in the booke of Genesis the. 49. chapter. There Iacob when he was ready to dye, soꝝetolde what should happen vnto his children after long time. And when by oꝝder he came vnto Dan: Dan (sayth he) shall iudge hys people, and he shal be a Serpent in the way, and an Adder in the pathe, bytyng the hoxses heeles, so that his ryder shall fall backward. Foꝝ Samson after a soꝝte did byte the foote of the hoxse, when he onerthꝛew the pyller, that is, the foote of the parler, & laid the rider on the ground, that is, the company of the Philistines, with the fal of the wal. These thinges I therfore make mencion of, that it might appeare, that they were no small oꝝ bulgare thinges, when as Iacob so long time befoꝝe prophesied of them. Samson was of the Tribe of Dan, when as the next Judge befoꝝe him was of the tribe of Ephraim. God bled not at y tyme any oꝝdinary Magistrate, neither byd the Children succede the Parentes in this kynde of gouernment. There was no Judge vnto this tyme of the Tribe of Dan. And there was none of all the Judges, but onely Samson, whom God appoynted, and as it were published a Judge, befoꝝe he was boꝝne.

Onely Samso appoynted a Judge befoꝝe hys byrth.

Many excellent me boꝝne of barren mothers.

And hys name was Manoah, whose wyfe was barren. When God decreed to sende any notable and excellent man, he verpe often tymes styꝛed hym vp out of a barren woman, whiche thing also wee see came to passe in Samson, lykelyste in Samuel, and in Iohn Baptist, and in very many other, that it myght manifestly appeare to be altogether the wooꝝke of God. Barrennes among the Hebꝛues was a thyng ignominious: but God bycause he woulde declare, that of thynges most contemptible, he can bying soꝝth thinges excellent, hath very often tymes done after thys manner. And that faulte of barrennes was in thys place in the woman, and not in the man. Foꝝ sometymes it may be in both: but the

the scripture here pronounceth it of the woman, and not of the man.

He shall beginne (sayth he) to saue Israel. Here is signified that Samson should not fully deliuer the people: for Israel did not vnder him fight in bat- tle against theyr enemies: he alone assailed the, & sometimes greuously afflicted them. The Angell appeared vnto his mother a part, when her husband was away, and shewed her of the sonne which she should beare. Also the Angell appeared vnto Mary the mother of Christ when she was alone.

Iosephus in his booke of Antiquities addeth, that thys Manoah some- what suspected his wife: and thought that it was not an angell, but some man, & that his wifes chastity was assaulted, but eyther doubt was taken away, whe- as at the last when he made sacrifice, & angel vanished away in the flame. So Ioseph, whe he somewhat suspected Mary, herd of the Angell: Ioseph, he not aser- to take Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her, is of the holy ghost. God would haue his, not onely bozne lawfull, but also cleared from all suspicion. But in Samuel there could be no such suspicion: for when Hanna prayed softly, Heli the priest rebuked her, and counted her for a drunkard, who yet when he vnder- stood how diligently and earnestly she prayed at the tabernacle of the Lorde, he promised vnto her issue.

But here besides the promise of the sonne, is added also a precepte. For the Angell commaundeth her to abstaine from wine, and stronge drinke, and all thinge that might make her dronke. There is also a reason added: Bicause he shall be a Nazarite vnto the Lord. Wherefore the mother also is commaunded to ab- stayne from wine, stronge drinke, and euery vnclane thinge, that the childe should not be nourished with thynges vnlawefull, no not in the wombe of hys mother.

Of the vow of the Nazarites.

As touching the vow of the Nazarites it is manifestly set forth in the 6. of Numb: But those thinges whiche are there written, maye all be reduced to the summe of thre principall poyntes. The firste was, that they should drinke no wine, no stronge drinke, no any thinge that might make them dronke. An other was, that they should not pole theyr head: but all that time the Nazarite should let his heare grow. The thirde was, that they should not defile themselves with mour- ninge for buriales, no not at the death of theyr father or mother. These thinges were to be obserued, but not for euery, but onely for some certayne time. For he vowed to bee a Nazarite, but for certayne number of dayes, or monethes, or yeares.

But why did God institute these thynges? There may be many causes ge- nen. Firste, because menne were so prone to chuse vnto themselves certayne kindes of lyfe, whereby they mighte easely fall into superstition. Wherefore God would after this maner brydle them, as though he should haue sayd: Forasmuch as ye are so prone to your own studies, and to inuent newe woozshippings, yet shall ye not do what ye like your selues, but what I prescribe vnto you. And so geuinge vnto them the lawe of a Nazarite, he kepte them in doynge theyr dewtye.

But what mente these thinges? They ought to keepe theyr heare growinge till the ende of theyr vow. For then in offering sacrifice, and burninge the fleshe in fire, they did cut of the heare, and burned it in the same fire. And fro that time they were free and returned to theyr old manner of life, which was common al- so vnto other.

Some referre these thinges vnto an Allegoie, that when the heares were

Do. 31.

increas

increased, the Nazarites should consider, that vertues also oughte to increase in the minde. But we thinketh there may be an other cause rendred, namelye that men should abstayne from to much trimming and deckinge of the body. For the clipping of the eare much adozneth the body. For Paule sayth in his 1. Epistle to the Corinthians the. 11. Chapter, that to menne it is vncomelye if they let theyr beare growe. Although other reasons of other menne are not to bee contemned.

*Cyrius
Procopius.*

Cirillus and also Procopius vpon the booke of Numbers, say that these thinges were instituted of God, to reuoke men from the idolatrous woꝝshippinges and rites of the Ethnikes, that that which they gaue vnto idols, Jewes should geue vnto him. So also whereas they sacrificed vnto Idols, he would haue these men rather to sacrifice vnto himselfe, not that god so much regardeth sacrifices, but to wythdꝛawe them from idolatry. We reade that the Ethnikes sometimes suffered theyr beare to growe, that they mighte after ward consecrate it, ether vnto the Nymphes, or to Apollo. Wherefore Apollo was by them called *ἄρτορροφος* that is a nourisher of the beare. Dea and Theseus (as it is wꝛtten in Plutarke) went to Delphos there to dedicate his beare vnto Apollo. And children at Rome when they were paste childehode, offered theyr beare and beardes to some God. Sophocles wꝛteth that Orestes put his beare in the tombe of his father.

Plutarke.

Sophocles

There may also be an other cause rendred, and that not bayne. For the Nazarites ought alwayes to be pure, and although they were not of the tribe of Leui, yet they so behaued themselves all that time, as if they had bene priestes of the tribe of Leui. And the Leuites and priestes were prohibited in the. 21. chap. of Leuiticus from pollinge theyr head. Which thinge maye also be perceaued by the. 6. chapter of Baruch. Ye shall see (sayth he) priestes in Babilon with theyr heades shauen, and theyr garmentes cutte. And they were priestes of idoles. Wherefore we see that by the commaundment of God, the priestes of the Jewes had not theyr heades shauen.

*The priestes of
the Jewes
shaued not
theyr heades.*

In the booke of Numbers the 6. chapter, god calleth the beares of the heades crowne, or as other translate, it a seperatison. But contrariwise the Papistes call theyr shauing of the head a crowne: so do they peruerter all thinges as they like themselves. But what shoulde a man speake of them? They care not what they doo. They will haue lights and censing in the temples. If thou aske them why? Because say they God vied them in the olde testamente. But in the olde lawe priestes had wyues: these will haue none. They suffered the beares of their head or beard to grow: but these men haue both theyr head and beard. Although at this day there is a great contention among the about a long beard, because the counsell of Carthage in the. 44. chap. is sondry waies alledged. For in exaplers it is wꝛtten *Comam non nutrant nec barbā* that is, They shal not suffer theyr beare to growe, nor their beard, but in others it is red: *Nec barbā tondeant*, that is: They shall not clip theyr beard: whether of these two sentences will these men follow? For they will not suffer to haue a long beard, least any part (as they say) of the sacrifice should sticke in it. O holy me: they sei þ theyr sacrifice for thyr halfe pens, & then least it should sticke in the beard, they diligently prouide. Is not this to streyne at a gnat, & to swallow down a Camel? Howbeit some of them, leaste they should seme to do not very wisely nor with any reason: The cutting of (say they) of the beares, signifieth that a priest muste cutte of all superfluous thinges. This is the religion of these men, to haue the signes, when as they haue not the thinges signified. But I rather referre that shauinge of our papistes to softnes or wantonnes. For Suetonius in the life of Ocho sayth that he was wont oftentimes to shau his beard, and to behold his face in a glasse, whither it were trim enough. I wil not speake of other which did not haue the beares, but plucke the out

*Concilium Car
thaginense.*

*Why the sacri-
ficing papists
will haue no
beardes.*

Suetonius.

out, to haue the softer skinne.

The next thing was, that the Nazarites should abstayne from wyne, and not 2.
from wyne onely, but also from vineger, from grapes, and from strong drinke,
called Sibera. This Sibera (as Ierome writeth to Nepotianus) was a kind of drinke what Sibera
much like vnto wyne, which was made eyther of wheat, or of apples, or of dates, or
or els of other fruites. Farther they were prohibited to eat the huskes of grapes Ierome,
or kernels, which are taken out of the wine pesses. They wer also commaunded
not to drinke Mishereth, which was nothing els then the washing of the grapes.
For the wine being pessed out, there was water potized vpon the grapes that
were pessed, which when it was purified, retained som sauor of the wine. That
we call the second wine. But the Chaldee interpretation calleth Sibera old wine.
And it is manifest inough, why the Nazarites wer forbidden to drinke both wine
and strong drinke: for these thinges trouble the heade, and stirre men vp to lust,
as Salomon in his 20. chapter of Proverbs admonisheth, wine maketh a mocker,
and strong drinke a troublesome fellow, and whosoener is deceaued therby, shal
neuer be wise. Paule saythe also to the Ephesians the 5. chapter: Be not dronke
with wine, wherein is excesse: but be filled with the spzite. Farther the pesses
in the old law were prohibited to drinke wine befoze they came to holy seruices.
Wherefoze the Nazarites, soasmuch as they were like pesses, ought also to ab
stayne from wyne.

The thirde thing was, that they shoulde not defile themselves with any mour
ninge for the deade. For as we are with joy to muche lifted vp, so sometimes are
we greuously troubled with heauines and mourninge. But God woulde haue
his ministers to be voyde of affections, especiall ye of the beehementer affections,
when as by them men are moze greuously moued then is mete. Neyther yet wer
these obseruations merites, wherein they constituted righteousness, but they were
rites onely and exercises, whereby they shoulde after a sorte be kepte in doinge
theyr duty. For the vow of a Nazarite was a certayne seperacion from other me.
But what they did in the meane tyme, it is not prescribed: howbeit many thinke
that they were commaunded, to endeouour themselves to the contemplacion and
knowledge of the lawe, and to worshyppe and call vpon God purely and
sincerely.

It seemeth that god by this kind of vow woulde instruct the people with singuler
wisdomme. The Philosophers write that a manne muste contende, to be able
to beholde highe thinges, and wyth his knowledge to embrace whole nature.
And that they saye cannot neuer be done, vnles the affections in vs be tempered,
otherwise we are verry often caried a waye by anger and luste. Wherefoze God
woulde haue his to be voyd of these affections, namely of mourninge, pleasure, to
much care and veneration about the decking of the bodye. For these do not a litle
binder the tranquillity of the mind, and spirituall cogitations therof. Wherefoze
in the olde lawe he instituted in a manner to prepare his, that they shoulde not
come vnapt and vnmet to higher thinges. Andoubtedly they which are indew
ed with the knowledge of God, oughte to frame and prepare themselves, be
foze that they come to heare the woorde of God, or to receaue the Sacramentes.
Ieremy in his 4. Chapter hath very wel admonished vs: Breake vp your fallow
ground, and sow not among the thornes. And they vowed this kind of vow (as
we haue sayd) for a certayne tyme, either for a yeaere or for a moneth, or as euery
man thought it most profitable for himselfe: for the natures of menne are oftent
times chaunged, and the studies of piety do waxe feable. Wherefoze they oughte
by some meanes to be refreshed. Hereof sprange the departures of the El
ders, into solitary places for a tyme. So they wherbye gouerned the publike
wealt, when they were wery with matters, kept themselves close oftentimes

Cap. 13. A Commentary vpon the

In fieldes of manors, not to sleepe, or to geue themselves to sluggishnes and idlenes, but to refresh theyr myndes, and that they might returne the more prompt and better instructed to accomplish thinges. And the most noble Bethozicians being wearied with pleading causes of the law, went sometimes into the country, to heare, to talke, to reade somwhat, to peruse ouer the oracions before herd, and so by that meanes to returne more learned and ready to the place of iudgement: So the Nazarites for a certayne time departed from the compaignie and fellowship of other menne, that they mighte be the better and holier afterwarde to execute the duties of life. Chrysostome also in the nyghte tyme departed to the mountayne: But in the daye tyme he returned vnto the people. And when the Apostles returned, whom he hadde sente forth to preach, he led them a way for a little while into a deserte, that they mighte there be quiet, and refresh themselves.

The institucion
of Lent.

For this cause peradventure was Lent first instituted, that men which had all the yere bene occupied with ciuill businesse, might at the lease at that time renew piety. This is the pretence of the Papists.

But graunt that the thinge was at the first instituted for this cause, let them consider what it is now fallen to at the lengthe, vndoubtedly into mere superstition, whereby nothing els is obtruded vnto the people, then choise of meates, olde wyues fables, vngodly songs, and pilgrimages (whych they commonly call stations) very prophane and idolatrous. In the meane time there is no mencioun made for the abolishinge of couetousnesse, luste, lecherie, and other wicked actes. Farther, menne oughte by so longe a fast to haue bene made better, but they are made much worse after Easter.

Paul tooke vpon
him the vowe
of a Nazarite.

But to returne to the vowe of a Nazarite, Paule seemeth to haue vowed it, when as in the .18. chapter of the Actes of the Apostles, he poled his heade in Cenchre. And in the .21. chapter he was perswaded of the Cloers to doo it. There are here (say they) foure menne, whych haue a vowe: Thou shalt bee with them. Where the shauinge of the head declareth, that that vowe pertained vnto a Nazarite. For as it is wyrtten in the lawe, if it had happened that the Nazarite in the time of the vowe whych he hadde taken vpon hym, hadde despoiled hymselfe vpon the deade, or by anye other meanes, then the vowe was violated. And the Nazarite oughte to come vnto the Tabernacle, and to declare vnto the priestes what hadde happened, and to cutte of his heare, to offer sacrifice, and so to begynne the vowe of a Nazarite a newe agayne. For what soeuer he hadde before obserued, it was counted as despoiled and of no force. So Paule, as though he some thinge hadde happened vnto hym amonge the Gentiles where he had bene conuersant, woulde be purified in the Temple, as though he shoulde haue begonne the obseruation of his vow agayne.

A fayned tale of
the Monkes.

The Papistes crye that by this vow of the Nazarites, there was a certeyne shadowe at that tyme of theyr religious Monckery, neyther consider they that the vowes of the Nazarites were instituted by the woorde of God. Let them shew on theyr side the commaundement of God for monckery, which thing if they cannot do, then resteth there nothinge but that we may say, that the institutions of Monkes are not the vowes of Nazarites, but of superstitious men, and a certayne ridiculous imitation of an euill zeale of the olde vow of the Nazarites. So also in the olde tyme superstitious men, when they sawe that Abra-

Whereof began
drawing of chil-
dren throughe
the fyre.

ham would haue offered his sonne, and that for the same cause he pleased God very well: They also would nedes offer their sonnes, and draw them throughe the fyre. By whiche most wicked institution they greuously offended God. But such worshiping ought to leane vnto the woorde of God. In dede ciuill institutions, yea euen without the expresse woord of God, may be receaued, so that they be not agaynst

agaynst the woꝛde of God: but woꝛshipping and religion ought not to come fro any other thyng, but onely out of the woꝛd of God. But I pray you, let them tel, whence they haue that boꝛne of perpetuall sole life, oꝛ how can it agree with the Nazarites: First it is contrary to the creation of man, when as it was sayd vnto the first parentes: Increase and multiply. Farther, it is agaynst the oꝛacle, which Paul wrote: He whiche contayneth not, let him mary.

Agaynst the
boꝛne of religio-
ous men.

They boꝛne pouerty also. But what manner of pouerty: soꝛsoth to lyue of beggyng. A trimme boꝛne, to be maintayned with the labours of other men. Undoubtedly that is agaynst charite, when as Paul sayeth vnto the Ephesians: He whiche stole, let him steale no moꝛe, but let him laboꝛ rather with his handes, that he maye haue wherewithall to geue vnto hym that suffereth necessitye. But thou wilt say that of the Monkes ther are some which are riche. I graunt that, but they also do contrary to the woꝛd of god, wherein it is commanded: He whiche laboꝛeth not, let him not eate. Farther, they boꝛne obedience. But to whom: To certayne men, when as Paul expessedly writeth: Be not ye made seruautes of men. But they say: I am of Frances, I am of Dominike, I am of Benedi, where as Paul would not suffer that Christians should say: I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, and I of Cephas. Why then do they cry that they agree with the Nazarites: Let vs diligently examine euery thyng. The Nazarites shaued not the heare: but these men do shauie it. The Nazarites did drinke no wyne: but these men glot themselves with wyne. The Nazarites came not to funerals: but these men desire nothyng so much as the funerals and obsequies of the dead. But I will ouerpaſſe these things. One thing only wil I adde: Although in the Iewish religion the boꝛne of the Nazarites was the principall boꝛne, yet were they not soꝛbidden to mary. In other boꝛnes (sayth Origene) they gaue either a shepe, oꝛ a gote, oꝛ an oxe, oꝛ some other thing. But in this kynde of boꝛne, they offered themselves, and yet their state agreed well ynough with matrimony.

They agt
not but are con-
trary to the
Nazarites.

Origene.

But let vs retorne vnto Samson. He was a most strong young man. Who would haue thought that this could haue come to passe: The parentes were not commaunded to instruct hym in the arte of warfare, oꝛ to send him soꝛth to warre. A mā would thinke much rather, that he should be brought vp as a Monke, & not as a souldier. But God would thewe, that all the strength whiche should be in Samson, should be deriued from his spirite. But that he should be a Nazarite all his life tyme, as Samuel also was, it was peculiar, and aboue the common institution of others, by the deede I say and not by the ryght oꝛ boꝛne of the parentes. Samson ought to haue obeyed, although he had not boꝛned, bicause it was done by the woꝛd of god. Howbeit of Hanna the mother of Samuel it may be doubted, how it was lawfull soꝛ her to boꝛne soꝛ her sonne. For it may scarce seme iust that the sonne should be bound by the boꝛne of the parent. It was demaunded in the tyme of Benedi, whether the children offered by the parentes vnto monasteries, when they came vnto mans state, might mary. Gregorius Magnus to Augustine a Bpshoꝛ of England, aunswereth, that it is vtterly vnlawful. Whiche is a verye hard saying, and agaynst the woꝛd of god. For Paul sayth, it is better to mary then to burne. And he whiche can not conteyne, let him mary. In the counsell of Carthage the. 3. wherat Augustine also was present, it was decreed, that children offered vnto Church, when they came to mans estate, should either mary, oꝛ els boꝛne chastity. This also was rough ynough. For who should require this at y age, being vnskillfull of thinges, & not certayne of his owne strength: But these things I speake, that we might knowe that decrees are contrary to decrees. But to retorne to the matter, I saye that Hanna mought boꝛne soꝛ her sonne: soꝛ as touching the performinge of the boꝛne, as long as he was brought vp by his parentes, she might easely prouide, that he should not drinke any wyne, noꝛ cut of his heare, noꝛ be at any funerals. But after he came to lawfull age, it was Samuels duty to obserue these things, not in dede in respect of the boꝛne, but because of the

Whether it
was lawfull soꝛ
Hanna o boꝛne
soꝛ her sonne.

Gregorius.

Concilium Car-
thaginense.

she

The Rechabites.

Magister sententiarum.

The definition of a voewe.

How some are sayd to be sanctified fro the wo. nbe.

If the bove be against charity it is to be hypocrisis.

obedience whiche he ought vnto his parentes. For children ought to obey theyr parentes in all those thinges which are not agaynst piety & the word of God. So the Rechabites (as it is in *Jeremy*) whē they obeyed their father Ionadab, who commaunded them to drinke no wine all their lyfe tyme, or to dwel in Cities, were for the same cause praysed of God. Howbeit Hanna vnles she had had a peculiar inspiration from God, she could not haue voweled, that Samuel should all his lyfe tyme haue ministred at the tabernacle of the Lord: for as much as the law of god absolued mē fro the ministry at a certayne space of yeaeres, namely in 5. 50. yere.

But that which I haue sayd, that it was lawfull for Hanna to vowe the vowe of a Nazarite for her sonne, it seemeth not to be firme with y definition of a vowe, whiche is thus brought of the Master of the Sentences: A vowe is a testificatiō of a willing promise made vnto God, of thinges which pertayne vnto God. But a vowe whiche is voweled by the parent for the sonne, can not seme willing. Yea but it is: because the parentes voweled not being compelled, but of their owne fre will: farther, it is mete for the children to obey the will of their parentes freely & of their owne accord, especially when they commaunde no vngodly thyng, or contrary to the worde of God.

By this place some gather that Samson was sanctified in the wombe of his mother: whiche selfe same thyng is beleued both of *Jeremy* and also of *Iohn Baptiste*. And they will haue him so to be sanctified, that afterwarde he committed no mortal sinne, as they call it. But this is false and bayne. Neither to sanctifye in this place is anye thyng els, then to appointe one to the execution of some certayn worke. Samson therefore was sanctified, that is, appoynted of God to deliuer his people. So was *Jeremy* ordeyned to Prophecie. And *Iohn* to be the voyce of a crier in the wilderness. Neither of this kinde of sanctification doth it follow, that these holy men neuer sinned. For euery mā is a lyer, & also there is no mā sayth *Salomon* whiche sinneth not. Farther, what shal we say of Samson: Did he neuer sinne? He sel vndoubtedly, and that greuously. Paul also, who sayth to the Galathians that he was himselfe separated from his mothers wombe, and yet he persecuted the Church of God. Howouer the children also of Christians are called holy, for as muche as God is not our God onely, but also the God of our seede, according to that saying of Paul to the Corinthians: Your children are holy, who yet no man doubteth, but y they afterwarde fal and grievously sinne.

One thinge remaineth to be spoken of, and afterwarde I will returne vnto the history. When the father voweeth, and the sonne desireth to perfoyme y vowe of the father, what if the vowe be a gaynste the health of the sonne? He shal peradventure fal into some disease, and he must nedes drinke wine, or cut away his heare, what is to be done in this case? I haue in an other place admonished that the preceptes of god ar of diuers sortes, so that some ar greater, and some easier. As touching god whiche is the commaunder, all are equall and like one to an other. But as touching y thinges which are commaunded, there is some difference. Wherefore the lesse precept must geue place vnto the greater. For whiche cause *Christ* sayth by the wordes of the Prophet, I will haue mercy and not Sacrifice: not as though he vtterly contemned Sacrifices, whiche he had commaunded, but because he more esteemed mercy. And *Christ* also admonisheth in the Gospell in the 5. chapter of *Math.* that if thou offer thy gift at the alter, and there rememberest that thy brother hath somewhat agaynst thee, thou must go first and reconcile thy selfe vnto thy brother, and then returne, and offer thy gift. Whereby he declareth that he altogether wil haue the les precepte geue place vnto the greater. Wherefore we must thus aunswere vnto the question. God commaundeth the Nazarites to absteyne from wine: he also commaundeth euery man to defend his life by good meanes. Here when as the sicke man can not preferue both the preceptes, it is necessary that he preferre the greater befoze the les. For so dyd the Rechabites the sonnes of Ionadab behaue themselves. For althoughe theyr father

com

commanded them, that they should not dwell in Cities, neither drinke any wine, and were also commended of God, because they obeyed the preceptes of their father, yet at that tyme when Ieremy wrote these thinges of them, they dwelled at Ierusalem, contrary to the precept of their father. For the Chaldeyans had wasted all the fieldes. Wherefore they perceived that there was then no place for their fathers precept. But in monasteries they doo contrarily. For if the father be sicke, the sonne is so bound by religion, that he can by no meanes helpe him.

6 And the wife came, and tolde her husband saying: A man of God came vnto me, and the looke of hym was lyke the looke of an Angell of God very terrible, and I asked hym not whence he was: neither tolde he me his name.

7 And he sayde vnto me: Beholde thou shalt conceaue and beare a sonne. Now therefore thou shalt drinke no wine nor stronge drinke, neyther eate any vncleane thyng: for the chyld shall be a Nazarite to God from his birth, to the day of his death.

8 Then Manoah prayed vnto the Lord, and sayd: I praye thee my Lord let the man of God whom thou senttest, come agayne vnto vs and teache vs what we shall do vnto the chyld when he is borne.

9 And God hearde the voyce of Manoah. For the Angell of the Lord came agayne vnto the wife, as she sat in the fiede, but Manoah her husbände was not with her.

10 And the wife made hast and ranne, and shewed her husbände, saying vnto hym: Beholde the man hath appeared vnto me, that came vnto me to daye.

11 And Manoah arose and went after hys wyfe, and came to the man, and sayd vnto him: Art thou the manne that spakest vnto the woman? And he sayd: Yea.

12 Then Manoah sayd: Nowe let thy saying come to passe. But what shall be the iudgement of the chyld, and his worke?

13 The angell of the Lord answered vnto Manoah: The woman must beware of all that I sayd vnto her.

14 She may eate of nothyng that cometh of the wine vine tree, that is, she shall drinke no wine nor stronge drinke, nor eate any vncleane thyng: let her obserue all that I haue commaunded her.

The woman thought that it had bene some godly man whom she had sent, or a Prophet: for she knew not that it was the angell of God. His looke (saith she) was terrible. The Hebrew word is ambiguous: for it may be turned both terrible and wonderfull. And vndoubtedly the thinges whiche are wonderful, especially deuine thinges, doo strike into men a feare. She saythfully sheweth vnto her husband these thinges, and both the duty of a good wife, for Matrimony is an vnseperable society, hauing the communion both of thynges deuine & humane. And this matter pertayned partly to thinges deuine, because it was shewed in the name of God, and partly vnto humane thynges, because it was a matter as touchyng the receauyng and education of a chyld.

What matris
mony is.

She sayth, she asked him not whence he was: because in such visions men are so amazed, that they are attentive onely vnto the thynges which are spoken, neither haue they any leasure to enquire of moze thinges. So the mother of the Lord, when the Angell saluted her, asked hym not what his name was, or from whence he came. Gideon also when he receaued the oracle of the Angell, for the

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the deliuering of the people, was altogether so astonished, that he was nothing inquisitiue, what his name was. But the woman speaketh these thynges by anticipation: for she thought that her husbande would heare, and inquire of hym the truth. Although Iosephus in hys booke de Antiquitatibus (as I haue befoze admonished) sayeth, that when he hearde the wordes of his wife, he somewhat suspected her of euill. Nowt Ambrose in hys 70. Epistle, where he very diligently entreateth of this Hypocrite, denieth that to be very lykely. For if (sayeth he) he had ben gelious, God would not haue sent an aungell vnto hym. But methinketh Ambroses reason is not firme. For Manoah might otherwise be a good man, although he were touched with suspition. Very good men also haue oftentimes some suspition of such thynges. For euen Ioseph the husband of Mary, whos the holy Scripture testifieth that he was a iust man, somewhat sinisterly suspected hys Spouse, to whom yet the Aungell appeared.

Ambrose.

*The cause of
the lawe of ge-
louise.*

Wherefoze I rather beleue that Manoah, was eyther altogether without gelousie, or elles not very muche gelous. For he accused her not abroade, he repudiated her not, neither vsed he the publique remedy of the lawe: For then was in force that lawe whiche was geuen by God, that if a manne suspected his wife of aduoutry, he should bring her to the doore of the tabernacle, where the Priest should searche out the honestie of the woman by solemne waters, and by a bitter curse. For God would that maried folkes should lyue together with a mery, quiet, and not suspicious mynde. But Manoah dyd not onely not vse these remedies: but also he by no meanes rebuked his wyfe. But straightwaie prayed vnto the Lorde, that that man of God would returne the seconde tyme, wherby he myght vnderstand, how the childe should be brought vp. Neither dyd he tempt god by hys prayers. In deede no man ought to desire a signe, & he may beleue the articles of fayth. For those thynges whiche are contayned in them, are already befoze sufficiently proued and confirmed by the word of God, and by miracles. But if there happen any newe and singular reuelation, because there may bee deceates and guiles of deuilles, who transfoyme themselves (yea euen into the aungelles of lycht) if we require a signe of the Lorde or instruction, we sinne not. What a baren woman shoulde beare, or that a childe shoulde set the people at liberty, it was a certayne singular thyng. Wherefoze Manoah prayeth for nothing curiously, and therfoze God heard hym. He afterwarde demaunded the name of the aungel, but because he demaunded it curiously, he was not hearde.

The aungell came agayne vnto the woman the selfe same daye, as all interpreters doo agree. And vndoubtedly it might be, that first he came in the morning, and the second tyme, either at noone, or about the sunne set. Manoah asked, Whether he were the manne whiche spake with hys wife: whiche thing wher he affirmed vnto hym, he sayde: Let thy sayinge come to passe. It maye be an oration of one that wisheth, as if he shoulde haue sayde: I woulde to God it myght come to passe. Or it maye be supposition, as if it shoulde haue bene sayde: If it come to passe as thou haste sayde, What then shalbe the iudgement of the childe? When he saith iudgement, he asketh not Counsel of Astronomers, which aunswere by the starres, what shall come to passe of a childe. He onely demaundeth what God had decreed of the childe. Neither ought the decree of God wherof he inquireth, to be referred vnto the merites of the childe, but onely vnto the mercye of God. For Mischpat is very well turned a decree, for a decree is of mercye and not of merite. The Aungell repeateth vnto hym all those thynges, whiche he had befoze commaunded the woman to take heed of. She maye not eate (sayeth he) of any thyng that commeth of the wyne grape. These wordes declare, that there are also other kyndes of vyne, out of whiche is not gathered wyne. But when the Aungell sayeth: Neyther shall she drynke wyne

*Certaine wine
trees beare not
wine.*

wine, nor stronge drinke, bys aunswere seemeth not to make muche to the purpose. Manoah demaundeth of the childe, and the aungell aunswereth of the mother. But it is all one, as if he had sayd: That whiche I haue sayd of the mother, I haue sayd it bycause of the childe: Wherefore sayng god wyll haue the mother obserue these thynges, muche moze ought the childe to keepe the selfe same things. Wherbeit the comon translation (I ca not tell how) referreth these things vnto the childe, but yet not rightly: bycause in the Hebrewe the feminine gender is kepte still. Augustine is his questions vpon this booke demaundeth, why the mother is commanded to absteyne from all vncleane thynges, when as that was already before sufficiently forbidden by the lawe of God: He aunswereth: After that the Philistines possessed that lande, Religion among the Jewes was feabled, and the people did without choise eate thyngs vncleane and forbidden by the lawe. By these wordes Manoah easely perceaued that his wife did rightly vnderstande the wordes of the angell, and that the child should be a Nazarite as longe as he lyued.

Augustine

15 And Manoah sayd vnto the aungell of the Lorde: I praye thee let vs retayne thee, and we will make ready a kid for thee.

16 And the angell of the Lorde aunswered vnto Manoah: Though thou make me abyde, I will not eate of thy bread: and if thou wilt make a burnt offering, offer it vnto the Lorde: for Manoah knewe not that it was an aungell of the Lorde.

17 Agayne Manoah sayde vnto the Aungell of the Lorde: What is thy name, that whē thy saying is come to passe we may honor thee?

18 And the aungell of the Lorde aunswered hym: Why askest thou thus after my name, whiche is secret?

19 Then Manoah tooke a kid and an oblation, and offered it vpon a stone vnto the Lorde. And he wrought a miracle whilest Manoah and bys wife looked on.

20 For when the flame came vp toward heauen from the alter, the aungell of the Lorde ascended vp in the flame of the alter. And Manoah and his wife beheld it, and fell on their faces to the ground.

21 So the aungell of the Lorde did no more appeare vnto Manoah and bys wyfe. Then Manoah knewe that it was an aungell of the Lorde.

Whē they had heard these wordes, they would haue retayned this mā of god, & haue made him a banquet. Vnto whom he aunswereth: Although ye make me to abide, yet will I not eate of your bread. This Hebrewe worde Lechē signifieth not onely bread, but sometymes meate in vniuersall, yea & sometymes flesh also. Hereof was inuented y subtilty of y Papistes: to whō when we say, y the bread remaineth in y Eucharist, & proue it by y which Paul writeth: The bread which we bzeake, is it not y communicating of y body of Chyist? They answered: y bread in that place may signifie fleshe, as it doth oftē tymes in the holy scriptures. But they ought to remember y Paul wrote these wordes in Greke & not in Hebrewe. But Ατρος y is, bread in Greke, ca not signify flesh, as Lechem may in Hebrewe. Farther in the holy supper the flesh of Chyist is not broken, but they are simboles or signes whiche are broken.

VVe will make a Kid. So some reade it, and doo thynke that to make, is in this place nothyng els then to sacrifice. Peradventure Manoah thought that that aungell was a Priest. And in peace offerings one parte was burnt vnto God, an other parte was geuen vnto the Priest, the thirde parte they dyd

Sondy res dyng.

pp. i.

eate

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eate which offered the sacrifice, and so they banqueted together before the Lord. Wherefore they would entertayne the Angel with a banquet. But other rede in this place, not to make, but simply to prepare.

If thou wilt make a burnt offering, offer it vnto the Lord. He declared that he looked not for a banquet, because in burnt offerings, all things were consumed with fire. But in what he saith: Sacrifice it vnto the Lord, he putteth him in remembrance of the true God: because the people at that tyme worshipped the Gods of the gentiles. The Papistes cry that to make, is to sacrifice: & that this word Facere, that is to do or to make, is properly applied vnto sacrifices. And thereby they labour to prove, that their Masse is a sacrifice, because Christ sayd in the Supper, Hoc facite, that is, do or make this, which they thinke is nothing els, the sacrifice this. Neither do they cite these places onely, but also very many other, which are founde in the olde testament. They say also that the Latin Poetes vsed this word after this maner, as Virgil when he sayd: When I make a calfe for cozne, come thou. Amitte it be so. But how shall we vnderstand the certayne signification or strength of this word as ofte as it cometh? And what shal it signifie this, &

The follynes of Papistes, whereby they affirme that Masse is a sacrifice.

Virgil.

From whence significatiōs of wordes ought to be gathered.

when that? For otherwise to make a garment, shalbe to sacrifice a garment, and to make a fire, shalbe to sacrifice a fire: if that word as oft as it cometh shal signify to sacrifice, vndoubtedly what word signifieth may be easily be vnderstand by the thyng it selfe, and circumstances of the place, as that in Virgil which they haue alledged, where it is read: When I make a calfe, it is certayne that there is mention made of harnesse sacrifices. And so it oftentimes happeneth in the olde Testament. But in the supper, what was it that Christ would sacrifice? what oblation? what bloud? Take (saith he,) eate, drinke. Do this which I haue sayd, namely to eate and drinke, for a remembrance & monument of my death. But the Papistes bring forth these vayne & frivolous things, because they haue no better, as they which haue no wood vse to burne strawe.

Whether it were lawfull to sacrifice in any other place, besides the tabernacle.

But to returne vnto the Hystory, this semeth wonderful, when as the law comendeth that sacrifice should be done but onely in the place which the Lord had chosen, how it should be lawfull for Manoa to sacrifice at his own house. David Kimhi answereth, that this was done by the authority of the man of God, by a certayne extraordinary meane. For Elias also sacrificed when he was among the ten tribes, & is, in the kingdome of Samaria. But those things he saith were peculiar, neither might they be drawen into an example of others. But I thinke & whilst the arke of the Lord was yet wandring, & whilst it had not yet founde any certayne place, & precept of the Lord had not yet his full strength. For thus the Lord had commanded, after that I shall bring you into the lande which I haue promised you, ye shall not sacrifice vnto me, but in what place which I will shew vnto you. Wherefore although before it was permitted to sacrifice any other where, yet after what Salomon had built the temple, it was not lawfull to offer out of it: wherefore the high places were to be take away, & they should sacrifice no where but at Ierusalem. But of all the kings, onely Iosias & Ezechias toke away the high places: so hard a thing was it to leade the people to the true obedience of God. But Elias was moued by a certayne peculiar inspiration of God to sacrifice other where.

Manoa demaundeth after the name of the Angel, neyther dyd he that so simply as bys wyfe dyd. But that he should not be thought to demaund it curiously, or without a cause, he addeth a reason of his request. That if that come to passe which thou hast sayd, we may honour thee, that is with some reward. But I can not recompence thee, vnles I know who thou art, & where thou dwellest. This Hebrew word Peli is ambiguous to the Hebrewes, & signifieth both wonderful, and also secrete. R. Salomon sayeth that the names of angels are secrete, so that they themselves knowe not their owne names. And he addeth also that the Angells haue no names of their owne, but onely haue surnames given them.

R. Salomon. Angels are named of those things which they worke.

them of those thynges whiche they are sent to take charge ouer. Whiche thyng also the Epistle to the Hebrewes toucheth, when it calleth them ministryng spirittes. R. Salomon byngeth examples out of the holy Scriptures. An Angell was sent vnto Esaye, and bycause he dyd put a burnyng coale to his lippes, he was called Seraphim, of this verbe Seraph, whiche signifieth to burne. So maye we saye of Raphaell, that he was so called, bycause he had healed Tobias, as though he were the medicine of G D D. Gabriell also, after the same manner, was called the strength of G D D. Also this woorde Peli signifieth wonderfull: for therfore came the Angell, to woorde a miracle. And vndoubtedly it was very wonderfull, to byng fire out of a rocke, whiche shoulde consume the sacrifice. And it may bee y the Angell would not open his name, bycause menne at that tyme were prone vnto Idolatrye, and they would easely, when they had hearde the name of an Angell, peradventure haue woordshipped it to muche religiously.

That which we haue called an oblation, in Hebrew it is Minchah. But what manner of oblation that was, is vnderstoode by the. 2. chapter of Leuit. There wer diuers kindes therof, but it euer consisted of cozne, but yet not alwayes prepared after one manner, & it was so offered, that some part of it was burnt vnto the Lord, the other part was left for the Priestes. The Papists babble that Minchah was a shadowe of their bread sacrifice, whiche thinge they haue sayned most impudently. But hereof we will intreate in an other place.

Manoah layd the Kid and Minchah vpon the rocke. Manoah myght not sacrifice vnto the Lord by the lawe, bycause he came of the tribe of Dan, and not of the tribe of Levi. Wherefore he deliuered the fleshe vnto the angell, whom he thought to be a Prophet, that he should sacrifice it. For Prophetes had an extraordinary vocation, that althoughe they were not of the samely of Aaron, yet it was lawfull for them to sacrifice: as we rede of Helias and Helizeus. For whē religio was decayed in y Priestes, god suffered others to minister their office. But the angell, when the fleshe was put vpon the rocke, wrought wonderfully. He rayled vp fire out of the stone, whiche consumed the offering. Whiche thing we rede also was done in Gideon. Althoughe it be not herein expessedly shewed that fire was drawen out of the rocke, as it was openly sayd in Gideon, yet is no mention made of fire y was brought by Manoah, & at the last it is sayd that the angell vanished away in y flame, therfore it is credible y fire was stricken out of y stone. The angell ascended into heauen, as though he vled the flame for a chariot. He dissolued the body whiche he bare, and vanished away into the flambe: whiche was a notable miracle. They fell to the ground for feare: for they were wonderfully amased and astonished, when they saue that it was an angell, whom befoze they thought to haue ben a man.

22 And Manoah sayd vnto his wife: We shall surely dye, bycause we haue sene God.

23 But his wife sayde vnto hym: If the Lord would kill vs, he woulde not haue receaued a burnt offering and an oblation of our handes, neither would he haue shewed vs all these thynges, nor at this tyme told vs such thynges.

24 And the wife bare a sonne, and called his name Samson. And the childe grewe, and the Lord blessed hym.

25 And the spirite of the Lord began to strengthen hym, in the host of Dan, betwene Zorah and Eshtaol.

In dyeng we shall dye. That is, we shall most assuredly dye. For the Hebrewes in doubtyng the woordes doo earnestly affirme.

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Bycause

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The opinⁿ of
R. Levi ben
Gerson.

Of the name of
Elohim.

Bycause we haue sene the Lord. Whereof this opinion spring, I haue tolde in the Hystory of Gideon, where also I haue declared, how God was sene of the fathers. Wherefore it needeth not to repeate them in this place. But this will I not ouerpasse, that R. Levi ben Gerson writeth, that this was not an aungell, but a man of god, and a Prophet, namely Pinhas the sonne of Eleazar. But he was called angel bycause Manoa and his wife thought hym to be so. For after the same maner Ezras, although he was a man, yet was he called an aungell. And Christe whiche is very man, is called the aungell of the Testament. But how he being a man banished aways in the flambe, Levi ben Gerson declareth not. But I more simply doo iudge him to haue ben an aungell in dede. For Pinhas had not a secret name, but a name well knowen in his tyme, and the wordes of the texte do tend to this, to teache that it was an aungell. VVe haue sene the Lord. In Hebrew it is Elohim, which although it be the name of God, yet is it communicated to aungelles, yea and also to prynces and Prophetes, accordyng to that saying: I haue sayde, ye are Goddes. And Christe in the Gospell sayeth: If they are called Goddes, vnto whome is come the woorde of God, why doo ye meruaile &c?

This woman seemeth to be of a stouter courage then the man: for she comforteth her husband. Whose Dilation is grounded vpon two argumentes. The first is, I do not thinke we shall dye, bycause God would not haue accepted our sacrifice, if he would haue destroyed vs. Wherefore sayng our sacrifice was acceptable vnto him, he counteth not vs as enemies. But whereby knew she that that sacrifice was acceptable vnto God. Firste, bycause the Aungell had commaunded it to be done, which vndoubtedly he would not haue don, vnles he had vnderstoode that it should be acceptable vnto God. Farther, bycause the flambe had consumed the sacrifice, and the angel therewithall flew away, as though he caried by the sacrifice with him into heauē. An other argument is: He would not haue taught vs so many and such thyngs, if we should perishe. He came vnto vs once or twise, and instructed vs of thynges whiche we should doo. Wherefore be of good comforte, we shall not dye.

Of Sacrifice.

The offerer is
more accepta-
ble vnto God
then the Sa-
crifice.

Irenaus.

Vndoubtedly the womans argumentes are good: out of whiche may some thynges be gathered, whiche are not vnprofitable. And firste that God more accepteth hym that offereth, then he doth the sacrifice: yea the oblations please not hym, but for the offerers sake. This sentence Irenaus proueth by the scriptures in his fourth booke, and. 34. chapter. For God had a regarde vnto Abel, and to his giftes, but vnto Cain and his giftes he looked not, bycause of the disposition of them that offered. For looke what manner of will he that offereth hath towarde God, the lyke will hath God to the oblation. Christ also sayth: If thou bring thy gifte vnto the altar, and remembrest that thy brother hath somewhat agaynst thee, go and reconcile thee first vnto thy brother: and then come and offer thy gifte. As though he should say: If whylest thou art euill, and enemy vnto god, thou doest offer, thyne oblation shall not be acceptable vnto God. Wherefore Irenaus concludeth, that they are not sacrifices whiche sanctify, but the conscience of him that offereth. And he addeth a reason: bycause God needeth not our sacrifice. Among men, the euill may oftentymes be absolved: bycause men are sometimes couetous and nevy, and are easely wonne with money. But if it happen the Judge to be both iuste and good, he will reiecte the money, neither wyl he suffer his equity after that manner to be blotted. So God, bycause he can not be wonne by flattery, obserueth the mindes of men, and not the sacrifices. In Esay the. 66. chapter, he sayth: He that sacrificeth a shepe, is as if he flew a dog: not that god hateth sacrifices in vniuersal, but bycause he alloweth not obla-
ons

ons of euill men. I haue the largelier spoken thinges, because the papistes boast, that in masses they offer Christ vnto God the father: which thinge if it should be graunted, then must god the father moze esteeme a noughty sacrificer, then he doth his sonne. But this woman reasoneth most wittely. God hath receaued our sacrifice, therfore he is not angry, neyther will he destroy vs.

We count the sacrifices of christians to be a contryte heart, prayers, geuinge of thanks, almes, mortifieng the affections of the fleshe, and suche like. These are lefte vnto vs after the abzogation of the carnall sacrifices, that wee shoulde offer them as the frutes of our saythe, and testimonies of a thankfull minde. But as touching the pacifieng of God, Christe offered himselfe once vpon the crosse, neither is there any nede that any man should offer him againe. For by an oblation he accomplished al thinges. Now remayneth, that we embrace his sacrifice with saythe, and we shall haue God mercifull vnto vs, who of his goodness will by Christ accept those sacrifices which we haue now made mencion of. But Augustine contra literas Parmeniani, in his. 2. booke and. 8. chapter seemeth at the fyrst sight to make agaynst vs. For the Donatistes woulde not communicate with the other Christians, because they counted them defiled and vnpure, and they cited a place out of Iohn: Wee knowe that God heareth not sinners. Your men, sayd they, haue betrayed the holpe booke, haue burnt incense vnto ydoles, haue denied god, how then wil god heare them? Augustine aunswereth, that it may be, that an euill minister, although he be not heard for his owne cause, yet when he prayeth for the people, he maye be heard. And he confirmeth his sentece by the example of Balaam: for he being a most wicked man, prayed vnto god and was heard. But if a man diligently examine these thinges, he shall finde that Augustine is not agaynst vs, although at the first sight he seemeth a litle to presse vs.

When he had sayde that the euill ministers also are heard, hee straighthe way addeth, that y is not done for their wickednes sake, but because of the saythe and deuotion of the people, whereby wee gather, that although the minister be the guide in wordes, yet are they not his prayers, but the prayers of the Church. For there muste bee one certayne manne, whiche maye conceaue the prayers for the reste, leaste in the multitude shoulde rise a confusion or tumulte, if euerye manne shoulde by his owne wordes poure out prayers aloude in the Church. Wherefore the minister is a certayn mouth of the church. Therefore if he bee euill, it is not he which is heard, but the saythfull people, which speake by his wordes. This thinge taughte Augustine when he writeth that an euill minister is heard, not for his wickednes, but for the saythe and deuotion of the people. Hereby are we admonished, that whilist we are present at publike prayers, wee muste take verrye diligente heede, and determine that those prayers whiche are recited, are ours. But Balaam by a certayne forme of prayer prophesied, and therefore his wordes are called a blessinge, because he prophesied happye thinges vnto the people of god. And hee was not moued vnto these prayers of his owne will, but by the spzite of god. Wherefore hee was not heard; but the holpe gholste was the true authour of his wordes.

What whiche is alledged out of Iohn: God heareth not sinners, Augustine sayth that that was not the saying of Christ, but of the blind mā which was not yet fully illustrate. Wherefore he affirmeth that sentence not to be true in vniuersal. For (as they define) the prayers of peruerse ministers are sometimes hard, because they are of the church. But as touching the oblation of Christ, I do not think that the papists wil graunt, y the whole church offereth it, whē as they wil

haue that to be peculiar to the massemongers. And though they should graunte that, yet is not the whole Church greater or more acceptable vnto god, then Christ: because he is not acceptable vnto god for the churches sake, but the church is acceptable vnto god for Christs sake. But to returne to the saying of Iohn, that God heareth not sinners, addinge a profitable distinction, we maye thus expound it. There are some sinners whiche fall of weakenes, or sinne of ignorance, which yet after ward acknowledge themselves, are sorry, and repent saythfully. But there are other, which sinne without conscience, want sayth, neither are they led with anye repentance. The first sorte, because they haue sayth, are heard, the other, soasmuch as they want sayth, do in vayne poure out theyr prayers. But if a man will obiecte the Publicane, who beinge a sinner, prayed vnto god and departed iustified. I answer, that that publicane was in suche sorte a sinner, that yet when he prayed, he was not without sayth, yea rather he prayed with sayth, otherwise god would not haue heard his prayers. And vndoubtedly Iames doth right wel admonish vs, when he sayth: Pray, hauing faith. In sum, that sentence is firme and perfecte wherein it is sayde: whatsoeuer is offred vnto God for a sacrifice, the same is acceptable vnto him, if sayth and iustification of him that offreth, go before.

A distinction of sinners.

What manner of one the publicane was when he prayed.

A verpe subtle caualacion.

Plato.

Some do caule of the first acte of sayth, whereby we begynne first to assente vnto god, and they doubt, whether it be acceptable vnto god or no. Vndoubtedly before it, he is an enemy, which now beginneth to beleue. When say they, if that first consente be acceptable vnto God, then accepteth he the gifte of an enemy. But if it be not acceptable, then it iustifieth not. To this I answer two wayes: First that men are not iustified of the worthynesse of the acte of sayth, but of the firme promise of god, which faith embraceth. Farther, when any man first assenteth, and beleueth, then is he first made of an enemy a friende, and although before he was an enemy, yet so sone as he beleueth, he is made a friend, and ceaseth to be an enemy. But that which we haue before concluded, that he which offreth is more acceptable vnto God, then the gift, the Ethnikes also saue. For Plato in Alcibiade maketh mencion, that the Athenienses vpon a time made war againste the Lacedemonians, and when they were overcome, they sente messengers vnto Iupiter Ammon, by whom they sayd that they maruelled for what cause, where as they hadde offred so greate giftes vnto the Goddes, and theyr enemies on the contrary side sacrificed sparingly and slenderly, and yet had they the victorie ouer them. Ammon answered, that the gods more esteemed the prayers of the Lacedemonians, then the moste fatte sacrifices of the Athenienses. For when they burnt Oren vnto theyr Gods, in the meane time they thought nothinge of theyr soules. So in Homere Iupiter speaketh, that the Gods are not moued with the smoke and smel of sacrifices, whenas they hated Priamus and the Troyanes. Wherefore the Ethnikes understoode, that which the Papists at this day see not, which thynke that theyr blinde sacrificer, though he be neuer so vnpure and vngodly, doth yet with his hands, offer vp Christ vnto god the father.

Now let vs see the other argument of this woman. God would neuer haue shewed vs these thinges, if he would haue killed vs: Forasmuche as hee is not wont to make his enemies of his coucel. Thus the wise of Manah comfoteth her fearefull husband. But this argument seemeth some what obscure, when as Balaam, although he were vngodly, was not ignorant of the Counelles of God. Christ also sayth: Panpe shall saye vnto mee in that daye, haue wee not prophesied in thy name? Of these thynges I answer, that God didd not onely foietell vnto them thynges that should come

come to passe for the deliuerie of the people, but also of the childe whiche they should receaue, and of his education. **W**heresoe saying he bled them as fellowe woorkemen, it was a certayne argument, that god had not appointed straghte way to kyll them. **P**eyther speaketh he here of eternall life, but of this earthlye and corruptible life.

And the childe grew, and his name was called Samson. **H**ereby we know that Zorah was the name of the place where Samsons fathers was bozne. Samson. **T**his Hebreu word Shemesh signifieth the sunne, being therfore so called, as though he wer of the sunne: but for what cause he was so called it is not known. **I** meruaile that Iosephus interpreteth Sampson for stronge or mightye, vndoub-^{Iosephus,} tedly such an Etimology agreeth not with the Hebreu word. But he ostentims goeth from the histoys. And in this place also he sayth that the woman prayed, when as that is not founde in the text. God blessed Samson, **W**hat is, bestowed and heaped benefites vpon hym.

The sprite of God. **W**hat is the sprite of strength and mighte began to streng- then him. In the host of Dan. **T**he histoys speket thus by reason of those times. **T**he tribe of Dan had not yet obtained possession in the land of promes, but they wer in tents, and fought against theyr enemyes. **R. D. Kimbi** sayth that they did the besiege the city of Lais. **W**heresoe he being a younge man, was together wth the in the hoste. **T**he Hebreu worde is Paam, and it signifieth to be moued, & to be stricken at certayne tymes, not perpetually, but by courses. **H**e being a yonge man was moued, and wared hote, to fyght the moze vehemently against his enemyes. And his impulsions, bycause they were of God, therfore are they ascribed vnto the sprite. But because wee are already come vnto the ende of this chapter, before we enter into the next, there are certayne thinges whych are to be marked.

Fyrst, hereby we gather a most sure argument with how singular a care god gouerneth his church. **F**or although the Iewes had greuously sinned, yet had god a regard to theyr health, & sendeth the a captain, which should deliuer them, & so, telleth what thinges should come to pas, least they should seme to haue happened by chaunce. **F**arther he woulde haue the childe to be a Nazarite, and to haue his heare to grow, and to abstaine from wine and stronge drinke. **W**heresoe we are taught that these outward thinges are not utterly vaine, but may be applyed vnto the glozy of god. **M**en are wont sometimes to say, when they are admonished of outward thinges: **W**hat, doth god regard these thinges? **I**n dede we know also that in those thinges is no holinesse to be put. **H**owbeit we muste take heede that both in liuinge, and in apparell, and in going also in all gesture and in habite, we beaue our selues comely, both before God, and also before the church, not superstitiously but holily, that our modesty may aduance the kingdome of **C**hrist and his holy Gospel. **F**arthermoze let vs here consider that the wise helpeth the husband with her counsell. **F**or although by the ordinarye lawe it is not lawfull for women to preach and teache in an assembly: yet are they not so destitute of the gracious gifts of God, but that they may instruct theyr husbands with good counsels.

Outward thynges are not to be neglected.

Of the visions of Angels.

The nexte thinge, is that I somewhat intreate of the visions of Angels. **F**or as we haue now heard an Angel appeared vnto Manoah, and often-
3p. iiii. times

times in other places (as the scriptures declare) aungels haue bene sene of men. But it may be demaunded, howe they appeared, whither with any bodye, or els onely in phantasie? And if it were with a bodye, whither it were with theyr owne bodye, or with a straunge bodye? & if they toke a bodye, whither they were for a time or for euer?

The opinion of
Platos secte.

Of these things, there are diuerse opinions of men. Platos sect do say that the mindes, that is, the intelligences are so framed, that certayne of them haue celestiall bodie, some haue fyre bodie, some ayre, some watry, and some earthlye. And some they affirm to be darke Demonia, which do continually abide in darknes and mist. Of these things Marcilius Ficinius hath gathered many things in his. 10. booke de legibus, and in his argument of Epinomides. The Peripatetikes affirme that there are certayne intelligences which turne and moue the celestiall bodies, neyther make they mention of any other. But the scholedeuines, do determine that those mindes & intelligences are altogether spiritual, and y they haue no bodie. And this is the reason that leadeth thus to thinke, because these intelligences must needs excell the soules of men, whose most perfect faculty consisteth in vnderstanding. Wherefore as they thinke, in this acte of vnderstanding it becometh that these intelligences do much exceede the, and y cometh to passe for that these heavenly mindes haue no neede of images, or of senses: and because the case so standeth, they shoulde haue bodie in vayne.

The Peripatetikes.

The schole de-
uines men.

The fathers
Origene.

But of the fathers there are some which affirme farre otherwise. Origene in his booke *περί ἀρχῶν* (as Ierome hath noted in his Epistle ad Pammachium, de erroribus Ioannis Hierosolymitani) saith that those spirituall mindes, as often as they do offend, slide and are thrust into bodie, but yet not straightway into the vilest bodie, but fyrt into sturpy bodie, then into fyre and ayre, after ward into watrye, and lastlye into humayne and earthlye. And if then also they behaue not themselves well, they are at the laste made deuils. But if they will at least wayes then repent, they may by the selfe same degrees come to theyr olde estate. And this we ought to vnderstand (saith he) by that ladder, wheron Iacob saw aungels ascending & descending. And Ierome also to make the thinge moze plain, addeth a similitude. A Tribune (sayth he) if hee gouerne not well, is delected from his degree, and is made the princes chief Secretary, after ward a Senatour, a capayne ouer 200. men, a ruler ouer fewer, a watchman, a horseman, and after ward a souldier of the first degree. And although a Tribune were once a commo souldier, yet is he not made of a tribune a younge souldier, but the Princes chief Secretary. But these thynges are absurde, and very woorthye to be laughed at. And vndoubtedly Origene in those thinges speaketh moze like a Platonian, then a Christian. That which he first taketh that soules are thrust into bodie, as into punishmentes, is manifestly false, for as much as god hath adioyned the bodye vnto the soule for a helpe, and not for a punishmente. Neither doth he well to geue hope of saluation to come vnto the deuill, when as Christ hath contrarywise taught, saynge: Go ye cursed into euerlasting fyre, which is prepared for the deuill and his Aungels. Neyther can we interprete it that this word eternum is ther set for this word diuturnū, that is euerlasting, for a long season. For Christ most apertly expoundeth his sentence, when he sayth: Their worme shall not dye, and theyr fyre shall not be quenched. Neither doth he truly affirme that the soules fyrt offend befoze they come into bodie, when as Paule writeth of Iacob and Esau, befoze they were borne, and had done neither good nor euil, it was said, Iacob haue I loued, and Esau haue I hated: The greater shall serue the lesser. Wherefore this sentence of Origene is woorthely to be reiected of all menne.

Against the
translation of
soules into bo-
dies after Ori-
genes saying.

Augustine

Augustine seemeth in many places to attribute bodies vnto Angels, name *Augustine*, ly in his second booke De trinitate, chap. vii. and in the third booke, chap. i. which thing the Schoolemen perceauing, haue excused him, saying that he spake not according to his own opinion, but after the opinion of other men. Which thing I also could well allow, for as much as I see that that father (in his. viii. booke De ciuitate dei, the. xvi. chap.) after the opinion of Apuleius, Madaurensis, & Porphyrius, defineth, that Demones are in kinde animalia, that is, hauing sense, in soule passive, in mynde reasonable, in body ayre, in time eternal. Undoubtedly, herein he followeth the doctrine of Platoes sect. But in the places before alledged he seemeth to speake altogether of himselfe. Yea, and Bernhardus also vpon Cantica Canticorum, as it appeareth, is of the same opinio. *Bernhardus*. Wherfore the schole men are compelled to inuent an other excuse, and they say that Angels, if they be compared with men, are spirites: but if with God, they haue bodies, because they sayle from the vniy and simplicity of God. Tertulian de carne Christi, as *Tertulian*. firmeth that Angels haue bodies. But that is not so much to bee marvelled of him, for he attributeth a bodye also vnto God him selfe. But he calleth a bodye whatsoeuer is. For he had to do with vnlearned and rude men, whych thynke y whatsoeuer is not a body, is nothing. But the schoolemen say that Angels are in very deede spirites, but when they come vnto men, they take vpon them ayre bodies, and thicken them and make them grosse, whereby they may be sene, touched, and felt aboue the nature of ayre. Ther are some also which say, that some earthly or watrishe thing is mixed with them: and yet will they not that there is there a perfect mixture, that they should not be compelled to put generacio ther. There were some also, which thought that Angels sometimes tooke vpon them dead karcaises. But this seemeth vnto the greater parte a thing vnworthy, so to thinke of holy Angels.

Here some man will say that it is absurde, to ascribe vnto Angels sayning & lyng, as to faine the selues to be men, when as in very deede they are not men. *Whither it bee convenient for Angels to take vpon them the shape of man.* Yea and this seemeth also to weaken the argument of Christ, whiche he vsed after his resurrection, to teache that he had a true body. Feele (saith he) and see, for a spirite hath not fleshe and bones, as ye see me haue. For the Apostles being a frayde, thought that they had seene a spirite: wherfore Christ to put them out of doubt, had them to handle and feele his body. But the Apostles might haue said: That which we feele is a fantasie: it seemeth in deede to be Christ, but peradventure it is not. For Angels also seeme to haue bodies, and to be touched and felt, when as yet in very deede they haue no bodies. Also this sentence may debilitate the argument of the Fathers, as touching the fleshe of Christ, against Marcion. For he did eate (say they) he drank, he was hungry, he slept, he did sweate. Wherfore he had a true and humane bodye. Vnto these thinges might be answered: that these selfe same thinges haue happened vnto Angels, when as yet they had not bodies.

I answer: That which they first say, that it is absurde to attribute lyes vnto Angels: they ought to consider, that not whatsoeuer by anye meanes is sayned, is straightway a lye. Christ appeared vnto his Disciples as a stranger, and yet he lyed not: he appeared also vnto Mary lyke a Gardiner, and for al that he lyed not. So Angels, althoughe they seemed men, when as they were not men, yet wer they not lyes. For they came not therfore, to proue them selues to be men, but onely that they might come to men, and talke with them. *Not whatsoeuer is sayned, is a lye.*

To the argument of Christ touching his own body, I thus answer. First the apostles thought it had ben a gost which had appeared. And Christ to reuel that, saith: feele and see, because a spirite hath not fleshe & bones. By the feeling might be perceaued, that it was a true and perfect bodye which was present, and not a wayne fantasie. But thou wilt say, that it was a true body in deede, but yet taken for a tyme, and suche a bodye, as sometimes Angels are wont to put on. But *Angels when they seemed men, they lyed not.*
how

Cap. 13. A Commentarie vpon the

how coulde it be taught, that that was the same body, which laye befoze in the sepulcher? In this thing the authozitye of Chyist and of the scriptures ought to be of force. For the scriptures teache manifestly inough that Chyist shoulde dye, and after wards rise againe the thirde daye: but nothing can rise againe, but that which befoze fel, as Tertulian hath most learnedlye wrytten. And this thing the schoolemen vnderstoode: wherefoze Thomas Aquinas sayth, that vnles certayne other thinges were added, this is no firme argument. The same thing maye be answered vnto the reasons of the fathers against Marcion. Many in dede of the actions befoze alledged, may agree with Angels, or with the bodies taken, but yet not all. For to be bozne, to be nourished, and to dye, and to feele, happen nei-ther to Angels, neither to bodies that are taken. But the scripture most apertly testifieth that Chyist was both bozne, and that he grew till he came to age, that he was hungry, that he dyed, and was true man. But of these thinges I wyl speake moze largely afterwarde.

*Tertulian.
Thomas Aquinas.*

There are very many other thinges in the schoole deuines, as touching these matters: but bicause they are not so profitable, therfoze I ouerpasse them. But this thing I demaund, whither Angels may take vpon the true bodies, & that natural, which bodies also had their being befoze, & vse them at their liberty, as the Deuyl did put on the Serpent, and by him deceaued Eue, the Angell also spake in the Ass of Bileam. Why then can not an Angel after the same maner, possesse an humane body, and speake in it? Undoubtedly it is wrytten in Zachary the prophet: The Angel of the Lord which spake in me. Wherfoze it semeth that Angels may vse the bodies of men and beastes. Augustine in his. 2. booke De Trinitate the. 1. chapter, sayth that this is a very hard question, whether Angels be to their owne proper bodies soye other bodies, and chaunge them into sundrye formes, as we are woont to doo garmentes, or also to chaunge them into very nature, as we reade that Chyist chaunged water into wyne. This thing he saith is not impossible. For thus he wryteth: I confesse it passeth the strengthes of my capacity, whither Angels retayning stil the spirital quality of their own body, very secretly woozking by it, doo take of these moze grosse inferiour elementes, any thing which being framed vnto them they doo chaunge, as a garment, and turne it into al corporal formes or shapen, yea euen into the true thinges themselves, as true water was turned by the Lord into wyne: or whether they trans- forme their own proper bodies into what they wyl, being framed to that which they haue in hand to doo. But whether soener of these it be, it pertaineth not to this question.

*What maner
of bodies the an-
gels take vpon
them.*

Augustine.

*A subtiltye of
the Papists co-
cerning transub-
stantiation.*

*A distinction of
sensible things.
When the sen-
ses maye be de-
ceaued, & when
not.*

But I say, if the bodies of Angels were true bodies, then was Chyistes argu-ment firme, and I wil willingly graunt to this, then to saye as some doo, that Angels deceaued the senses of men. For after this sorte they stryue agaynst vs, when we say that in the Eucharist remaineth bread, which is both sene and tou-ched, they answer that it seemeth bread in dede, but it is not, as the Angels se-ined men, when as they were no men. For I deny not, but that the senses maye sometimes be deceaued. But I affirme in the meane time, that there are twoo kindes of those thinges, which are perceaued by sense. For there are some things common vnto many senses, and other are proper to some one sense. For figure, magnitude, and number, are perceaued of manye senses. And undoubtedly in such thinges the sense may sometimes be deceaued, as Carneades was woont to dispute of an oze in the water appearing broken, and of the bygnes of the bodye of the Sunne. But in sensible things proper vnto one sense, the sense is neuer deceaued, vnles there be some fault in the body, or ouer much distaunce, or some suche lyke let. Wherfoze sayng in the Eucharist the sense iudgeth that the bread remaineth, there is no neede to sayne that the sense is therein deceaued.

But to appoynt a certayne compendious way of this disputacion, there are three maner of wayes, whereby Angels may seme to haue appeared. For either they

they were sene in fantasie, so that they were thought to haue bodies, when they had them not. Which reason cannot be firme, for they illuded not the senses, neither were they sene of any one onely, but very often times of many, & they were so sene, that Abraham washed their feet, and Jacob wrestled with an Angel the whole night. Or els they appeared with a true body in dede, which yet was not such a body, as it was thought to be. Either els they had the self same body truly and in very dede, which they seemed to haue. Of this thirde kinde Tertulian hath written most learnedly in his booke De carne Christi. Thou hast sometymered and beleued, saith he, that the Angels of the creator were turned into the shape of man, and that they caried suche a truth of a body, that both Abraham washed their feet, and also Lot was by their handes deliuered from the Sodomites: an angel also wrestled with a man, and desired to be loosed from the wayght of the body, by whom he was holden. What therefore, which was lawfull vnto Angels that are inferiours vnto God, that they being turned into the body of a man, not withstanding yet abode Angels, doest thou take away thus from God which is moze mightie, as though Christ putting on man in very dede wer not able to remayne God: Thus Tertulian fighteth against the Marcionites: for they affirmed that Christ seemed to haue a humane body, but in verie dede hee had none. Tertulian objecteth against them: and if ye graunt this (saith he) vnto the Angels, that they had true bodies, why doo ye not rather graunt it vnto the sonne of God? And he addeth: Or did those Angels appeare in fantasie of flesh? But thou darest not say so: for if it be so, that thou count the Angels of the creator as Christ, then shal Christ be of the same substance as the Angels are, and the Angels shal be suche as Christ is. If thou diddest not sometimes of purpose relect, and sometimes corrupt the scriptures which resist thy opinion, the Gospel of Iohn shoulde haue of this confounded thee, whiche declareth that the spirite comming downe in the body of a Doone, sat vpon the Lorde, which spirite being that he was, was as truly a Doone, as he was a spirit: neither the contrary substance taken, destroyed the proper substance.

Tertulian

The errour of
Marcionites

Of the Doone
wherin the holy
ghost appeares

I know there are some of the schoolemen which thinke that it was not a very Doone, which descended vpon the head of Christ, but onely that it was an ayry & thicke body, which appeared to be a Doone. Yet Augustine de Agone Christiano writeth the contrary, namely that it was a very Doone: for to expresse the property of the holy ghost, a thing (saith he) serueth better then a signe, euen as Christians also are better expresse in sheepe and lambes, then in the likenes of sheepe and lambes. Also if Christ had a true body, and deceaued not, then the holy ghost had in very dede the body of a Doone.

Augustine

Tertulian addeth: Thou wilt demaund where the body of the Doone became, when the spirite was taken againe into heauen, and likewise of the Angels. It was by the same meanes taken awaye, whereby it was made. If thou haddest seene when it was brought forth of nothing, thou shouldest also haue known when it was turned to nothing. If the beginning was not visible, no moze was the ende. Farther, he remitteth the reader to Iohn. Was he also (saith he) a fantasie after his resurrection, when he offered his handes and feet to be seene of his Disciples: saying: behold that it is I, for a spirite hath not flesh and bones as ye see me haue. When Christe is brought in as a Jugler or Canturer. And in his thirde booke against Marcion. Wherefore his Christ, that is, Christe of the true God, because he should not lye, neither deceane, and by that meanes peradventure should be counted the Christ of the creator, was not that which hee appeared to be, and sayned to be that thing which he was, flesh, and not flesh, man and not man, wherefore Christ is also God, and not God. For why shoulde he not also cary the fantasie of God: Shall I beleue him as touching this inward substance, that is onerthowen as touching his outward substance? Howe shall he be counted true in a secrete thing, that is found so false in an open thing? And after

What became of
the Doone when
the holy ghost
appeared.

afterwarde: It is inoughe for me to affirme that whiche is agreeing vnto God, namely the truth of that thing, which he obiekteth to three senses, to sight, touching, and hearing. Againe in the booke de carne Christi: The vertues (sayth he) proue the spirite of God, the passions proue the flesh of man. If vertues are not without spirite, neither shal passions also be without flesh. If the flesh with his passions be fayned, the spirite also with his vertues is false. Why doest thou by thy lye take but halfe Christ: He is al whole truth.

The opinion of
Apelles.

Apelles the heretike, being in maner overcome with these reasons, graunteth that Christ had in dede true flesh, but he denieth that he was bozne, but brought from heauen: and he obiekteth that the bodies, which were taken by Angels, wer true bodies, but they were not bozne. Suche a body (sayth he) had Christ. Tertulian answereth hereunto: They, sayth he, which set sooth the fleshe of Christ, after the example of the Angels, saying that it was not bozne, namelge a fleshe substance, I would haue them to compare the causes also, as well of Christ as of the Angels, for which they came into the flesh. No Angel did at anye tyme therfore discende to be crucified, to suffer death, and to rise againe from death. If there was neuer any such cause why angels should be incorporate, then haste thou a cause why they tooke flesh, and yet wer not bozne. They came not to die, therfore they came not to bee bozne. But Christe being sent to dye, it was necessarye that he shoulde bee bozne, that he might dye: for none is woont to dye, but hee whiche is bozne. He addeth mozeouer: And euen then also the Lorde himselfe appeared among those angels vnto Abraham without birth, namelge with flesh, for the same diuersity of cause. Afterward he addeth: That the Angels haue their bodies rather from earth, then from heauen. Let them proue saith he, that those angels receaued the substance of flesh of the stars. If they proue it not, bicause it is not witten, then was not the flesh of Christ thereof, to whych Christ they apply the example of Angels. And in his third booke against Marcion: My God, saith he, which hath reformed it, taken of the sygne in this quality, not yet of seede by marriage, and yet flesh, might as wel of anye matter haue framed flesh also vnto Angels, which also framed the world of nothing, into so manye and suche bodies. Againe in his booke de carne Christi, hee saith: It is manifest that angels cary not flesh proper of their own, as substances by nature spiritual, and if they haue any body, yet it is of their owne kinde, and are transfigurabile for a time into the flesh of man, that they may be sene, and haue fellowship with men. Farther, in his third booke against Marcion: Know thou saith he, that this is not graunted vnto thee, that the flesh in Angels was putatiue, or by imagination, but of the very and sound substance of man. For if it were not hard to geue vnto that putatiue flesh the true senses and actes of flesh, much moze easper was it to geue a true substance of flesh, to true senses and actes, enen for that he is the proper authour and woozker therof. For it is a harder thyng for God to make a lye, then to sayne a body. Last of al, thus he concludeth: Therfore are they truly humayne bodies, bicause of the truth of God, who is far from lying and deceate.

The summe of
the opinion of
Tertulian.

And bicause they can not humanelye be handled of men, but in the substance of men.

I could rehearse mo thinges out of Tertulian, but these seeme sufficient for this present purpose. In summe, he thinketh that Angels haue bodies, but yet straunge bodies, and not their own. For their proper bodies (as he thinketh) pertaine vnto the spirituall kinde. Secondly, he sayth that those straunge bodies which they take, are created either of nothing, or els of some matter which shall seme good vnto God. Thirdly he affirmeth that they were true, perfect, and humane bodies, and not bayne or fayned, but of a true flesh, and not of a flesh onely appearing, so that of men they might be both touched and handled, to the end he might both remoue dissimulation from God, and also confirme the veritye of humane flesh in Christ. Wherby is concluded, that the humane senses wer not decea

deceaved concerning these thinges: as the Papistes contend that the senses are deceaved concerning the bread and wyne of the Eucharist.

But Origene in his booke *περί ἀρχῶν* (as he is cited of Ierome agaynst Iohn byshop of Ierusalem) thought farre otherwise. For wher we say that the visions of Angels may be imagined thre maner of wayes, namely either in fantasie, or in body, but not humane, or lastly in a true and humane body: he taketh a certaine meane, and sayth that the bodies of Angels wherein they offer themselves to be sene, are neyther perfect nor humane, nor also fantastical, but onely bodies, and that he applyeth to them that ryle agayne. For in the resurrection sayth he, we shall haue bodies, but yet onely bodies, not bones, not synewes, not fleshe. And in dedde there is some difference betwene a body and fleshe: for all fleshe is a body, but not every body is fleshe. Suche a difference touched Paule to the Collossians, saying: Being reconciled in the body of his fleshe. And in the seconde chapter: In the spoyling of the body of the fleshe of synne. And in the Synbole also we say, that we beleue in the resurrection of the fleshe, and not of the bodye.

If fleshe is a body, but not every body is fleshe.

Origene sayde that he sawe twoo extreme errours. One was of them which sayde there is no resurrection, suche as were the Valentinians and Marcionites, suche also was Alexander, who as Paule testifieth, taught that the resurrection was already done: and suche also as at this day the Libertines are sayde to be, who babble I cannot tell what of that matter, both ungodly and unlearnedly. An other error is of those which thinke that the perfecte and true bodies shall ryle agayne with fleshe, synewes, and bones, whych thing (as hee saythe) is not possible: because fleshe and bloode shall not possesse the kyngdome of heauen. But Origene ought to haue considered what followeth afterward in Paul. For he addeth: Neyther shall corruption possesse incorruption. Wherefore his sentence is, that the corruptible body cannot possesse the kyngdome of God. But Origene to retayne that his meaning, confessed that the bodies shoulde ryle in dedde, but not thicke and with bones, but spirituall, as Paule hath sayde: The body shall ryle spirituall.

But Origene in those wordes marketh not that Paule calleth it a spiritual body, not because it shoulde utterly bee chaunged into a spirite, but because it shoulde haue spiritual condicions, namely incorruption, and most cleare brightness. But because he perceaved that the body of Christ, which after his resurrection he offered vnto his Disciples to be touched and to be felt, was agaynst his doctrine, therefore he sayth: Let not the body of Christ deceaue you, because it had manye singular priuiledges, whiche are not granted vnto other bodies. Farther, that by this dispensacion he might proue that he verely was risen, he would after his resurrection haue a true body, not that other bodies in the resurrection shoulde be lyke. But he shewed the nature of his spirituall body in Emaus, when he vanished awaye from the sight of his Disciples. And an other tyme when he entred to his Disciples, the doores being shut.

Ierome thus opposeth himselfe agaynst these thynges: If Christ (sayth he) after his resurrection op'd eate in verge dedde, then had he also a true body: but if not, how proued he by a false thyng the truth of his body? But in that he vanished awaye from the sight of the Disciples, that was not by the nature of the body, but by the deuine power. For in Nazareth when the people would haue stoned him, he wythdrew himselfe from their eyes. And that whiche might bee done of a Cunsurer, shall we thinke that the Sonne of God cannot doo? For Apollonius Thianxus, when hee was brought into the Counsell before Domitian, forthwyth vanished awaye. And that that thyng in Christ was not by the nature of the body, but by the power of God, it is declared by that whiche wente before in the same Hyssoppe. For when hee was in the way

Ierome.

Apollonius Thianxus.

Cap. 13. A Commentarie vpon the

way wyth hys Disciples, their eyes wer holden that they coulde not know hym. But in that Origene sayth, that the body of Chyist was spirituall, bicause he entered in, the doozes being shut, Ierome answereth that the creature gaue place vnto the Creator. &c. Wherefore the body of Chyiste pearled not throughte the myddest of the boozdes and postes, so that twoo bodies were together in one, and the selfe same place, but herein happened the miracle, bicause the very boozdes of the dooze gaue way vnto the body of Chyist. Farther, that which some object, that the body of Chyist went out of the Sepulchze, it being shut, that also is not of necessitye to be beleied, but wee maye thinke that the stone was roled away befoze he went forth. And least a man shoulde thinke that I sayne these thynges, lette hym reade the lxxxiii. Epistle of Leo, ad Episcopos Palæstinos.

Howe the body of Chyist went not out of the Sepulchze, it being shut.
Leo.

The bodies of angels wherein they appeared, were true and humane.

The visions of Prophets were somtime imaginative.

Angels appearing in humane bodies were not men.

The holy ghost was not the Doone, nor the Doone the holy ghost.

The sonne of God, is God & man.

The fleshe, sayth he, of Chyist, whych went out of the Sepulchze, the stone being roled away. &c. Nowe to returne to the purpose, bycause I haue sayde that the bodies of Angels may be thought to haue bene eyther fantasticall or spirituall, or els perfect and in verye deede humane, & the twoo first partes are reiected: then resteth that the bodies of Angels wherein they appeare, are true and humane. Whiche thing I affirme onelye to bee true, soz as muche as Angels were so sene, that they wassled wyth men, and offered their feete to be washed. Neyther doo I iudge that it is lawfull there to saye, that the humane senses were deceaued, when as the thynges were outwardlye done. But I doo not deny, but that there somtimes happened imaginative appearinges vnto the prophetes, when as they sayd that they sawe God, or the Cherubin, or other suche lyke thynges. For that, soz as muche as it was in their mynde or imaginative faculty, it might well be done by soymes, images, and visions.

Nowe remayne there twoo thynges to be diligently wayghed. One is, whether Angels, when they after this sorte put on humane bodies, maye bee called men. I thinke not. For if we vnderstande humane fleshe, whiche is soymed and bozne of a reasonable soule, vndoubtedlye Angels after that maner cannot be sayd to haue humane fleshe. What then, wyl some man saye? Were the senses deceaued when men sawe them? Not so. For the senses iudge onelye outward thynges, and suche thynges as appeare. But what inwardlye impelleth or moueth those thynges which they see, they iudge not. That longeth to reason to seeke and searche out. Whys also is to be added, that Angels dyd not continuallye retayne these bodies, bicause they were not ioyned vnto them, in one and the selfe same substance: So that an Angell and a bodye were made one person.

The holy ghost also, although it was a true Doone, where he descended, yet was not he together one substance with it. Wherefore the Doone was not the holge ghost, nor the holy ghost the Doone. Otherwyle Angels may (as we haue befoze taught) enter in deede into a bodye befoze made, and whiche befoze had hys being, as it is read of the Angell whiche spake in the Asse of Baalam, and of the Deuyll, whiche by the Serpent talked wyth Eue. But at thys present we dispute not of that kynde, but onelye saye, that Angels woorking in thys manner in the bodies of creatures, are not ioyned vnto them in one and the selfe same substance. Wherefore the Asse coulde not be called an Angell, neyther was the Angell an Asse, even as the serpent was not in verye deede the Deuyll, neyther was the Deuyll the Serpent.

But the Sonne of God, soz as much as he tooke vpon him humane nature, was man, and man was God, bycause of one and the selfe same substance, wherein were twoo natures. But befoze when he appeared vnto Abraham, and to the Fathers, although he had true fleshe, yet bycause it was not ioyned vnto hym in one and the selfe same substance, he coulde not be called fleshe, neyther was fleshe, God. But afterwarde, when he tooke vpon hym both fleshe and soule,

soule, so that there was onely one substance or person, then man was God, and God, man. Whereby it came to passe, that he shoulde trulye bee bozne, that bee shoulde dye, and redeeme mankind. Wherefore he dyd truely call hym selfe the sonne of man: and in Iohn he sayth, ye seeke to kyl me, a man, whiche haue tolde you the truth. And in the Scriptures it is sayd: Made of the seebe of Dauid. And Peter in the Actes: ye haue kylled, sayth he, a man appoynted you of God. And Esay: Behold, sayth he, a virgin shall conceaue and beare a sonne. These wordes haue great force. For vnlesse Chyrist had bene true man, a Virgin coulde not haue conceiued him, neither haue brought him forth, nor called him her sonne. This thing Tertulian prudently marked. If he had bene a straunger, sayth he, a Virgin coulde not either haue conceaued him, or bozne him. The Angell also saluted Mary after this maner: Be not afraid sayd he, thou shalt conceaue. &c. Elizabeth sayd: How happeneth this to me, that the mother of my Lozde shoulde come vnto me? If she had Chyrist onely as a straunger, she coulde not be called bys Mother. The Angell also sayde: Blessed be the fruite of thy wombe. But how coulde it haue bene sayde, the fruite of her wombe, if he had brought a body wyth hym from heauen? And in Esay it is wyrtten: A rod shall come oute of the roote of Iesse, and a floure shall ascende out of his roote. Iesse was the stocke, Mary the bzaunch, but Chyrist is the floure which tooke his body of her. Mathew also thus beginneth his Gospell: The booke of the generacion of Iesus Chyriste, the sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Abraham. If Chyrist brought a bodye from heauen, how was he the sonne of Abraham or Dauid? Farther, the promise made to Abraham of Chyrist, is in this sorte: In thy seebe shall all nacions be blessed. Paul intreating of these wordes to the Galathians: He sayde not, sayth he, in seedes, as though in many, but in thy seebe, whych is Chyriste. And in the Epistle to the Romanes wee reade: Of whom is Chyriste accordyng vnto the fleshe. All these thynges proue most apertly, that Chyrist was true man, and in hym was one substance of God and man. These thynges cannot be sayd of the Angells, neither of the Sonne of God, before he was bozne of the Virgin: although whylest he appeared, he had true fleshe (as we haue before sayde:) but yet not ioyned vnto hym in one and the selfe same substance: neither coulde it be sayde of the holy ghozt, that he was in very deede a Doone, although that wherein he once appeared, was a true Doone. And in this sense wrote Tertulian those thynges whych we haue before cited, whych thynges being not wel vnderstoode, might byede either erroz or offence vnto the Readers.

Now resteth the other question: Whither Angells clothed wyth bodyes taken, dyd in very deede eate and drynke. Of the Schoolemen some thinke that they dyd eate in very deede, and other denye it. Scotus thynketh that to eate is nothing els, then to chaue meate, and to conueyghe it downe into the bellye. And thys thyng dyd the Angells, wherefore he gathereth that they dyd eate in very deede.

Other thynke that to eate, is not onely to chaue the meate, or to conueyghe it downe into the bellye, but mozeouer to conuert it into the substance of bys bodye, by concoction thozoughe the power of vegetation. Thys, for as muche as the Angells dyd not, therefore they dyd not eate in very deede. The booke of Tobias is not in the Canon of the Hebrewes, but yet it might be applyed vnto our purpose, but that there is variaunce in the coppes. For in that booke which Munster set forth in Hebrew, in the .xii. chapter, Raphael the Angell sayth: I seemed to you to eate and to drynke, but I dyd not eate, neyther drynke. The common translation hath: I seemed to you to eate and to drynke. But I vse inuisible meate and drynke. Neyther text denpeth, but that the Angell dyd after a certayne maner eate.

Ag. II.

But

Whither Angells did in very deede eate & drynke whē they appeared.

Scotus.

The booke of Tobias.

Augustine.

What is the
meate & drinke
of Angels.

Who eate and
drinke the body
and bloude of
Christ.

The fleshe and
blood of Christ
are neither in-
cluded nor pou-
red into the sim-
boles or signes.

Augustine

But whatsoeuer may be gathered of those wordes, me thinketh the interpreta-
tion of Augustine is to be receaued, in his. iiii. booke de Trinitate. the. 22. chap.
where he thus writeth: The Angels did eate in very dede, but not for neede, but
to contract custome and familiarity with men. Wherefore when in the one text
it is said that Raphael did not eate, it must not so be vnderstand, as though he
did not eate at al, but because he did not eate after the maner of men. But this
is there chiefly to be marked, when the Angel answereth that he useth spirituall
meate and drinke, that spirituall nourishment was nothing els, then an appeare
and manifest knowledge of the true God, and execution of his will, as Christ al-
so sayd, that that was his meate, to doo the will of his father. The same also is
our meate, although it be not after the same maner. For they see God manifest-
ly, but we see him by a glasse, and in a riddle. Whereunto thou maiest adde that
they which beleue in Christ, and doo assuredly perswade them selues, that he di-
ed for their sake, they I say, doth both eate the flesh of Christ, & drinke his blood,
to which vse the simboles or signes, for that they styre vp the senses, are verie
much profitable: not that the flesh and blood of Christ are poured into the bread
and wyne, or are by any meanes included in those elementes, but because those
things are of the beleuers receaued with a true faith. For they are an inuisi-
ble nourishment, which is receaued onely in the mynde, as Augustine hath faith-
fully admonished, saying: Well by preparest thou the teethe and the belly? Beleue
and thou hast eaten.

The. xiiii. Chapter.



1 And Samson went downe to Thimnath, and saw a
woman in Thimnath, of the daughters of the Philis-
tians.

2 And he came vp and told his father and his mother,
& said: I haue sene a womā in Thimnath, of the Daugh-
ters of the Philistians. Now therefore geue her me to wyfe.

3 Then his father and his mother sayd vnto him: Is there neuer a
wyfe among the daughters of thy brethren, and among al my peo-
ple, that thou must go to take a wyfe of the vncircumcised Philisti-
ans. Samson sayde vnto hys father: Geue me her, for she pleasech
me well.

4 But hys father and hys mother knewe not that it came of the
Lord, that he should seeke an occasion agaynst the Philistians: for
at that tyme the Philistians raygned ouer Israel.

Now are we come to the warlike feates of Samson, whiche he wrought for
the health of his people, and first is set forth vnto vs, how he sought hym a
wyfe. He went downe to Thimnath. But why he went thither it is not written.
Some say that he went down to a certaine solēnity or feast day. But it is more
likely y^t ther was the some assembly, either ciuill or warlike, as it is accustomed.
At that time the Philistians raygned ouer the Hebrewes. And he saw ther a mayd,
and desyred earnestly to haue her geuen hym to wyfe. This thing to doo he was
moued by sayth: for the word of the Lord did to that styre vp his minde. For
(as we shal after ward know) these things were done by the wyll of God. The
Epistle to the Hebrewes numbryeth Samson among those whiche pleased God by
sayth. This is notable and woorthye to be marked, that a young man, although
he exceedinglye loued the mayden, yet durst he not speake anye thing of matri-
monye, wythout the knowledge and wyl of hys Parentes. He returneth home,
he prayeth them to geue her hym to wyfe. This was to honour hys Parentes.

Some

Some thinke that Samson was minded to marie this mayden, but vpon this condition, to make her first a p̄selite, other wise it had not bene lawfull for him to haue married with a stranger. But in our hystory there is no such thinge red: vndoubtedly this seemeth to me to be a certaine singuler thing, and done by the instigation of god, as shalbe after ward moze apertly vnderstand. Wherefore we must not curiously search for that matter.

But Samson needed no longe Oracion to his parentes. They objected vnto him the kindred of the woman, and admonished him, that he ought rather to seke a wife in his owne nacion: Howbeit they fullill his mind, and wente forwarde with the marriages, as it shal after ward be sayde. But contrary wise amonge Christians it oftentimes happeneth, that the children take them wiues againste theyr parentes will: Of which thinge Esau remaineth as a most wicked example, who againste the will of his parent, married wiues of the Chananites, whose sight and conuersation they could not abide. We must not regard that which is commonly sayd, we mayr wiues for our selues, and not for our parentes. But we muste rather thinke that God woulde after this manner p̄uide for miserable younge men, that theyr rash and vnadvised age should not deceaue them. Howbeit parentes on the other side ought to see that they vse not tyrannicall power towards theyr children, or marie them to suche whome they canne not abyde. But of these thynges wee will speake moze aboundantly afterwarde.

Whereouer wee muste note, that the Parentes of Samson when they call the Philistians vncircumcised, doo after a sorte vpbryde vnto their sonne, that hee would mary a wife bozne of strangers and idolaters. Yet they speake nothinge roughly vnto him, they thrust him not out of the doores, nor cast him out of their fauor. For that they saw his minde very firme and bent to that purpose. And although it be not wrytten in the hystory, yet is it probable that Samson shewed vnto his Parentes the miserie, namely that he was by the impulsion of god instigated to this marriage: other wise it had not bene lawfull for them to haue assented vnto theyr son, to mary one of a contrary religion. His father & his mother knewe not at the beginninge, that this was the will of God, that he shoulde seeke occasion againste the Philistians. What is, that by them some beginninge of iniurie myghte sprynge, whiche he afterwarde myghte seeme by good ryghte to p̄secute.

5 Then went Samson and his father and his mother downe to Thinnah, and came by to the vineyardes of Thinnah, and behold a Lions whelp roared vpon him.

6 And the sp̄ite of the Lorde came vpon him, and he deuided him, as one shoulde deuide a kidde, neyther was there anye thinge in his hande. And he tolde not hys father nor his Mother what he had done.

The Parentes when they knewe and vnderstode their sonnes wil, and p̄adventure had knowledge of the instigation of god, do not onely assent, but also follow him, that the wedding might be the moze honestly accomplished, the parentes not onely requiring, but also being p̄sente. In this place appeareth the will of God both hidden and manifest. The will of God was declared by the law that a Jewe shoulde not take to wife a stranger, but by his secrete and hidden will he contrarily decreed of Samson. But we must followe the will of God expressed by a common rule, and sealed by his lawe: to that will wee muste directe both life and manners. For the other will we must not be to much carefull, vn-

The will of
god hid and ma
nifest.

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les we seele it most apertly. And we must with great diligence take heed, that when we thinke we are ledde by the impulsio[n] of the holy Ghost, we be not led by our affections. Of the secreete wil of God Paule intreated, when he made mention that of Jacob and Esau, befoze they had done any good or euill, it was sayd: Jacob haue I loued, but Esau haue I hated. This wil of God is obscure and hidde[n] from the eyes of men: therfoze no man can sende a reason of it. Wherefoze when we heare any thinge of it, we muste say with Paule: In the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowlege of God, &c. But by the will reueled we may vnderstand that we are acceptable vnto god, when we trust in him, when we detest vices, and renew our life and manners by the grace of god, not bicause these thinges are the causes of the goodnes of God towarde vs, but bicause they are certayne sure tokens therof. But how these two willes are not in very deepe seperated in God, but are one and a simple wil, we shall declare moze opoxtunely in an other place,

These two willes in god are not in very deepe seperated.

Of the occasion which God sought.

Lirani

In that it is now written that Samson, or rather God soughte occasion of the Philistians, it seemeth verie obscure. And what occasion was there to be soughte so? Was not this cause sufficient inough, that they by violence withheld the land promised vnto the Israelites, and had put them to Tributes and taxes? Lirani thinketh that betwene the Hebrewes and the Philistians there were certayne couenantes made, whiche were not rashlye to be violated. I also adde this, that Samson was a priuate man, as farre as anye man knewe of hym then. And therfoze God woulde haue an honest occasion soz hym to fyght, so that if he being by them contumeliously handled, shoulde againe somewhat endamage them, he shoulde seme to reuenge his owne priuate iniuries, and not the publike.

What sinnes happened in this matrimony.



And vndoubtedlye it seemed that matrimonye after this manner contracted, shoulde rather haue caused peace to follow. But contrarywise there ensued greuous war, whiche happened not by the default of matrimony, but of men. So also now are not a few found, whiche to possesse kingdomes and to gette them other mens riches, do abuse matrimony. Wherefoze we ought not to meruaile, if suche mariages haue verie ill successe. For oftentimes by them doo happen both warres and also ouerthrowinges of publike wealthes. But by whose fault (thou wilt say) sprange this warre? By the faulte of the woman whiche was married, and also of her parentes, and corruption of the publike wealth. And these woulde God vse to bringe to lighte they sinnes and to punishe them. The mayden ought to haue esteemed her husband aboue all men. But she betrayed him, and she wed his riddle to her citizenes, so that Samson was fayne to paye vnto them a greate rewarde. His wifes father also did him no small injury, for he tooke away from him his wife, and gaue her to an other. Thys thyng oughte he not to haue doone, for matrimones oughte to be firme and ratified. But the corruption of the publike wealth of the Philistians maye herebye bee knowne, bycause suche a wycked offence was not openlye reproued and punished, as thonghe it hadde euerye where bene lawefull to haue doone it.

Four names of Lions among the Hebrewes.

By the waye Samson turned a syde from his Parentes, whome a roaringe Lion mette, and mette hym beinge vnarmed: so that he myght easely haue killed him. But that we shoulde vnderstande, that Samson by the power of the sprite of God preuailed agaynst that wild beast, it is adde: And the sprite of the Lorde came vpon him, and he deuided the Lion, as one shoulde rente a kidde. There are foure names of Lions amonge the Hebrewes according to the diuerse decrees of they age. The first is Gor, when hee is yet a whelp, The seconde is Ceph

Cepher, when he is somewhat growen in age. The third is Ariath, when he is strong and myghty. The fourth is Liba, when he is wahren olde: although he be called also Lisch, when he is very olde. That whiche is now written, is called Cephir, that is growen in age, & sƿerce ynough, to thend a man should not think that he was a whelp of the first age. Cepther was he tame and gentle, as sō times they are wont to be, but he ranne roaring to inuade Samson. God would geue vnto Samson an experience of the strength that he had geuen him, that he should enterpryse greater thinges afterward. So also he exercised David from his youth, before he should fight agaynst Goliath. Wherefore he sayde vnto Saule: There came a Beare and a Lion, and thy seruant rent them. Lions are very common in Siria as Plini affirmeth.

Why God would haue Samson to fight with the Lion.

Plini.

Whither it be lawful for children to mary without the consente of theyr parentes.

Now shall it be good to see, whither it be lawful for children to contract matrimony without the consent of theyr parentes. Undoubtedly Samson would not, and it is a matter of much honesty and gratitude towarde the parentes, if matrimony be not contracted without theyr consent and knowledge. At the beginning Adam did not chuse himselfe a wife, God was his father and brought vnto him Eve. Abraham when Isaac was now a man, sent his seruant to his kindred, to seke out a wife amongst the for his son. Isaac also sent Jacob into Mesopotamia to his vncle, to the end he might get him a wife there. Afterward succeeded the law geuen of God by Moses, that Children should honour theyr Parentes. But the honour which is to be geuen vnto them, is not only to vnicouer the head, to geue the vpper hand, and to rise vp (although these thinges also are to be performed, but yet are they not sufficient) but they must also noyish theyr progenitoys if neede shalbe, and shew themselves humble and diligent towarde them. Wherefore the power of the father is defined to be a bonde of piety, wherewith the children are bounde vnto the parentes, to performe the offices of humanity and gratitude. If children in oth er thinges ought to obey theyr parentes, undoubtedly they ought chiefly to do it in contracting of matrimony.

Examples of the Elders.

The law of God.

What is the power of a father.

Of this thing there is a peculiar law in Exodus, the 22. chap. If a maiſte which is not betrothed, shalbe deceaued, hee that hath defiled her ought to geue her a dowry, and to take her to wife. But it is added, if the father will: otherwisse hee shall onely geue a dowry, neyther shall he haue the mayden to wife agaynst the fathers will. And in the booke of Numbers the 30. chapter, if a mayden vowe a vowe, and the father heare it, and letteth it not, the vowe shalbe firme: but if he gainsay it, it shalbe in vain. But what is a vowe? A pꝛomes made vnto god. But matrimony is a pꝛomise which is made vnto mā. If god permit a vowe made vnto him to the iudgement of the father, much moꝛe wil he permit matrimony vnto hym, when as it is a pꝛomise made betwene men. In the seconde booke of Samuel, Thamar answereth vnto Ammon her brother: If thou desire me of my father, he will not deny me vnto thee. The custome was then that the daughters were desired of the parentes. Here I dispute not whither it was lawfull for David to geue to Ammon his sister to wife. This shalbe entreated of in his conuenient place. Farther Paule sayth to the Ephesians: Children obey your Parentes in all thinges. He excepteth nothinge when he wyrteth so, but he sayth in all thynges, namelye whiche they commaunde not agaynst the wooꝛde of God.

Ag. liii.

And

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And in his first Epistle to the Corrint. the 7. chapter is most manifestly declared, that it longeth to the Parentes to place theyr daughters to husbands. And that was known not onely by the law of God, but also by the light of nature, which thinge also the Comedies of Terence and Plautus manifestly declare. And in Euripides a mayden answered: Of our mariages my father shall haue charge, for that iudgement pertayneth not vnto vs.

Euripides

Ambrose.

Whiche verse vndoubtedlye so pleased Ambrose, that he rehearsed it in his booke of the patriarches. Farther it serueth very much for domesticall peace: for the daughter in law ought to be to the father in law in stede of a daughter: Contrarily of rash mariages rise great discords at home. And soasmuch as the father ought to helpe the sonne with his goods, it is right, that the son agayne in contractinge matrimonye obey the father. In other ciuill contractes the sonne can doo nothinge without the consente of the Father, as appeareth in the Digestes De mutuo, ad senatus consultum Macedoniarum. Wherefore in a thyng farre greater it is meete that the iudgemente of the Father be had.

What the ciuill lawes iudge in mariage of children.

The ciuill lawes haue decreed this selfe same thinge. Iustinian in his institutions, in the title de Nuptiis, will not that mariages should be firme, without the consent of the Parentes. And in the Digestes De statu hominum in the Lawe Paulus: If a sonne mary a wife against the will of his parentes, the childe which shalbe borne of those mariages, shall not be legitimate, &c. And in the Code De Nuptiis in the law Si proponis, the case is diligently to be marked. The daughter marieth by the consent of her father, shes afterward complayneth of her husband, and departeth from him. Afterward he cometh into fauor agayne, and shes marieth him agayne against her fathers will. It is answered, that that matrimony is not lawfull. Hereby appeareth how much the lawes esteemed the power of the father. Afterward in the law Si furiosus: Children, if peradventure their parentes bee mad or bestraught of theyr wittes, because they cannot vse their consent in contracting of matrimony, shall vse the consent of theyr tutors.

What the canons iudge.

Wherefore it seemeth meruelous, how Christians at this day determine that mariages are lawfull without the consente of the parentes, and for that thinge they lay for an excuse the Canons: of which I thinke it good byrds to declare some. And firste I will make mencion of the better Canons whiche were moze aunciente: For the later they were decreed, the moze corrupte they were.

Euaristus.
Nicolaus.

In the decrees. 30. quest. 5. chap. aliter: Patrimones are then lawfull, when the maydens are desired of their parents, and deliuered openly. Otherwile they are not matrimones, but whooredomes, vn honest companieng, adnouteries, and fornications. Thus decreed Euaristus. Nicolaus also at the consultacion of the Bulgares in the. 30. quest. 5. chap. nostrates. Those matrimones are firme which are toynd with the consente of those that contrate them, and of those in whose power they are. Leo also the 12. in the. 30. quest. 5. chap. qualis: When it is to be counted matrimony, when the mayden is by her parentes deliuered vnto her husbnde. And in the 31. q. 2. chap. non omnis. A woman whyche marieth by the consente of her father, is without blame, if anye man afterwarde shall synde faulce withall, And thus Gratianus concludeth that place, that he sayth, in contractyng of matrimonye, the consente of the Parentes is allwayes required.

Leo

Gratianus

Ambrose.

Farther, Ambrose entreating of a place of Genesis wher it is written, that the seruant of Abraham came into Mesopotamia, and founde a wyfe for his masters

maisters sonne, the parentes of þe mayden, when they labored to ketyne hym longer, & he would not abyde, they called þe mayden, & asked her whether she would go with him. After this maner he sayth, as also it is declared, in the, 23. q. 2. chap. honorandum. They asked not her (sayth he) touching þe weddyng, but onely whether she would go with him. For it pertaineth not (sayth he) to maidenly shamefastnes, to chuse vnto her selfe a husband. And the same thing affirmed he of wydowes which are yonge. Althoughe to speake the truth, I can not in this thing graunt vnto Ambrose, þe the mayden was not demaunded the question whether she would mary hym, neither do I doubt but that she was asked the question of either cause. For in the, 30. q. 2. chap. vbi non est, it is had: That there can be no matrimony, where is not the consent of those that contract, yea in mariages of children, which are but. 7. yeaes of age, bycause at that age they are thought to vnderstand somewhat of matrimony, the consent of those that contract is necessary. And bycause there is mention made of spousages, this semeth good to be noted by the way, þe children so contracting, ought to be seven yeaes of age, otherwise the parents can promise nothing for the. The same children, if after ward, being of moze yeres, they shal contract an other matrimony, the same is of force, and not the spousages: whiche yet is to be vnderstand if the parentes consent to the second matrimony. Whoeuer in the, 31. quest. 2. chap. tua, Hormisdas answereth, that children when they contract after this maner, ought to stand to þe will of their parentes. And Extra de sponsatione impuberum. chap. tua, it is ordayned that children when they come to ripe age, ought to obey their parentes, for as much as also they gaue their faith, and consented.

The consent of
childre is requi-
red in spousa-
ges.

I thought it good also to bring somewhat of the counsels. Concilium Toletanum the fourth. 32. q. 2. chap. hoc sanctum, decreeth: If widowes will not pofesse chastity, let the mary to who they will: and the same thing it decreeth of a mayden, but it addeth, so þe it be not agaynst the will of þe parentes or her own. Such an addition we se that Nicolaus the second added, as it is had in the, 27. quest. 2. chap. sufficiat, where he writeth after this maner: To loygne matrimony, the consent of those whiche contract, is sufficient, & it followeth, according to the lawes matrimonyes of children are not acknowledged, if they be made without the consent of þe parentes. Yet the glose referreth not those wordes vnto þe ciuill lawes but to the Canons, bycause (as the Canonist say) the ciuill lawes are sometimes corrected by the Canons. But oftentymes happeneth that those Canons are in very deede *quædam*, that is rules without a rule, as, Extra de coniugiis seruorum, chap. 1. if bondemen contract, yea agaynst the will of their Lordes, such matrimonyes shalbe ratified. Beholde, sayeth the Glose, the Canons amende the ciuill lawes. For in them it is forbiddon, that a bondema should mary a wife agaynst the wil of his Lord, yea if a free man haue very much resort vnto an others mans bonde woman, he is made a bondeman, & a free woman if she haue much accesse vnto an other mans bondeman, she also loseth her liberty. The glose saith moze ouer, that moze is attributed vnto matrimony, then vnto holy orders: because it is not lawfull to bring a straunge bondeman into orders, but it is lawfull to contract matrimony with him. Wherefore it manifestly appeareth that þe latter Canons were viciated and corrupted, whiche tooke away from mariages the consent of parentes, as necessary.

Counsels.

A discord of the
Canons and of
the ciuill lawes
as touchyng þe
matrimony of
bondemen.

But now let vs see what reasons they pretend. Extra de sponsalibus, chap. cum locum, it is sayd: There ought in contracting of matrimony to be most full liberty. And in the same chap. veniens: If there should be there any feare, the matrimony ought to be voyde, and there is geuen a reason, because she can not long please hym of whom she is hated. And bycause such contractes haue oftentymes an vnlucky end, and also bycause that is easely contemned whiche is not loved: yea the Canons seme so to haue loued liberty in contracting of matrimony, that the Counsel of Paris (as it is had in the, 30. quest. 2.) decreed: That it is not law-
full

ful to desire a wife by the letters of a kyng. Although the same thyng also be decreed in the Code de Nuptiis, in the law. 1. chap. Si nuptias ex rescriptio. The reason is, because the letters of princes are in a manner commaundementes and thzeatninges. Neither do I dissallow that: although I do not a litle meruaile, that the Canons haue proceeded so far, that they haue decreed that matrimonye may be contracted betwene hym & scales alway a mayde, & her that is stolen. Extra de Raptoribus & Incendiariis, chap. cum causa. A mayden that was stolen awaye out of the house of her father, had contracted matrimony with hym that stole her, & father withstandeth such a marriage. Here the good Pope answereth, for as muche as the mayden consenteth, she can not seme to bee stolen. Wherefore he decreed that matrimony to be good. And in the next chap. Accedens: If a man had stolen away a mayden, not onely agaynst the wyll of her parentes, but also agaynst her owne wil, whiche mayden yet, if she after ward consented with hym that stole her, he decreed that firme matrimony may be contracted betwene the. The same thyng seemeth to be decreed in p. 36. q. 2. chap. in summa, where is entreated of the stealer and her that is stolen, & it is decreed: If she & is stolen shall consent with the stealer, matrimony may be contracted betwene them; but yet in such sorte, that first they do some penance. But because some Canons make agaynst this decree, the rather they moderate the matter, that wheresoeuer they rede that matrimonye can not be contracted betwene such persons, that they vnderstand to be sayd for some one of these thze causes, either because she that is stolen did not consent, or els because she was herrouthed before vnto an other by wordes (as they vse to spake) of the present tense, for I say not of the future tense, for the husband was not compelled to marry one defiled, or because she was not marigeable.

But in the Code it is farre other wise decreed for stealers alway of virgins, namely that matrimony can by no meanes be contracted betwene those persons, yea although the father consent vnto her that is stolen, and Iustinian also in his Authentiques, Collation. 9. in the title, que raptoribus nubunt, decreeth the same to the detestation of so great a crime. But our Canonistes, in gods name do thinke that matrimonyes are lawfull euen agaynst the parentes wil, wherefore in the. 32. q. 2. chap. Mulier, the glose sayth, & the power of the father is broken as touching an othe and matrimony, when ripe age cometh, which sentence the schoolemen also haue followed. Of this matter they dispute in the. 4. booke of Sentences dist. 28. where they define that a man, euen the sonne of the father of the house, hath a certayne dominion ouer his owne body, neither is so bound to his parentes, but that he may at his owne liberty dispose of it, as touching matrimony. And when they rede in the Canons that the consent of the parentes is required for the contracting of matrimony, they by theyr interpretation corrupte them, and say that Euaristus, Nicolaus, and Leo when they so decreed, byd iudge that the consent of the parentes is required as touching the honesty of matrimony, but not as touching the necessity: whiche thyng peradventure they byewe out of the glose Extra de desponsa. impuberum, in the lawe tua, whiche is after this sorte: That the good will of the parentes is to be required, but rather for the comelynes of the marriage, then for the necessity, so that if the parentes will not assent, yet are the children free, and maye contracte matrimony at theyr owne liberty. Yea and the Master of the Sentences also in the distinct. 28. The consent of the parentes (sayeth he) serueth for the comelynes and honesty of marriages, and not for necessity. And he byyngeth the wordes of Euaristus, but he sayeth there is a difference betwene those thynges whiche are required to the substance of marriages, and those thynges which serue for the honesty and comelynes. And the good will of the parentes as he sayeth, pertayneth not to the substance of marriages, he thynketh that without it children maye lawfully contracte. And for as muche as hee maketh matrimonye a Sacramente, hee wylleth that

How the Pa-
pistes require
the consent of
the parentes.

The master of
the scholemen.

(in suc)

in such mariages should be the vertue of matrimony, and not the honesty.

But because they very much p[re]sse the wordes of Euaristus, when he writeth that mariages contracted without þ good will of the parentes, are whozedomes, fornications and aduoutries: the master of the sentences answereth that that is true, not because such mariages are in very deepe such, but because they assembling together secretly among theselues, & p[ri]uely without the parents knowledge, are wont to be counted as whozemongers and adulterers, but yet the matrimony abideth ratified and is firme, because of the wordes of the present tense which wer therein used. Also Thomas Aquinas in the same place, is of the same iudgement, and vnto that which is brought out of Paul vnto the Ephesians (where he sayth, childzen obey your parentes in al things:) he answereth that that is to be vnderstand of those things, wherein the childzen haue not any liberty, namely as touching familiar and domesticall things. And this reason he addeth: because matrimony is a certayne kynde of seruitude, which the childe is not compelled to take vpon him agaynst his will. And in that it is written of Abraham, that he sought his sonne a wife out of his kintred, he answered that that happened, because he knewe that that land was promised vnto his posterity, and that God had decreed to take it awaye from the Chanaanites: therefore he would not haue his sonne contracted marriage with them.

Thomas Aquinas

These fellows in deepe speake many things, but they bring not so much as one word out of the holy scriptures: they will contend that childzen ought to haue most full liberty left them, as touching mariages. But that is a mere intention of theirs, which by no meanes hath his foundation vpon the word of God.

The old fathers were of our opinion: but of them it happened, as of the Canons, for the moze auncient they were, the moze sincere they were, and the moze new, the moze corrupte. Tertuliane in his 2. booke to his wife, as touching the mariages of Christians with Ethnikes, writeth very wel, neither alloweth he mariages betwene persons of a contrary religion. God sayth he, deliuereth thee to a spouse. And he addeth: so not in earth can daughters right and iustly mary without the consent of the parentes. How therfore wilt thou mary without the consent of thy heauenly father? Chrysostome vpon Genesis and vpon Mathew, when he entreateth of mariages, remitteth the matter vnto the ex[em]ples of the fathers in the olde Testamēt: neither is it of great necessity to rehearse his wordes, when as the same father vpon the first Epistle to Timo. in his. 9. Homely, entreateth very manifestly of that matter: there he exhorteth parents, because of the slippery age of their childzen, to ioyne them in matrimony, but he exhorteth not the childzen that they should chuse vnto theselues husbandes or wyues, but by Apostrophes he conuerteth his oration vnto the parentes, that they should promise for them as touching matrimony: & he addeth a very notable sentence: If (saith he) they begin to playe the whozemongers before they be married, they will neuer be faithfull in matrimony. I will note also by the waye, what he writeth in y place of wedding crownes or garlandes. For euen at that tyme they used crownes or garlandes in weddinges. What (saith he) signifieth the crown or garland? For soth that the husband and the wife should declare, that eue to that tyme they had ben vanquishers of lustes: if thou hast ben an adulterer or whozemonger, howe wearest thou a crown or garland? Augustine in his. 133. Epistle, being desired to make þ marriage betwene a manchild & a womanchild, I would do it (saith he,) but the mother of the child is not present, and thou knowest that to contract the marriage, her good will is necessary. In this place Augustine writeth moze severely then the ciuill lawes. For they will not haue the childe to be in the power of his mother. Of Ambrose I will speake nothing nowe: I haue sufficiently spoken of hym before. Therfore saying the lawe of God and the lawe of nature, the ciuill lawe and economical lawe, the fathers and sincere Canons do affirme, & the consent of the parentes is necessary, and the ex[em]ples of the saintes declare

What the old fathers iudged Tertulian.

Chrysostomes

Augustines

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the same, what should let but that we should be of the same mind? Neither ought this to seeme grievous vnto childe: for it was for their commodity so appointed by God and by lawes. For young persons in such thinges, and specially women, prouide very yll oftentimes for themselves. Wherefore it is written in the Code de sponsalibus in the law si pater: When a father hath betrothed his daughter, if he after ward dye, the gouernour or tutor cannot vndo the covenant of the father, and a reason is added: because tutors sometymes are wonne with money, and women thorough weakenes fall to their owne discommodity. The example also of Christ ought to moue vs, whiche was geuen of his father a husbnde vnto the Church, and he alwaye sayd that he did not his own will, but the will of his father, of whome he was sent. Farther, how great a disorder ariseth in the publique wealth of this depauration and abuse: how great a window is opened vnto filthy lustes: he that can first haue carnall fellowship with the mayden in some places, hopeth to obteyne her to wife, yea euen against her parentes good will.

It is mete the children should require the consent of their parentes.

To the reasons of the aduersaries.

The chiefest liberty is to obey the commaundments of god

But now must we answer the reasons whiche the contrary party alledge for themselves. First, as we before sayd, they cry that in contractyng of matrimony, there ought to be full liberty. But I pray you what liberty? Of the flesh, or of the spirit? Undoubtedly that liberty of the spirit is the greatest, when we obey the commaundmentes of god, who if he would haue vs obedient vnto our parentes in other thinges, why not also in contractyng of matrimony? Wherefore they breake the lawe of God, which obey not the parentes also in this thing. Farther, if they will haue the liberty of contractyng of matrimony to be so great, why doo they themselves prohibite so many degrees of mariages, whiche God neuer prohibited? Once the Popes would not suffer matrimony to be contracted, eue vnto the seventh degree, but now they contayne within the fourth: moreover why do they forbid mariages vnto the ministers of the Church? Farther, why did God himself forbid matrimonies betwene persons of contrary religion, if in marriage there ought to be so great a liberty as they sayne to be? But they adde: Children for feare of their parentes will saye that that matrimony pleaseth them, whiche pleaseth them not. But the sonne is not compelled so to say: nothyng letteth but that he may answer, that that wife pleaseth him not, and that such a matrimony he can not abyde. And in deede without his consent matrimony can be by no meanes contracted. In the digestes de ritu nuptiaru, in the lawe non cogitur, we rede that the sonne can not be compelled to mary a wyfe, & de sponsalibus, in the lawe sed ea, if the daughter hold her peace, she seemeth to consent vnto the father: & there are two causes ascribed wherfore the daughter may resiste her father, if either the father offer her a wicked husband, or a disfigured husband. Otherwise, if there be none of these causes, it is required of her to loue him whom the father hath chose. If she will not assent, when the husband hath neither wicked maners, nor is misshapen, she incurreth the crime of ingratitude: whiche is so great that the father may disinherite her for it. And in the title de ritu nuptiarum, in the law si cogente patre. Although the sonne haue assented for feare of the father, yet because he had rather assent then offend his father, such a matrimony ought to be firme and ratified. I would adde vnto the former cause the third, if the father offer a husband whiche is of a contrary religion: and I would euer counsell the parentes to gratifie their children, vnles they see them to obstinate and vnjust. But when the parentes deale to tyrannically with their children, & compell them to mary wiues whom they can not abyde, the matter ought to be brought before the Magistrate, whose office is to heare the cause, and to deliuer the sonne from iniury, if he be to cruelly oppressed. When if the sonne mary a wife by the authority of the Magistrate, yea agaynst the will of the father, he can not seeme utterly to haue married without his fathers consent. For the Magistrate is the father of the countrey. The same thing semeth to be decreed de ritu nuptiaru, in the lawe qui liberos. And methinketh the schoolemen haue not well sayd, that the children of the householde haue

The punishment of ingratitude.

What may be done against to greivous parentes

The Magistrate is the father of the countrey.

haue dominion ouer their owne body. For as much as they aue vnto their parentes that they are. They ought not to be compelled to mariages agaynst their wil, but that they should mary without the consent of the parentes, it can not be graunted the. And when they so often obtrude vnto vs liberty, & alledge y^e dominion of their body, we lay against it y^e answer of god as touching y^e daughters of Zalthead, who sayth of them: Let them haue heritage among their brethren, but let them mary in their owne tribe. These women are compelled to mary their next of kynne, neither had they that liberty whiche these men sayne. And the brother was sometymes compelled to mary the wyfe of his brother being dead, neither could he mary an other: therfore so great liberty is not necessary in mariages, as these men pretend. And by the ciuill lawe, so great is the power of the father ouer the sonne, that he may sell hym if he fall into greuous necessity. And least that should seeme barbarous vnto any man, the same thyng is permitted by the lawe of God in Exodus the 21. chap. but yet adding certayne cautions, whiche I thinke not good here to repeat. Wherefore they did not rightly argue, when they sayd, that matrimony is a kynde of seruitude, whiche the sonne ought not to take vpon him at the appointment of his father.

The bought
tere of fals
thead.

It is permiss
ed vnto the p
rentes to sell
theyr children.

And in that they saye, that the consent of the parentes is required for the honesty of matrimony, and not for necessity, it is frivolous and vayne. For what greater necessity can there bee, then that whiche the lawe and commaundementes of God hyng with them: Children are commaunded to honour father and mother. Also Paul the Apostle prescribeth them to obey their parentes in all thynges. And the same thyng wytteth he vnto the Phillipians the 4. chapter. That whiche remaineth brethren: What soeuer thynges are true, whatsoeuer are honest, whatsoeuer iuste, whatsoeuer pure, whatsoeuer profitable, whatsoeuer lucky, these thynges do ye. &c. By these wordes appeareth that the thynges whiche are honest, muste not be separated from the commaundementes of God. Wherefore looke howe necessary it is to obey the commaundementes of God, so necessary is it not to mary without the consent of the parentes. And that whiche they adde that the consent of the parentes is in deede required, but yet if they will not consent, the matrimony may be firme: That is nothyng elles then to deride the parentes. For what contumely is it, for the sonne in suche sorte to desire the consent of his parentes, that though he be agaynst it and gaynesay it, yet notwithstanding will he abyde in his purpose, and execute it: It were muche better not to desire it, then to desire it with that mynde. This also seemeth wonderfull vnto me, that the master so peruerteth y^e the wordes of Euaristus: that when Euaristus sayeth that matrimonyes contracted without the consent of the parents are whooredomes, and fornications, and not matrimony, he dare expounde that the matter is not so in deede, but bycause they so assemble together, as whooremongers and adulterers vse to doo. But the sentence of Euaristus is manifest. They are not (sayeth he) matrimonyes, and he addeth what in deede they are, namely fornications, adulteryes, and whooredomes. And he sayeth not that they seeme to be these thynges, but that they are.

There are other whiche obiecte vnto vs the booke of Genesis, where it is wytten that Esau maried Chananitishe wyues, whiche his parentes tooke in very yll part, for he had maryed them contrary to their commaundement. And yet the Scripture calleth them wyues. Wherefore it seemeth that matrimony may be contracted euen agaynst the parentes will. I graunt in deede that in the holy Scriptures they are called wyues. But yet for that cause, bycause he so cousted the, & bycause the nations among whom he dwelled, counted the for wyues. But hereby is not gathered, y^e the scriptures do confirme such matrimony. The same forme of speakyng vsed Paul in the firste to the Corinthians the eyght chapter: Euen as there are many gods and many Lordes. He sayeth that there are many

The Scripture
so calleth things
as they are co-
monly called of
men.

gods, not y there are so in deede (for there is but one God,) but bycause the most part so beleued, and publique perswasio thought y there was an infinite number of goddes. Therfore he sayth many goddes, but to vs that thinke rightly, there is but one God, & one Lord Jesus Christ. It is no vnaccustomed or straunge thing in the scriptures so to call things as men vse commonly to speake: yet in an other place, when they speake properly, they call euery thing by his owne name. But thou wilt say, we neuer rede that y children of Esau were not legitimate. I answer, that Esau had in deede a greate posterity, but whether it were legitimate or otherwise the Scripture declareth not. Wherunto adde, that with those nations among whome he dwelled they were counted legitimate. For they had not the woode of God, wherein it is commaunded that that should not be doone: and they had wonderfully corrupted the lawe of nature.

7. Other crye: What shall we thinke of our elders: what also of many whiche lyue now, and haue contracted matrimonyes without the consent of their parentes: Shall we call them mariages or adulterpes? And shall we counte they children for legitimate or for bastarides? I answer, when such mariages were had in those darkenes befoze the new light of the Gospell, those men were not in deede excused from synne (for it was not lawfull for them to be ignorant of the law of God) but yet bycause they were done publicly, & the Magistrate permitting them, I am perswaded that such contracts are firme and ratified. If they object that in such mariages the consent of the parentes wanted, I answer that it was there, & not there. For the Magistrates had made their ciuill lawes subiect vnto the Canons, whiche vndoubtedly they ought not to haue done. And in this thing all me agree. And for as much as the Magistrate hath authoritie ouer the people, if he consent to any thing, there after a sorte is the publique consent of the people. As at this day in assemblies, when they assemble, that some summe of money should be payd, although some priuate man of the people do take it in euill part, yet bycause it is agreed vpon by the Magistrate, he ought to seme to haue consented: So the father would not that the matrimony of his sonne should be firme without his consent, yet bycause he hath made his owne will subiect vnto the iudgement of the Magistrate, he ought to seme after a sorte to haue consented. But now the truth of the thing being known, the Magistrates ought to reuoke the error. Therfore the matrimonyes whiche haue bene hitherto, that is in darkenes contracted agaynst the will of the parentes, ought to bee firme, and the children bozne of them ought to be counted legitimate. But if the lawe should afterwarde bee reuoked, then should they not be matrimonyes, but onely be presumption, but in very deede fornications, whozedomes, and aduoutpes, as Euaristus rightly iudgeth. But whylest the lawes whiche are now of force, are not abrogated: I doo not dissolue the matrimonyes whiche are so contracted, neyther doo I saye that the children bozne of those mariages are bastarides: but I declare what seemeth moze agreeable vnto the woode of God, and vnto honestie. But Euaristus myght iustly write so, bycause in hys tyme the Romane lawes were of force, whiche counted not suche coniunctions for matrimonyes. Farther, I adde that fathers are not to bee obeyed, when they let the mariages of their children, onely for religion sake, bycause in that case God is to be obeyed aboue all thynges, who is the chief father of all men.

7 He went downe I say, and talked with the woman, which pleased the eyes of Samson.

8 And within a fewe dayes when he returned to receaue her, he went aside to see the rarkase of the Lyon. And beholde there was a swarme of bees, and honey in the body of the Lyon.

9 And

9 And he toke therof in his handes, and went eatyng, and came to his father & to his mother, and gaue vnto the, & they did eate: but he told not them that he had taken the hony out of the body of the Lion.

10 So his father went downe vnto the woman, & Samson made there a feast. For so vsed the yonge men to do.

11 And when they sawe hym, they tooke 30. companions, and they were with him.

In this place the Lion is not called Cephers as he was befoze, but Ariah: by cause that difference whiche I haue befoze shewed is not alwayes obserued. The matrimony of Samson is celebrated: wherein the prouidence of God preparerth occasion, whereby he should doo some violence vnto the Philistines. And that occasion was, bycause as he returned he remembred the Lion whiche he had slayne. He went a litle aside, to looke vpon the carcase of the Lion. And he founde therein a swarme of bees, and a combe of hony. And this is such a straunge thyng as hath not bene heard of: for it is in no other place, that I wot of, eyther shewed or red, that bees haue made hony in the carcase of a Lion. Pliny and Virgil in his. 4. booke of Georgiques teache that of dead bullockes or oxen doo come bees, as of a horse waspes, and of an asse Hornets. Plutarche in the lyfe of Cleomenes saith, eue as of a horse do engender waspes, of an asse Hornets, of an ore bees: so also of the carcase of a man, and especially of the marrow & humors which falleth vpon the earth, are brought forth serpentes. For that cause the elders were wont to consecrate serpentes vnto noble men. But we neuer rede any such thing of a Lion, wherfore this ought we to iudge, yf this was done by y singular prouidence of God. Ambrose thinketh that the place where Samson had cast the Lion, was a pleasaunt and fertile place, and the bees flyed thether for flowers, and made hony in the carcase of the Lion. But I (as I saue sayd) doo attribute all this vnto the prouidence of God. Pliny in his. 7. booke sayth, that bees vse not to make hony, excepte it be in the hyne, or in a tree, or in caues vnder the earth, & he affirmeth yf aboue al things they flye frō euill sauors. Farther, he saith yf Hornets and waspes doo eate dead carcasses, but bees touche the not. Ambrose sayth that Samson turned aside to y Lion, to take his skinne, that beyng clothed with it, he might come vnto the feast as a great valiant man, as after ward did Hercules. But bycause he sawe that that apparell was not very handsome for wedding apparell, he tooke rather thereout the hony combs, of the which he myght geue part vnto his parentes, and parte vnto his wyfe.

They tooke thirty companions. Some thinke that these thirty companions were ioyned vnto Samson for to doo hym honour. But some of the Hebræwe Interpreters suspects that the Philistines, when they perceaued that he was a strong and valiant man, brought these men to be keepers for hym, least thozough the shewes of marriage, he should make some commotion.

12 Then Samson sayd vnto them: I wil now put forth a riddle vnto you: and if ye can declare it me within seuen dayes of the feast, I will geue you 30. sheetes, and 30. chaunge of garmentes.

13 But if ye can not declare it me, then shal ye geue me. 30. sheetes, and 30. change of garmentes. And they answered hym: put forth thy riddle that we may heare it.

14 And he sayde vnto them: Out of the eater came meate, and out of the stronge came sweetenes: and they coulde not in thre dayes expounde the riddle.

What the riddle
of Samson sig-
nified.

Augustine.

Ambrose.

Why riddles
were put forth
in feastes.

A fable of
Sphing.

The elegancy of h riddle consisteth in contraries, for he which eateth, & he y ge-
neth meate, & he y is fierce, & he that is swete, are contraries. Such a riddle was
not onely put forth to quicken the wittes, but also the holy ghost would by it sig-
nify things to come. At that time the Philistines ruled ouer the Jewes, & oppres-
sed them with tyrany, & after a sozt deuoured them. Therfoze by the riddle is sig-
nified that at the length they should be ouercome, & be eaten of the Jewes: & soz
as much as they were most fierce, they should be at h last not hurtfull, but great
comodity vnto h Hebzeus. Augustine vpon p. 70. Psalme referreth these things
vnto an Allegozy of Chzist & pñces of the earth. For when h Gospel begā first
to be pzeached, pñces ran vpon Chzistās, like Lions, withal their might to de-
uoure them. But our sunne, that is Chzist, was pzeent, & toke away the Libs,
whom yet he did not so defect that they should not be, but that soz deuourers of
the flocke, they should be nooz, hers of the Church, and defenders of the Gospel.
This is a very elegant allegozy, and the foundation therof, is the kylling of the
Lion, wherby we first vnderstād what should happen in the people of h Jewes,
& then what should come to passe in Chzist. Ambrose demaundeth the cause why
Samson put out this riddle, and he aunswereth: bycause in feastes men are some-
tymes wont when they haue well dzonke, to be somewhat full of talke, & some-
what to intemperatly to rebuke others, which things turneth soz the most part
into bzaulyns & chidinges. And to auoyde that, graue mē wer wont to put forth
riddles o: pzoblemes, omitting dangerous talke, & turning their mind to the expo-
sition of the things put forth. Whose example Samson folloved, & set forth a re-
ward soz him, which should expound his question: as though the knowledge and
sharpenes of the minde ought to be rewarded, & contrarily punishmēt is institu-
ted soz ignozaunce & sluggishenes. The Ethnikes also in the old tyme were wont
so to do. Wherfoze the Poets fable that Sphing was wont to set forth a reward,
namely if a mā had absolued his riddle, he should haue ben let goo free. But if he
had failed, he should haue ben thzowen hedlong dowlne a rocke. What h Poetes
would by this fable signify, I will not at this pzeent declare. This thing euery
man may easely vnderstand, that the witte of mā is so composed by nature, that
it is not easely stirred vp, but either by setting soozth rewarde, o: daunger.
Whiche also we may easely see in childezen. Farther, let vs note that it is one
thyng to put a mans money to basard o: chaunce, and an other thing to contend
soz wyt. But in this contention whiche Samson instituted, there was no place
soz chaunce, but it was a certayne kinde of play, ciuily, honest, and laudable.

Of Playes.

And bycause we are fallen into mention of playe, I thinke it good somewhat
to speake therof.

Ambrose.

Chrisostome.

Augustine

Some of the fathers seme to abhoze from all kynde of playes. Ambrose in his
1. booke de officiis, chapter. 23. Playes (sayth he,) and pastymes seme swete and
and pleasaunt, when as yet they are contrary to the rule of a Chzistian. For it is
not founde in the holy Scriptures, holwe they ought to be bled. Chrisostome
vpon Mathewe the. 6. Homelye, sayeth that G D D inuented not playe, but the
deuill. For the people sat to eate and dzinke, and rose vp to play, in the honour
of a most filthy idole. For when they had wo:shipped the false and incurred ido-
latrye, they seemed to haue obtayned thys rewarde of the deuill, namely to
play. Veraduenture Chrisostome alludeth to that which Plato wrote in Phedro,
that Theut the demon of the Egyptians found out Numbers, Geometry, Astrolo-
gy, letters, and dyse. But Augustine in hys. 2. booke de Musica, sayeth that it
is a parte of a wyseman to reuoke the mynde from earnest matters: and that
is chiefly done by playe. Wherfoze it semeth to be lawfull. But holwe so great
an

an oblectation ryseth of playe, it is not heard to vnderstande. Aristotle in hys. 2. booke of Rhetoriques putteth victorie or hope of victorie among the causes of oblectation. But when we playe, either we obtayne the victorie, or elles we are in some hope thereof. Wherefore they whiche defend playe, doo determine with themselves, that the mynde ought sometymes to bee no les refreshed, then the body: and as the body is renewed by rest or quietnes, so they say the mynde is recreated by playe. By whiche meanes they thinke to proue that there muste some place bee leste for playes: addyng yet certayne cautions. Firste, that there be no filthy and vn honest wordes vsed in playes. It is not seldome sene that in playing both filthy and also blasphemous wordes do happen. We must also take heed, that there be not vsed to muche lyghtnes, and dissolution of grauity and comelynes. For oftentymes it cometh to passe, that men do so vtterly geue themselves to playe, that after ward, they are able to do nothing grauely. Farther, the circumstances are diligently to be marked, of the person (I say) the place, and the tyme. It is certayn in deede that in the holy scriptures there is no rule or forme prescribed concerning playes, although in the same are read many kinds of playes. In Genesis the aungell wrestled the whole night with Iacob. Sara saith Isaac play with Ismaell, which she tooke in euill parte, not vndoubtedly because he played, but because he played together with the sonne of a bondswoman. Dauid also danned & played befoze the arke of the Lord. And the maydens sang in their daunces, Saull hath overcome in his thousandes, & Dauid in his. x. thousandes. And Christ complained that the Iewes were like vnto children playing in the streetes and saying: We haue songe vnto you, &c. And although of these thynges there be no certayne rules manifestly wyrtten in the holy Scriptures, yet are they set forth in the ciuill lawes.

But befoze I speake of them, it shalbe good, to distribute playes into his sort: mes and kindes. There are some which are vtterly referred vnto chaunce, as he whiche casteth mozt, or casteth this chaunce or that, carieth alwaye the rewarde. There are other whereby the powers either of the body or minde are exercised.

Such playes as depend vpon chaunce & are vnderstand by the name of dysplaye, are both by the ciuill lawes & by the fathers condemned. In the digestes de aleatoribus the Pretor sayth: If a dysplayer be iniured by his fellowe, I will not geue him iudgement. But if one steale or do violence to an other, I will in deede render right, although they be vntwozthy. And afterward: if a man compell an other to playe, let hym be punished, so that he be cast either into the quarreys to digge stoncs, or els into the comon prisons. By these things it appeareth, y by the ciuill lawe to playe at dysle was a thyng very odious. Cicero in. 2. Phillip. agaynst Anthonius: His house (sayth he) is full of dysplayers and dronkardes. Farther, the lawes adde, if dysplayers lay any wagers among themselves, they are not firme. Howbeit it is permitted vnto them of the household to play among themselves, for that whiche may afterward be eaten in a feast. But in the Code de religiosis sumptibus funerū, it is moze seuerely ordeyned of play, dysle, & dysplayers. In the old tyme souldiers were permitted to play at dysle after their busines done. But the Emperour complaineth that at that tyme al men played, & in tryng of chaunces, wasted all their patrimony, & lastly added blasphemie agaynst God. Wherefore he decreed, that it should not be lawfull for any man to play, nor to loke vpon hym that playeth: & he admonisheth the Bishops, diligently to loke that these things be obserued. The same Iustinian the Emperour in his Authentiques, in the title de sacrosanctis Episcopis, in the paragraphe Interdicimus doth prohibite by name, that no Bishoppe, Priest, or Deacon, should either playe themselves, or looke vpon them that playe. But if they shall doo otherwyse, hee geneth commaundement to thrust then into Monasteries for thre yeares. Nowe let the Popes go and saye, it is not lawfull for Emperours to ordeyne of Ecclesiasticall matters. De excessu praelatorum, in the chapter Inter dilectos, because

Aristotle,

Play is a cause of delectation.

Why play seemeth to be lawfull.

1.

Caution to be added vnto honest player.

2.

The lawe of God entreateth nothinge of playes.

A distinction of playes.

Of dysplaye: Dysplaye is condemned by ciuile lawes.

a certayne Chanon was found to be a dise player, & had in play geuen bys money to vsury, to receaue for. x. peeces of money. xii. he was depofed. Also de vita & honestate clericorum, chap. Clerici: Let them not play at dise nor tables, neither let them be present at such playes. The same thing is had in the distinaçions. 35. chap. 1. Either let them cease to play, or els let them be condemned.

Agaynste those
whiche defend
diseplay.

But they whiche defend this kinde of playe are wont to say: What if we will so bestow our money? Are we not Lordes of our owne things? We do no wrong to our neyghbour, we take not away other mens goodes. These thinges haue they continually in theyr mouth. But they ought to vnderstande, that it is the dewty of the Magistrate, to see that euery man vse bys owne thinges well. Farther we must consider moze deeply that God gaue vnto these money, wherewith they might haue to nooçish their family, and to helpe the pooze, and not to caste them to chaunce, and put them to the slippernes of Fortune. Farther it becometh and especially Christians to represent the image of God: who gouerneth and ruleth all thynges with reason. But so to consume money, is not to be a Lord ouer his owne thinges, but a tyranne. This also mayst thou adde hereunto, if any thing be gotten by this meanes, the same both is, and also is called, filthy gayne.

Whether
thinges lost by
diseplaye may
be recovered.

But for as muche as it is counted filthy gayne it may iustly be demaunded, whether those thinges whiche be lost by diseplaye, may iustly be demaunded as gayne. I aunswere, that if he whiche loseth be riot in his owne power, but vnder an other man, as are the childe of the householde and seruantes, the lawes do geue recovery, and that euen so. 50. yeares. But if they be their owne men, recovery is not graunted, & the cause is assigned, bycause filthines is on either party. In whiche case the cause of the possessor is the better. In the digestes. In the title de conditione ob turpem causam in the lawe vbi autem, when filthynes is in either party, there is no iudgement geuen. What then shalbe done with the money? They say it must be bestowed vpon the pooze, so that he whiche hath lost, may haue hurte, and he whiche hath gayned, shall not haue the fruition of thyngs enill gotten. This is to be done when the possession is transferred. Of the same mynde was Augustine in his Epistle. 54. to Macedonius. Where the possession (sayeth he) is transferred, let the money bee geuen vnto the pooze. But where it is not transferred, as if a man take away any thyng by thefte, and lose it at dise, let it be restoyed. Wherfore we must decree, that such playes ought not to be suffered whiche are gouerned by chaunce and rashenes, so that in them, goods and money are endaungered: bycause it longeth to the publique wealth, to see that thynges be ryghtly gouerned: and God geueth goodes, to be spent to good vses. And bycause by it spryng oftentimes horrible blasphemies, and robbing of our friendes, and conetous desire of other mens goodes is stirred vp, besides the greate losse of tyme. These thinges both the ciuill lawes and also the Ecclesiasticall do see: but at this day they are not regarded. For the Canonically lawes are contemned of the Clergy, and the ciuill lawes are despised of the Princes. For there is no where epyther moze often or moze filthily playe vsed, then among princes, and Ecclesiasticall men: whiche in dede were of good iudgement, when they wrote those lawes: but they haue lyued and also do lyue most filthily.

What playes
are permitted.

But the other kynde of playe, whiche pertayneth to the exercysing of the powers, either of the mind or of the body, is not vterly forbidden. Iustinianus in the lawe before alledged, when he had taken away playes whiche depended of chaunce, substituted this other kynd of playes, as throwyng a round balle into the ayre, handling of the speare, running, & such like. Yea & Aristotle in his Rhetoriques commendeth these exercyses of the body. And vndoubtedly for as much as a man hath nede of some refreshyng and pleasure to recreate him selfe wial, those thinges y are honest, are mete to be graunted vnto him. So at this day publique wealthes do sometimes set forth rewardes vnto such as can best throw weapons that

Aristotle.

if they may haue their Cittizens & better exercised. Wholbeit it must be take heed of, & the kindes of playes be not hurtful or pernicious, so that it be dangerous, least in that playe, they which exercise the selues, or which assemble to behold, be killed, or miserably tozned or lamed. And without doubt this kind of playes is prohibited ad legem Aquiliam, in the law Nam ludus, and in the decretals de torneamentis. Those thinges which of their own nature are not euil, but are euil by cause of those thinges which often tymes follow, ought to be prohibited. In the old time rewardes were set forth vnto Syngers, Orators, Poetes, Readers, which are not vniuersally to be disallowed, if they be done tastily or moderately. Afterward were added stage playes, wherof I wil not speake in this place. Daunces also were added, of which we wyl speake in this booke in his due place. But men could not be content with these playes: because also their mindes, which for sondry causes cannot exercise the powers of the body, are to be recreated wth some pleasure: therfore they haue founde out an other kinde of play, namely the play of Chessmen, commonly called Chess: neither is this kinde of play thought woorthy to be condemned.

Farther, there is a certaine other maner of playing, which leaneth partly to Tables, chaunce, and partly to industry, as is playing at Tables, and suche lyke, where in deede they cast by chaunce, but the castes are gouerned by industry, wherfore Plato affirmed that the life of men, is like vnto the play at Tables. For euen as in tableplay, so also in the life of mā, if any thing go not very wel, the same must by arte be corrected. To which sentence Terence also in Adelphis alludeth: and vndoubtedly these kindes of playes seeme suche, that sometime they may be permitted, so that they bying no hurt, refresh the powers, and be soynded wth honestie, and that that time which should be spent vpon better thinges, be not bestowed vpon them.

Plato.

Terence.

But what shal we answer vnto Ambrose: This vndoubtedly, that that place De officiis pertaineth not to playes, for as muche as there be entreateth of pleasant talkes, iactances, and scoffes, especiall ye such as are soynded wth scurrility. But vpon the. 118. Psalme (vpon these woordes: Turne away mine eyes that I see not vanity) he calleth stage playes vanitie, as doth Augustine also together with Lactantius, Ierome and other Fathers. For they had much filthines, & were at the beginning instituted to the honour of Idoles, and therefore they were odious vnto the Fathers & Christians. But the reason which Ambrose first alledged was, because there is nothing found in the holy scriptures how these thinges ought to be vsed. To that we wil answer, that they are found in the holpe scriptures generall ye: whither ye eate, or whither ye drinke, or whither ye doo anye thing els, doo al thinges to the glozy of God. Wherfore the body and the minde are so sometimes to be refreshed with playes, that we may afterward be prompt to grauer matters. Farther, there is nothing found peculiarly in the holy scriptures touching Bakers, Cookes, noz Shipmen, and yet neuertheles their exercises are not utterly to be excluded.

Augustine.

Lactantius.

Ierome.

Why stage playes bee condemned of the Fathers.

Chrysostome said that the Devil found out play, and alledged this: The people sat downe to eate and to drinke, & they rose vp to play. If a man looke moze narrowly vpon that place of this father, hee shall see that hee spake of those men which would not repent, but were woont to say: I woulde to God I might neuer weepe, but might alwaies play and laugh. To whom, he sayth, Christ preached: Blessed are they which mourne. And forasmuche as we so often sinne, and doo so grieuously offend God, how should we haue leasure to play: He also condemneth those playes whereby we are made sluggish & vnapt to good workes. We doo not in play and laughing (sayth he) imitate Christe or the Apostles: for we neuer reade that they either played or laughed. Howbeit he addeth a moderation, for as muche as he addeth, I doo not vniuersally take away al laughter, but the excessive and immoderate laughter. Lastly he turneth him selfe to stage

Chrysostome.

Cap. 14. A Commentarie vpon the

playes, and saith that they were inuented by the Deuill: for they containe the wicked actes and whooredomes of the Gods, whereby the consciences of godly men are greuously wounded, and wicked lustes are many waies stirred vp. And in that he saith that these thinges were inuented by the Deuill, he speaketh nothing contrary to the truth: because (as I haue admonished) they were instituted in the honour of false Gods. Yea and this thing he addeth also, that the Deuill builded stages in Citties.

To what entet
the lawes re-
strayned or pro-
hibited playes.

But now to conclude, me thinketh that those kindes of playes which serue to renewe strengthes in men, are not utterly to be forbidden. Neither ought we lightly to be offended, if we see a man play at Chesse, with which play the powers of the body are nothing holpen, but onely the industrie of the minde exercised. For if through age strength faile, so that they cannot exercise them selues by any other meanes, or that their body be but weake, why shoulde they not be permitted, moderately to delight them selues with this kinde of play? Neither also is he straightway to be condemned, which being sicke or weake recreateth himselfe with that kinde of play, which dependeth of Fortune or chaunce, so that there in be no daunger of losse of money. For we must chieslye regarde to what entent the lawes forbid that. It was vndoubtedly that a man should not waste his goods prodigally, and therfore it was prouided by the law that a man should not hasard aboue a shilling: as it is had in the Code, in the place befoze alledged. This was the meaning of the law, that money should not be yll consumed.

But some say they delight not in play, except they play for money. But I will demaund of them to what vse they entend to bestow that money? Peradventure they will say vpon a feast. Why not rather vpon the poore? But I saye it is much better and safer not to play for any money. For although it maye bee that thou thy selfe art not touched with couetousnes, the other yet with whom thou playest, is peradventure touched: Let the occasions vnto euill be taken awaye, which otherwise are very manye which moue vnto euill. And if there were nothing els to feare vs away from playes, let vs for Gods sake wayghe this, howe greate the penury of time is. The law of God requireth so manye duties, that not our whole lyfe is able to performe them: and yet shall wee bestowe time in playes. We are otherwise sufficiently sicke with couetousnes of money, with ambition to ouercome and excell other: why do we styre by these diseases with playes? But thou wilt say: These thinges are neuer stirred vp in me. But now thou must remember that they maye easely be stirred vp. And we must see not onely to our selues, but that we bring not other also vnto the same disease. These thinges are spoken of the honest kindes of playes. If so be there be anye whyche doo play, being entised with couetousnes, let those men knowe that they rather like euil marchauntes trafficke, then playe. For they seeke no other thing but filthy gaine. Neither seeke they pleasure, which in honest playes is the chiefest, but they seeke their owne thinges, and that by filthy meanes. And when they which delight immoderately in playes, doo say: There must be some pleasure in the life, whereby we maye be recreated: Their request is to be graunted, but in the meane time they must bee admonished, that there are other pleasures more honest. Paul to the Ephesians the .v. chap. saith: Speake vnto your selues in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spiritual songes, singing and making mery in your hartes. And the same thing writeth he vnto the Colossians the thirde chap. Tertulian in Apologetico sayth that Christians vsed to assemble together to their moderate hoote suppers, and when they wer refreshed with meate, they sang deuine praises, or recited somthing out of the holpe scriptures, prouoking one another by them. And by this meanes they returned sober home.

Male mercari

Tertulian.

Other honest
pleasures be-
sides playes.

There are also problemes, wherwith the wits may be exercised and refreshed: which problemes if they seme to hard, there are hystories, which may with lesser labour be learned. Why are not men byrred to reade them vnto them? There is
no bl

no hystory so slender, which is not very much profitable for some part of mans life. There are also histories of plants, of herbes, and of stones. There are likewise communications of godly men one with an other, which are sweete and pleasant, wherewith mindes are refreshed, and therewithal edified. I do not (as I haue said) utterly take away playes: but I prefer these thinges, as much more honest and profitable. But now let vs returne vnto the play of Samson, whych though it was honest and liberal, yet had it a deadly ende. And if this playe had such pl successe, what is to be hoped of those which are prohibited by the lawes? They which made those lawes, werwise men in gouerning the publike welth, who seeing their faith in other thinges is to be allowed, why is it not also to be allowed in this thing?

And the young men could not interpretate. The feast endured seauen dayes, and when Samson had put forth his riddle the first day, they coulde doo nothing in thre dayes: wherfore when wpt failed them, they turned themselves to craftines and euill artes.

15 And when the seuenth day drew neare, they sayde vnto Samsons wife: Entise thine husband, that he may declare vs the riddle, least we burne thee and thy fathers house with fire. Hast thou called vs that he should possesse vs? Is it not so?

16 And Samsons wife wept before hym, and sayd: Surely thou hatest me, and louest me not: for thou hast put forth a ryddle vnto the chyldren of my people, and hast not tolde it me. And he sayd vnto her: Beholde, I haue not tolde it my father, nor my mother, and shall I tell it thee?

17 Then Samsons wyfe wepte before hym seauen dayes, whyle they feast lasted, and when the seuenth daye came, he tolde her, because she was importunate vpon hym. And shee tolde the ryddle to the chyldren of her people.

18 And the men of the City sayd vnto him the seuenth daye, before the Sunne went downe: What is sweeter then hoony, and what is stronger then a Lyon? Then he sayd vnto them: if ye had not plowed with my Heifer, ye had not found out my ryddle.

19 And the spirite of the Lord came vpon hym, and he went down to Ascalon. And he smote of them .xxx. men, and taking away theyr upper garmentes, gaue chaunge of garmentes vnto those whych expounded the ryddle. And hys wrath was kindled, and he went by to hys fathers house.

20 Then Samsons wyfe was geuen to hys companion, whom he had associated vnto hymselfe.

The young men come vnto Samsons wyfe, desire her to intreate her husband, and by al meanes to enquire of him what his proposition signified. They adde moreouer threathinges, and those horrible, namely that otherwise they would burne her and her fathers house. This is the nature of peruers men, when they can not overcome by strength and industry, they flee to decesses. This maye be sene in these young men: rather then they would suffer them selues to be conquered or overcome, they go about fraude and snares. But chiefly they go vnto hys wife, that (both because she was a woman, which might easely be wonne, & because she was deare & welbeloued of her husband) they myght vse her labour to wrest and wyng out the secrete of her husbände. They make her therefore the betrayer, and that which is most grieuous, of her own husband. This is often times

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times the ende of playes. The thing for which they contended, was of no great value. For every one of them were in daunger onely of the losse of one garment and weete a peece: yet they say: Hast thou called vs, that he should possesse vs? As though they should lose all that euer they had. These things rightely agree with those which do play to that end, to depriue other men of their goods. They which haue lost, may after this maner complain of the winner: Thou hast with this pretence prouoked me to play, to rob me, & not to take any pleasure by play. The woman in the meane time (as Ambrose saith) wept, and complained vnto her husband, that he loued her not, neither esteemed her. Thou hatest me (saith she) for as much as thou wylt not declare vnto me thy secretes. But Samson answereth wisely. Yea, but I haue not shewed it vnto my parentes, and thinkest thou that I loue them not? What cause is there that thou shouldest complaine? There are in deede many good and faithfull women, but Samson had not yet had any trial of his wife. And seeing there are many euil and babling women, which blab out thinges of great importance, to their husbandes great dammage, therefore wise men commit not many thinges to their wiues secreete keeping: for there are many thinges that are not expedient for them to know. And babling is a vice in a maner proper vnto women. Plutarke telleth of this thing an elegant hy-story of Papirius Pretextatus, which now is sufficient onely to shewe. Many, though they be strong in body, and excel in strength, yet are they weake in hart. Samson had overcome a Lyon, but yet at the last hee could not overcome the teares of his wyfe. As long as his wife shewed her selfe sad and heauye vnto him, Samson could not beare it. The holye ghost woulde haue these thinges set forth in the holy scriptures, whereby we might see the nature and corruption of our fleshe.

Ambrose.

It is not expedient; alwayes to communicate secreete counsels vnto wyues. Plutarke.

The end of the daye is the sun set. Ambrose.

Leui ben Gerson.

The seauenth day before the sunne went downe. All they of the East did measure the ende of the day by the going downe of the sunne, which by this place we may gather, and by many other. They expounded the riddle after this maner: What is sweeter then hoony, what is stronger then a Lyon? Ambrose saith that Samson, when hee heard these thinges, straightwaye added: what is moze vnfaithfull then a woman? This assuredly which is added in the text, is not much vnlike: Except ye had plowed wyth my Heyfer. To plowe is to dig, to turne, and to searche the earth. So they searched out the mayden, that by her they might come to the counsell of her husbande. This vndoubtedly is an easie interpretation. For that is not sufficient whych Leui ben Gerson bringeth, that those young men committed adoutry with the mayden, and by that abuse vnderstoode the riddle of Samson. For if this thing had happened, Samson woulde not haue retayned her in matrimony.

When they had absolued the riddle, nothing remained but y Samson should pay vnto them the wager. And that price woulde be pay vnto the Philistines, of the goods and riches of other Philistines. The miserable woman feared, that if she had not shewed vnto the young men the secreete of her husband, she should with all her famely haue bene burnt. But by this meanes she did in very deede get vnto her selfe burning. For as wee shall heare, when Samson had inferred grievous euils vnto the Philistines, they not suffering the iniuries, assembled a power, and burnt the house of his wyues father. So the mayden fell into the pye which she had made.

And his wrath was kyndled, namely against his wyfe. But why did Samson require secretnesse of her, which he himself could not keepe? He ought to haue kept silence, and not haue reuealed vnto her the secreete, if he woulde haue had his secretes kept close. Farther, as touching the murder of the Philistines, yf we thinke of Samson, as of some priuate man, hee can by no meanes be excused. For it is lawfull for no priuate manne to spoyle and kyll others, to paye his owne debtes wythall. But because (as the hy-story teacheth) he was

Appoynted

stirred vp to doo this by the impulsion of the holy ghost, therfore ought he not to be accused. For it is witten; And when the spirite of the Lord came vpon hym, he went downe to Ascalon. &c. Therfore we wil not reprove Samson, but yet we wil not draw his act into an example. But this let vs imitate, to suffer our selues to be the instrumentes of the spirite of God, & let vs with a valiaunt and bold minde follow him being our guide. For although Samson should fight at one time against xxx. men, yet because he was giuen by the spirite of God, hee was nothing asfearde. He tooke away the spoyles. Clephoth, that is, their vppermost & chaungeable garmentes, which he had taken away from them which he had slaine. But ther is mencion made that he payd onely Clephoth: neither is there any thing spoken of the linnen sheetes, which yet ought by the bargain to be payde. The Hebrewes thinke that here is vsed the figure Synecdoche, that by part is vnderstand the whole. David Kimhi saith, he would not pay the whole, because they came to the knowledge of the riddle by euil artes, but yet that they should not altogether complaine of his faith, he gaue them part.

There ariseth a doubt, because Samson was a Nazarite, & by his profession it was not lawfull for him to drinke wine, nor to cut his beare, nor to touche any dead corpes. But he must needs touch their bodies, whom when he had slaine he stripped out of their clothes. Ther are diuers & sundry answers brought. Some say he was a Nazarite, but not as touching this third condicion. For the Angell onely admonished his Parentes that he shoulde drinke no wyne, nor pole his head: but commaunded nothing for touching of dead bodies. But other say that he did in deede kill the Philistians, but yet he stripped of their garmentes, while they were yet breathing and on lyue. And there are some which thinke that hee caused that one of twoo of them which wer left a lyue, should strippe the other, and should go free for their labour. But these seeme mere faininges. The difficultye may be dispatched by one woord: a Nazarite was bound by religion, not of his owne accorde to touche dead bodies. But this man was moued by the spirite of God: neither did he these thinges of his owne wyl. Therfore the commaundement of the religion of a Nazarite ought in this kinde to geue place vnto the holy ghost. I am not ignozant how men doo easely maruaile, that the holpe ghost would mingle it selfe with playes and trifles of yong men. For that can scarcely seeme to be agreable vnto the maiesty of God. Let humane reason merruyle at these thinges, as much as it list: yet is it nothing contrary vnto the maiesty of God, if it mingle it selfe with thinges neuer so light. For hereby the prouidence of God appeareth moze bright, when men vnderstande that it also conuerteth thinges most base and most light, vnto the gloze of the name of God. For, for a man with apt and meete instruments, to bring any thing to passe, it is no great matter: but with thinges vnapt and defozmed, to fabricate any excellent thyng, this seemeth to pertaine to a cunning woorkeman. These thinges seme in deede to be light, but what is moze light then dreames: whiche yet God vseth to the gloze of his name, as the hystory of Pharao and Nabuchad-Nazar doo manifestly declare. But what doo I speake of kinges: God would by dreames exalt Ioseph being a prissoner and pooze man, vnto a kingdome. So would he haue the inheritance of Esau turned vnto Iacob, in a maner by a play. And by fraud the blessing was wrested by Iacob from Isaac, couering his handes & necke with Goates skyns. Yea and also the spirit of God minglet it selfe sometimes with the plaies and verses of Poetes, when as they (how soeuer they seeme to play) do yet sometimes write true, profitable and graue thinges. And that those thinges are of God, no man ought to doubt. Let this be had for certaine, that all thynges doo obey vnto God, dreames, playes, light thinges, graue thinges, and noble. He is the ruler and governour of al thinges, wherfore no man ought to bee offended when hee heareth these thinges. God seemeth moze and moze to increase the strength of Samson, for befoze being vnarmed, he fought with a Lyon: which assuredly

How it was lawfull for Samson to handle dead Carcases being a Nazarite.

The prouidence of God vseth thinges, though they bee neuer so light.

surely was a great thing. But this is much greater, to fight at one time with
xxx. men. God would so exercise him, that he should gaine over him selfe wholy
to the counsell of the spirite.

Samson ought
not so lightly
to haue gon fro
his wyfe.

Ambrose.

There was here
no cause of iust
diuorcement.

Iosephus.

Ambrose.

Chrysostome.

Samson being angrye with his wyfe, because she had vttered the riddle vnto
the young men, departed from her: which his fact ought not to bee allowed. For
he oughte not so lightlye to haue seperate himselfe from his wyfe. It was his
part to correcte her, and if neede had beene, to chasten her. Neyther had thys de-
parture good successe. For when he was gone, the father gaue his daughter vnto
to an other husband, namely to the fellowe of Samson, and paraimophe, whiche
had ioyned himselfe a companion vnto him in the marriage. The mayden saue
she had grifefully offended her husband, wherfore she fearing his fiercenes, de-
sireth her father to prouide her an other husband: For it is not credible (as Am-
brose saith) that these thinges were done wout the good wil of the maiden. But
diuorcement should not be made so rashly, and so light a cause. Christe hath
made one cause onely of diuorcement, namely aduoutry. Paul addeth the differ-
ence of religion: although he wyll not haue the faithfull to depart, if the vnbe-
leuing party wil dwel together. Neyther permitted he second marriages, because
man and wyfe agree not in religion, but because the one wil not abide with the
other. In Samsons case there is neither of these. There was no aduoutrye, ney-
ther did the mayden say she would not dwel with her husband: neiher did Sam-
son repudiate his wyfe, although he then departed from her. For afterwarde he
returnd vnto her, as we shal heare. And although he so departed, that the wyfe
knewe not where he was become, yet ought she not straightway to marie an o-
ther. For the ciuill lawes, when any suche thing happeneth, doo appoynt her to
tary some yeares, as it is had in the Digestes De diuortijs, in the law Vxor. And
in the Authentikes De Nuptijs, in the Paragraphe Sed etiam. The Canon lawes
in the Decretals would haue amended these thinges, and decreed that it should
not bee lawfull to marie againe before some certayne woozde were broughte of
the death of the first husbände or wyfe. But with what godlynes and wysdome
they did that, I wyll not at this tyme declare.

It is certaine that in this place was iniustice done for the wyfe to mary an o-
ther, being not ignoraunt that her husbände was yet on lyue. But the Father
excuseth the act, saying: I thought thou haddest hated my daughter. But why
should he haue suffered hymselfe to be perswaded after this sorte? It was con-
uenient that he should before haue knowen Samsons mynde, and taryed for a
booke of deuorcement. Although I see that Iosephus is of this opinion, that hee
thinketh Samson dyd repudiate his wyfe. But that is not very lykely, when as
he afterwarde descended, to take his wyfe againe vnto him. Neyther should the
Philistines iustly haue burned that mā with his samely. Yea and Ambrose also
denyerh that there was any deuorcement. This is in a maner the fruite of those
that are ioyned together in an vnequall marriage. We reade the lyke thing in
the fyrst booke of Samuel, the xxb. chapter. David had maryed Michol the daugh-
ter of Saul: and when David fled, her Father gaue her vnto an other husbände,
when as the first husbände had not yet repudiated her, but afterwarde David de-
manded her agayne. In the meane tyme let vs that are Christians, determine
thys with our selues, that it is not lawfull to dissolue matrimonies for lyghte
causes. Paule sayth: If the wooman depart, let her remayne vnmарed, or let
her be reconciled vnto her husbände. Which assuredly hee ment not of aduou-
try: for he woulde not amende the woozdes of Christ, but as Chrysostome
sayth, he vnderstoode these thynges of lyghter offences, for as
much as of them some reconciliacion may be hoped for:
whiche is utterly rut of, if she be maryed
to an other.

The

¶ The xv. Chapter.



1 At within a while after, in the time of tobeate harvest, Samson visited his wife with a kynd, saying: I will go vnto my wife into her chamber: but her father would not suffer him to go in.

2 And her father sayde: I had thought that thou haddest hated her: therefore gaue I her to thy companion. Is not her younger syster fayrer then shee? Take her I praye thee in steede of the other.

3 And Samson sayd vnto hym: Nowe am I more blameles then the Philistines, and therfore wil I doo them displeasure.



His was the simplicity of those times, that the husbände shoulde bring vnto his wyfe a kynd. It was a gyft of reconcilment, to pacifye hys wyfe withall. In saying I haue sayd. That is, I did synfully and constantly thinke. That doubting of woordes with the he-bzues, addeth a vehemency, which selfe thing we maye see in that which followeth: In hating, thou diddest hate her, that is, thou diddest exceedingly hate her. The father in lawe seemeth to lay the fault in the Sonne in lawe. For it is as muche as he shoulde haue sayde: Thou wast the cause, that I gaue her vnto an other.

Is not her yonger syster fayrer then shee? He feared Samson, because he was of a strong and mighty body, least he shoulde rage and kyll and slaye the Philistines: therefore he offereth him his other daughter, to asswage his anger. He offereth her, but yet against the lawe of God, by which it was not lawfull to mary two systers, as it is manifest in the eightene and twentye of Leviticus.

¶ Therefore the father offereth vnto Samson marriage, but yet an incestuous marriage. Neither was it by the Romaine lawes lawfull to marye two systers, although the first were dead: and vndoubtedlye for a iust cause: For, for as muche as man and wife are one fleshe, thereby commeth that the kynnsfolkes of the one are toynd in the same degree with the other. ¶ Therefore the syster of my wyfe must be counted for my sister. Let the Pope therefore take heede what he doth, when he so easely geueth licence in this kinde of marriages. But this is nothing to him which thinketh that all thinges are lawfull vnto hym. But it maye be that the Philistians obserued not these degrees in matrimonies. For when Moses gaue the lawe before brought: We shal not doo (saith he) as the nations do, which the Lord your God shal subdue vnto you. For therefore hath the earth spued them out before your face. Samson receiued not the condicion offered hym. Of you (saith he) is spzoonng the iniury, my cause is the better and moze iust, if it shoulde come to iudgement. ¶ Therefore he hath cause to be reuenged of the Philistians. And assuredly it was wyrtten before of God.

And he sought occasion. Here the Reader is agayne to be admoynished not to thinke of Samson, as of a priuate man. For it is not lawfull for anye priuate man, after this maner, to prosecute hys owne iniuries. He must rather go vnto the Magistrate. But Samson was nowe constituted of God as a Magistrate. First hee taketh vengeance of the goods of the Philistians, and that after a wonderfull maner.

4 And Samson went & tooke xxx. foxes, and tooke firebrandes, and turned them tayle to tayle, and put a fyrebrande in the myddest betwene two tayles.

5 And when hee hadde set the brandes on fyre, hee sent them oute

¶ i.

into

It is not law-
ful to mary two
sisters.

We must not
thinke of Sam-
son as of a pri-
uate man.

into the standyng corne of the Philistians, and burnt vp bothe the reekes, and the standing corne with the vineyardes and oliues.

6 Then the Philistians sayd: who hath done this? And they answered, Samson the sonne in law of the Thimnite, because he had taken awaye hys wyfe, and geuen her to hys companyon. Then the Philistians came vp and burnt her and her father with fyre.

7 And Samson said vnto them: If ye had done these thinges: but I wyl be auenged of you, and then I wyl cease.

This word Lampades they haue translated firebrandes, which are easely set on fire. Samson bounde the tayles of the Foxes two and two together, wyth a strong knot, and in the midst he bound a fyrebrande. When the Foxes coulde not agree together in their course (so the one dzeu this way, and the other that way, so that they could not hide themselves in their holes, but the flame by stirring and moouing was moze and moze kindled) they ran into the standing corn. And at that time was the wheate haruest, and the wheate partly reaped, and partly grewe still. Wherefoze the Foxes ranning thozowe the corne, dyd them very great hurt. For they lost both their straw and their corne, with their vineyardes and Oliues. The consideration of Samsons pollecy was this: He chose a Fore to this enterpryse, rather then any other beast, because it is a craftye and subtil beast, and goeth by crooked and by passages. But Samson goeth the right way to wooke: otherwise he mought easely haue bound Dogges together, but he rather vied Foxes, for the cause befoze alledged, as Dauid Kimhi affirmeth. Neither would he to euery Fore alone binde a firebrande: partly because they would haue dzeu the firebrands along the ground, and so might easely haue put them out, and partly because they would soone haue gotten them into their holes. But whē two and two wer by the tayles ioynd together, & the one dzeu one way, & the other an other way, by that motion was the fire the moze kindled, and when they ranne into the corne, they dyd very great hurt. Origene vpon Cantica Canticorum, in his. iiii. Homely, as he is euery where full of Allegories, referreth al this thing also to an Allegory, although he plainly confesseth, that it is hard to apply an Allegory vnto this History. But I, as I haue often in other places, so do I also in this place omit Allegories.

Origene.

Siria aboundeth in Foxes.

But if a man aske how Samson got so many Foxes, he must vnderstande, that as there are sundry regions, so are there also in them manyfolde and sundry increase of thinges. In some place there are manye boxes, and those saye. In some place there is great aboundance of Cattell. In Englande there is great plenty of Conies, and so is there in the Ilandes called Baleares. In those Regions a man maye easely in one daye, and in a lytle ground, take thzee or foure hundred Conies: which to some peradventure myght seeme incredyble. And so is it sayd that there is a very great aboundance of Foxes in Siria, and specially in the borders of Iewry. Wherefoze Salamon in hys Canticles sayth: Take Foxes for vs which destroye the vineyardes. Wherefoze there was so great number of them, that they also destroyed the vineyardes: for they delight most of all in ripe grapes. Yea and Dauid saith of the vngodlye: They shall be partes of Foxes, that is, their pray, so that their karkases shall be deuoured of them. And out of the .4. chap. of Nehemias is gathered, that the number of them was so great, that they could in a maner ouerturne the wallcs of the city. And Samson tooke them either by his own industry, or by the helpe of his friendes. He sent the Foxes, and destroyed their corne. Hereby we may gather, that in iust war, it is lawfull to vse burninges and spoilinges, to endamage their enemies.

The Philistians sayd: who hath done this? They seeke for the author, and they doo not onely fynde him, but also they vnderstand the cause why he dyd it, and

and they take vengeance of his father in lawe and his wyfe, that was married vnto an other. If ye had done these thynges. These are the wordes of a man that is angry, and therefore cut of, wherefoze we must vnderstand, if ye had done these thynges at the beginning, when my wyfe was first taken from mee, I had bene pacified. But ye haue done it to late, therefore I wyll yet be auenged of you. For that which ye haue done, ye haue not done for loue to iustice and honesty, but for feare of a greater hurt. If iustice had moued them, they woulde at the fyrste haue punished them. But they followe the common nature of men, which are with no other thing moze touched, then by the feeling of present euyls, which we may perceiue not onely here, but also in the hystorie whyche is found in the latter booke of Samuel. Absolon had long lyued in exile: Ioab obtained of the kyng that he might returne. Wherefoze he returned, but hee was not admitted vnto the kynges syght. And when Ioab woulde not willingly come vnto him, Absolon commaunded bys seruantes to burne the cozne of Ioab. Wherefoze Ioab being moued with this iniurye, came vnto hym at the last. So also the Philistians, being in a manner compelled, doo reuenge the injury of Samson. This also is to be noted, that often times a whole City or kingdom is punished, for the synne of one man, or of one samely. And that salve the Poetes, when they wrote, that onely the aduoultrype of Paris ouerthrewe the kingdom of Troy. And vndoubtedly when a publike wealth eyther wyneketh at, or defendeth, or punisheth not, the synne of a priuate man, God counteth it all one, as if they had all synned together. If they haue good lawes, and doo followe them in punishing wycked actes, God wyll not for their sakes punyssh them all.

Men are moze moued by hurt then by anye otheer meanes.

Whi somtimes the syn of a priuate man is the cause of the destruction of a whole cite or kingdom.

Hereby also we may see that the sentence of Salomon is most true, where he sayth: That which the vngodly feareth shall happen vnto him. The mayden feared least her fathers house should be burnt: and she by that waye mooste of all brought burning, by which shee thoughte to auoyde it. But why happeneth it, that the vngodlye doo fall into that, which they feare. Because when they feare euyl thynges, they go about to auoyde them by euyl meanes, and not by good. Iosephs bryethzen feared least he should be preferred before them, when they saw that his father loued him so well. And that they might auoyde his promotion, they sold him into Egypt. But by that meanes chiefly it came to passe, that Ioseph was made ruler ouer them. The Jewes feared least, if Christ should go forward as he began, the Romanes woulde come and take awaye their nation and place. And to turne awaye that, they gaue vnto Iudas a pryce, and crucified Christ, whereby they the sooner threwe them selues headlong into those euyls which they feared. The mayden was burned with al her fathers samely. By whose By the Philistines, at whose handes she looked for fauour.

Why the vngodlye fall into those euyls of which they be afeard of.

8 So he smote them hyp and thygh wyth a great plague. Then he went downe and dwelt in the top of the rocke Etan.

What hyp vpon thigh, or hyp together with thigh signifieth, it is obscure, & therefore ther are sundry interpretations brought. The Chaldee Paraphrast expoundeth it to be hoysmen & footemen, so that thigh signifieth hoysmen, because they set on the horse with the thigh bowed, and the hyp signifieth footemen. peradventure at that time it was a kinde of prouerb wel knowne of those men. David Kimhi bringeth an other reason, namely that Samson, both slew the Philistians and also did put them to flight, who also as they fled, did fall: as though by this kinde of speeche might be described the behauiour of them that fel, whereby the hyp is bowed vnto the thigh. Farther, this hebrue woorde Iarach signifieth also a shoulder, and the meaning may be that Samson smote them from the shoulder to the thigh. The rocke Etan is the proper name of a place.

Kimhi.

9 Then the Philistians came bp, and pitched in Iudah, and were spreade abroade in Lechi.

10 And the men of Iudah sayd: why are ye come bp vnto vs? And they aunswered, to bynde Samson are we come bp, and to doo to hym, as he hath done to vs.

11 Then thre thousand men of Iudah went downe to the top of the rocke Etan, & said to Samson: knowest thou not that the Philistians are rulers ouer vs? wherfore then hast thou done thus vnto vs? And he aunswered them: as they dyd vnto mee, so haue I done vnto them.

12 Againe they sayd vnto him: We are come to bynde thee, and to deliuer thee into the hand of the Philistians. And Samson said vnto them: sweare vnto me, that ye wil not fall vpon me your selues.

13 And they answered hym, saying: No, but we wil binde thee & deliuer thee vnto their hand, but we wil not kyl thee. And they bound him with two new cordes, and brought hym from the rocke.

14 When he came to Lechi, the Philistians shouted agaynst hym, and the spirite of the Lord came vpon hym, and the cordes that were vpon his armes, became as flaxe that is burnt wyth fyre: for the bandes loosed from his handes.

15 And he found a new iawbone of an Asse, & put forth his hand, and caught it, and slewe a thousande men therewith.

16 Then Samson sayd: with the iawe of an Asse are heapes vpon heapes: with the iawe of an Asse haue I slayne a thousand men.

17 And when he had left speakyng, he cast awaye the iawbone out of his hande, and called that place Ramath-Lechi.

This place is called Lechi by the figure prolepsis: because Lechi in Hebrew is a iawbone, and therefore the place is so named, because Samson slewe there a number of his enemyes wyth the iawbone of an Asse. But that was not then done when Samson came thither at the fyrste. The Philistians, to auenge theyr insurges, pitched agaynst Iudah: for thither Samson fled. But the men of Iudah desyre the Philistians not to be angry, and demaunde of them why they led an armye agaynst them. As though they should haue sayd: we haue not fallen from you, and we haue payed you our tributes: If Samson dyd anye thyng agaynst you, it was not done by our counsell. And they were pacified and sayde: Deliuer hym then, and we wyl depart. Undoubtedly an vnjust and craftye Counsell: for in suche sorte would the Woulues make a league wyth the Sheepe, on that condicion I say, that they shoulde deliuer theyr Dogges, as Demosthenes sayd vnto the people of Athens touchyng theyr Oratours. But why dyd not the Philistians them selues take Samson? Ambrose aunswereth, because they durst not. And the men of Iudah were so cowardly, that they refused not to doo it. There came vnto Samson thre thousande men to take hym, and they laye for a pretence the authoritye of the Philistians: VVylt thou (say they) haue vs afflicted for thy sake?

The league of
the Woulues
with the shepe.
Demosthenes.

Ambrose.

The lyke speche had the Hebrewes in tyme past agaynst Moses: for when the people was oppressed of Pharaos: Thou (sayd they) haste made our smel to stinke in the syght of Pharaos. Samson bypasyedeth not vnto them their sluggishnesse and desperatnesse, when as hee myght iustly haue sayde vnto them: Are ye not ashamed to betray hym that hath deliuered you? He handleth his owne country men friendlye, and telleth them peaceably, why he dyd so. They (sayde he) dyd

did me iniury first, and the same would I auenge. This is the law of rendzing like
 for like, and it is a common rule of all lawes. But sweare vnto me, that you will
 not fall vpon me your selues. Why requireth he this of the that they shoulde not
 kill him? Because he was godlye towards his countrey, neither woulde he
 shed the blood of his citizens, which vndoubtedly must nedes haue bene done, if
 the matter had come to handstrokes.

Lex talionis

The Philistians might by a certain outward shew, seme sifter then Sason. For
 when they had burnt Samsons father in law and his wife and all his famely, yet
 Samson not being content with that auengement, slew very manye of them: and
 they, though they had so manye hurtles, yet they desire onely the death of Samson.
 Wherefore they may seme moze iust, but it is but in an outward shew onely, as
 we haue sayd. For they would first take away Samson the heade: who being ta-
 ken away, they myght easely do what they woulde against the people of Israel.
 And Samson would rather be deliuered vnto his enemies, then that his country
 shuld for his sake come in daunger: so great a loue had he towards his people, yea
 rather chiefly a firme and constant sayth towards God. For puttinge his hope
 in the mercy of God, he doubte not to commit himself vnto his enemies, and he
 woulde defende the Jewes, not onely by weapons and strength, but also wyth
 his greate daunger.

The entente of
the Philistines.

And when he was bound, they made him to ascende. This is so sayde, because
 that rough rock which Samson possessed, was lower then the mountaines which
 the Philistians helde. Wherefore wee reade before that Samson descended to the
 rocke, and that the Jewes descended vnto him. When the Philistians sholuted a-
 gainst him for joy, the spirit of the lord came vpon Sason, so that he brake his cordes
 as easely as if they had bene flaxe burnt with fire. And he toke the iaw bone
 of an asse being new or grene. This Hebrew woorde Teriah signifieth grene or
 new, & it is so called, either because it was newlye drawen out of the asse, or els
 because it was rotten. For rotten thinges the Hebrewes call grene. Wherefore
 iaw sores and wounds ful of matter or corruption, are called of the grene Teriah.
 These wordes (And Samson said, with the iaw of an Asse: and then it is added in
 Hebrew Chamor Chamernithim) are very obscure and haue sundrye interpretati-
 ons. For Chamor signifieth both an asse, and also a heap or gathering together.
 Wherefore some following the signification of this woord heape, do thus inter-
 prete it, there was made heapes vpon heapes of dead bodies, namely of men which
 he had slaine. Or I haue made heape vpon heape. And the sense is, that Samson
 sayth that he had made so greate a slaughter of his enemies, that he gathered
 greate heapes of them together. But other hauing a respecte vnto this woorde
 asse, do thus enterpretate it, of an asse, of asses, that it shoulde not be here vnder-
 stand in a metaphoze. And they thinke that a woord which is called by that name had
 the form of an asse. He saith therefore that it was a iaw bone of an asse, of an asse I say
 of asses, as in other places of the scripture we reade, a kidde of goates, and a bul-
 lock of Dren. The Rabbines for the most part interpretate this place for heapes
 and gatheringes together of enemies.

When the slaughter was finished, then first the place was named Ramah-
 Lechi. Ramah in Hebrew is highe. Wherefore Ramah signifieth a high place.
 And Ramah-Lechi is nothing els then a hill or toppe of a iaw bone. There may
 also be geuen an other Etimologge, so that the naminge of it may be deriued of
 this verbe Ramah, which is to cast away, because Samson in that place threwe a-
 way the iaw bone, when he had finished the slaughter.

18 And he was soze a thirte, and called on the Lorde, and sayde:

S.iii.

Thou

Cap. 15. A Commentarie vpon the

Thou hast geuen this great deliuerance by the hand of thy seruant and nowe shall I dye for thirste, and fall into the handes of the vncircumcised?

19 Then god brake the cheke tooth, that was in the iawe, and water came thereout, and when he had dronke, his spzite came agayn, and he was reuiued. Wherefore he called the name therof Ain Hachozah, which is the fountaine of him that calleth vpon, which is in Lechi vnto this day.

20 And he iudged Israell in the dayes of the Philistians twentye yeares.

Out of what
thing god
brought forth
water.
Iosephus.
R. Levi Ben
Gerson.

Whereas it is written that god opened the cheeke tooth which was in the iaw bone, it is in the Hebræwe Aschar Belchi Hamachtich, wherefore the place is darke: for this woorde Machtich signifieth ether that holowes wherein the teth are fixed, or els by a Metaphoze it signifieth a stone or rocke, wherein is a hole cut, like vnto the holes of the cheke teth. And in fine it is that, which commonly we call a moztar. And this latter interpretation Iosephus & R. Levi Ben Gerson do follow. And they thinke, that god brought not forth water out of the iaw bone, but out of a rocke being holow like a iaw bone. But others say that water came forth of that iaw bone, wherewith he had slayne his enemies. The place was called the fountaine of him that prayeth, because God at the prayers of Samson opened the rocke or iaw bone. And this woorde Ain, Leuierpoudeh for an eye, for in very deede it signifieth eyther, namelpe bothe a fountaine & an eye. And the sense that he gathereth is, that the eye of the Lord was vpon him, which called vpon him, that is, God had a regarde vnto the prayers of hym that called vpon him. It is added that Samson iudged Israell in the dayes of the Philistines: which is therfore written, because in his time the Hebræwes were not yet fully deliuered from the tyranny of the Philistines. Samson beganne to deliuer them, but he finished not.

New cordes
are stronger.

In this latter history are certayne thinges which we oughte to obserue. The first is, that Samson was bound with two cordes, and those new, that the miracle mighte be the more wonderfull. For new cordes are more hardily broken, then old. And it is elegantly described how they brake, namelpe as flaxe burnt with fire. The cordes mighte be broken two waies, eyther because the strength of Samsons body was encreased, or els because the cordes were weakened by god: and eyther way is apt inough. Farther, when he being naked and vnarmed, was cast forth vnto his enemies, god ministred weapons vnto him of a thing most vile: so can he vse all thinges to set forth his gloze: the iaw bone was made onely to chaw and cutte small meate, but God woulde vse it to committe a slaughter. So althoughe sometimes we seeme to be vnarmed agaynst our enemies, yet are we sufficiently armed, when god will. Some to make the thinge more probable, do imagine, that that iaw bone of the asse was a great one, because that in Siria are so great asses that in greatenes they may be compared with our horses. Which thing I do not disproue.

Exyixop.

The Philistians shoute and reioyce as though a moste deadlye enemye had fallen into theyr handes: But the spzite of the Lord came vpon Sampso, and there was a greate slaughter made of them. And the songe which he sang was a geuing of thanks for the victoipe, that is, a songe of victoipe. But some doubt, whether the whole songe be here written, or onely the beginninge thereof. I thinke here is but the beginning onely: the rest paradventure was known among the Iewes, and soong thorough.

And he was sore a thirst. Iosephus and Ambrose thinke y god strake Samson w
thirste

thirst, because he attributed the victory vnto himselfe, and not vnto God, I (sayth he) with the iaw of an asse haue slaine a thousande men. He sayth not, God hath slayne, neyther erecteth he an altare or monumente vnto God, nor maketh any sacrifice: and therfore is he afflicted with thirste. For god would haue him to vnderstand that he was a mā, & would also haue him to know by whose benefite he had obtained the victory. This say they: but because those thinges which they alledge are not of the holy Scriptures, therefore I do not geue credite vnto them. Moreover let vs note that in the old Testament, very many places haue they names geuen them of the benefites of God. For they would haue the goodnes of God kept in memozy for the y^e should come after, y^e they also should hope that by the same meanes they should be holpen, as they see they fathers in times past were holpen of God. For whych selfe same cause the hebrewes were commaunded to instructe and teache they children of the benefites bestowed on them by god. Wherefore they instructed they posterity, not onely by words, but also by such tokens and monumentes, as by some certayne sacramentes. Wherefore the thirste of Samson (as farre as I iudge) was not a punishment for sinne, which he had committed, but a certain caution or prohibition that he should not sinne. He might in dede by reason of ouermuch labour naturally thirste, but god would haue him remember that in so greate fortune he was mortal. He had slayne many: but herin was the danger, least he also should haue died together with the for thirst. As it was done, that the power and benenolence of God towarde his people should be made the more notable, which had not onely deliuered Samson from his enemies, but also had quenched his thirst by a wonderfull meanes.

Josephus.
Ambrose
Why Samson
was vexed
with thirst.

Wherefore Samson turneth himself vnto prayers, whiche God maketh him to expresse both by his spirite, and also by this present necessity. We are not able to thinke how much God delighteth in our submission. Thou, sayth he, Lord God hast geuen me this victory, and wilt thou now forsake me? Hereby we vnderstand that the remembrance of the benefites past, do exceedingly stir vp our prayers, for they encrease sayth, whereby we hope that we may obteyne the like and also greater thinges. Neither is this a thing to be passedoner, that he calleth himself the seruāt of God. I am (sayth he) thy seruāt. For I haue not slayn these men at myne owne lust and motion: I haue done thy busines, and I haue executed thy warre. And wilt thou now suffer me to dye for thirst? And by that meanes to fall into the handes of mine enemies? And which is most greuous, into the handes of the vncircumcised? For I vndoubtedly, whatsoener I am, am thine, and I haue set abrode the glozy of thyne name. Thou hast promised that I should be a iudge vnto thy people, suffer me not therfore to come into the power of mine enemies, contrary to that promise which thou hast promised me.

The xvi. Chapter.

A Then went Samson to Azzah, and he sawe there a harlot, and went into her.

2 And it was told to the Azzathites, Samson is com hither. And they went about, and layde waite for him all night in the gate of the city and wer quiet al the night, saying: Abide til the morning early, and we shal kill him.

3 And Samson slept till midnight, and rose at midnight and toke the doores of the gate of the city, and the two postes, and lift them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and caried them bp to the top of the mountaine, that is befoze Hebzon

Cap.16. A Commentarie vpon the

There happen
sometimes gre-
uous fallies of
godly men, &
of churches.

God doth not
straightway af-
ter sinne take a
way from men
hys free graci-
ous giftes.

Whither the
giftes which
follow iustifica-
tion are firme.

How great the
verity of the ho-
ly scriptures is
How the coun-
treys of the Phi-
listians was
deuided.

How women
that kept bit-
ling houses are
called by the
Romain lawes

It is no rare or vnaccustomed thinge, that excellent men, when they haue accomplished thinges after theyr minde, doe slacke good studies and honest enterprises, as though they had done with labors, & are now in that place y they can not fall. God suffreth them sometimes so to fall, that they shoulde acknowledge the selues, & be called back to repentance. But that is not done by the merite of the sinners, but by the goodnes and mercy of god. So God suffered Dauid to fall, so Salomon contaminated hymselfe with a most greuous wicked crime: so Iudas the sonne of Iacob, being in good estimation among his byetherne, yet committed incest with Thamar. Neyther do these thinges happē only vnto singuler mē, but also vnto the church, as well the new as the old. In the time of Byleam whē y Israelites could not be won by any other meanes, they wer cōquered by harlots. And the church of the Corinthyans, was at the first so contaminated with whoredomes, that Paule was compelled to shewe by arguments and testimonies of the word of god, that fornicatio was sin. Yet did not god straightway depart from those which I haue mentioned, nor from Samson as touching his free gracious giftes, as are strength, giste of tongues, prophesies, and suche like: because they are geuen, not for their sakes whiche possesse them, but for other. Byleam though he was an euill man, yet had he still the gift of prophesie, yea and he prophesied most excellently of Christ. The Lord also sayth: many shall say vnto me in that day: Haue not we call out devils in thy name? And in thy name haue we prophesied: & it shalbe sayd vnto them, verely I say vnto you, I know you not. Howbeit for discipline sake, free gracious giftes are also sometimes taken away: sometimes I saye, not alwayes. And Samson did not straightwaye at the first time when he sinned, lose those giftes of God: yet afterwarde he losse them. But seying these are not alwayes taken away, what shal we affirm of other giftes, which of necessity follow iustification? Those vndoubtedly are take away in sins that are most heinous, for he which hath committed any greuous sinne agaynst hymselfe, holdeth not peace of conscience, neyther the zeale to call vpon God, nor hope towarde God. Sayth also for that time, either sleepeth and lieth still, or (as some thinke) is taken away, although it be afterwarde restozed vnto the elect, and those that are predestinate, when they repent. Suche fals of excellent men are set forth, that we by them shoulde haue an example, that if at any time we fall, we should not dispayre. And hereby we vnderstand how greate the verity of the holy scriptures is. For they dissemble not errors and vices in the greatest mē, & in those specially which they haue taken in hand to prayse.

Azza was one of the head cities of y Philistians. For that coutry was deuided into prouinces and Lordshippes: of which in euery one of them there was some one excellent and notable city. Our interpreters haue translated Azza into Gaza: for it is written by this letter Ain, whiche our men turne by g: And so the Ammorhites they call Gomorhites. But why went Samson downe thither? because now hauing obtained so many victories, he contemned his enemies: and peraduenture he sought occasion to inuade them. But in this cite he fell: for he had there to doe with a harlot. This word Zonah signifieth in Hebrewe a harlot, of whiche thinge wee haue spoken in an other place. Some thinke that Samson did nothing here offend, but onely turned into a woman that kept a bitling house. For by that word is also signified a woman y kepeth a bitling house, because she prepareth meate and other necessary thinges for gesses. So some thinke that Rahab in the booke of Iosua, whiche receaued the spies, was not an harlot, but onely one that kept a bitling house. But I thinke that Rahab was an harlot. For so is she called in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, which had doone her iniury now being deade, if it called her, beinge a chaste woman, an harlotte. The Romaine lawes called such women as kepeth bitlinge houses stabularie, as it is had in the title de furtis stabulariorum. Ambrose sayth that Helena the mother of Constantine y gret was a stabularia after this sort, & he calleth her a good stabularia

He

He entred into her. This Hebrzew for me of speaking signifieth carnall fellowship, namely that he had to do with her. Other thinke (as I haue said) that he only lodged in her house. But the Philistines when they heard of it, did secretly entred the city in the night season, for they would make no noise for waking of Samson being on sleepe, for they durst not set upon hym in the darke, for that they knew him to be most strong. They tarried till it was day, neither doubted they that he could escape, being so on every side enclosed and besieged. Liranus thinketh, that the Philistines drew not Samson out of his lodging, because peradventure in that region it was a law, that men should be safe in their lodgings. But I meruaile that Ambrose sayth, that the Philistines besieged the house where Samson was, when as in the Hebrzew we manifestly rede that they besieged the City. Samson came and tooke the doores, & caried them away with him, so he despised his enemies, neither was there any that durst withstand hym.

Liranus.

Ambrose.

Neither yet must we thinke, that that was the strength of a man, but of the spirit of God. But we must not therfore affirme that God fauored whooredome: by cause in iudging of thinges, we must not haue a regard to the successe. David also filthily committed aduoutry, and at the same tyme wherein he grievously sinned, he conquered Rabbah, the City of the Ammonites. Salomon had fellowship with idolatrous women, and yet all thinges in a maner went with hym as he would desire. Therfore as touching actions, we must not iudge of them by ententes. Therfore in Ecclesiastes it is rightly sayd, that the selfe same thinges happen vnto euill, that do happen vnto the good, & therfore of the loue or hatred of God toward vs is not known. Neither by the euentes may we iudge who is godly, or who is vngodly. We must iudge by the worde of God. The thinges that agree with it are good: the thinges that disagree, are vngodly. But in that God doth not straightway take vengeance, he therfore doth it, to call vs backe to repentance. Therfore it is our part to see that we beape not vnto our selues anger, in the day of anger, as Paul sayth vnto the Romaines.

Things are to be iudged by the worde of God, and not by the successe.

Samson escaped the danger, & caried away the gates of the City vnto a mountayne, that they might be a wonder, and that the Philistines might see how great strength there was in the God of Israel: yea & that the Iewes also might behold so notable an acte of God. For that mountayne was in the middest betwene Gaza & Hebron, whiche the Hebrzewes inhabited. By that spectacle it came to passe, that the courages of the Philistines were daunted, but the Hebrzewes were boldened. We may not (as I haue often admonished) thinke of Samson, as of a priuate man, for he was a Magistrate appointed by God, and not by men. For if he had ben a priuate man, his actes could not be allowed: for it is wicked to violate the walles & gates of Cities. Which thing was also prohibited by the Romaine lawes. In the digestes de rerum diuisione in the lawe sanctum, and in the lawe sacrum, it is had that some thinges are sacred, some thinges religious, and some thinges holy. Thinges sacred, as the alters and temples of the gods. Religious, as the sepulchers of the dead, holy, as those thinges which are by lawes defended from the injuries of men, as gates & walles. In the same title also it is red. These thynges are holy, which are neither sacred nor prophane, but confirmed and defended by lawes, that they should not be violated. As if a man should do this thing or that thing, he should suffer this or that. In the same title in the lawe Si quis, the violating of the walles is made death. Therfore Remus was put to death, because he went ouer the walles of his brother: which selfe same thing is decreed of priuileges, as it is written in the title de Effractoribus in the lawe. And in the title de custodia & Exhibitione in the lawe in eos. Howbeit if the doore were but slender, lyght, and any manne had fled, he was moze lightly punished, but yet in suche sort, that he shoulde be counted for a condemned person, althoughe otherwise he were innocent.

Gates & walles of cities are by the lawes confirmed as holy.

Why Remus was killed of Romulus.

Priuileges are not to be violated.

An example of Socrates.

Socrates when he was in prison, & mought haue escaped, he would not, least he should

Should seme to haue violated the lawes . It was objected vnto hym: Thou art wrongfully held in prison. But he answered: we must not by iniury put alway iniury, because to do iniury is alwayes euill . He also tooke an argument of an example. For wise men ought not to open this window vnto other: Which other would easely imitate, if they should flye out of prison. Farther if all mā should by themselves remedy iniuries, & breake prisons, what manner of publique wealth would there be at the length? Whosouer hereby we should seme to feare death more then is mete. But we must not so be asfeard of death, to violate lawes and rightes. Lastly we must not doubt, but that good men fall into the handes of tyrannes by the will of God. Wherefore they ought not by an vnjust way to deliuer themselves thereout. Neither ought any man to object vnto vs Peter, for he fled not, but was by an angell brought forth by the will and commaundement of God. Let vs rather see what Paul and Silas did in prison: they would not flye

It is not lawfull for bounde seruauntes to flye from their masters.

Free men may chaunge theyr abydnges for what causes.

when they might. It is not lawfull also for bondseruauntes to fly from their masters. And vndoubtedly Paul sent home agayn Onesimus vnto Philemon. What if the bondseruant feared fornication or murder at his masters hand? It was lawfull for him to flye vnto sanctuary, or to the image of the prince: there was he holpen by the lawes, and the unjust Lord was compelled to sell his bondseruant.

But a Citizen for as much as he is free, neither is held in prison, because by the lawes he may dwell where he will, for him it is lawfull to chaunge his abydng & go whither he please. But that whiche Samson did, must not be followed, neither drawn into an example. For he (as we haue often sayde) was appoynted a Magistrate by God, and was most certayne of his vocation.

4 And afterwarde he loued a woman by the brooke Sozek, whose name was Delila.

5 And the Lordes of the Philistines came by vnto her, and said vnto her: Deceauie him and see wherein his great strength lyeth, and by what meanes we may prenayle agaynste hym, that when we haue bound him, we may afflicte him: And we will euery one of vs geue thee a thousand one hundred peres of Siluer.

6 And Delila sayd to Samson: tell me, I praye thee, wherein thy greate strength lyeth, and wherewith thou mightest be bounde, to doo thee hurte.

7 Samson then answered vnto her: If they bynd me with seven greene rodde that were neuer dyled, then shall I bee weake, and be as an otherman.

8 And the princes of the Philistines brought her seuen greene rodde that were not withered, and she bound him therewith.

9 (And she had men lying in wayte with her in the chamber) then she sayd vnto hym: the Philistines be vpon thee, Samson. And he brake the rodde, as a thread of tow is broken, when it feleth fire: so his strength was not known.

10 After Delila said vnto Samson: See, thou hast mocked me and tolde me lyes: I praye thee now, tell me wherewith thou myghtest bee bounde.

11 Then he answered her: If they binde me with new ropes that neuer were occupied, then shall I be weake and be as another man.

12 Delila therefore tooke newe ropes and bounde hym therewith, and sayde vnto hym: The Philistines be vpon thee, Samson: (and men

men lay in wayte in the chamber) and he brake them from hys armes, as a threed.

13 Afterward Delila sayd to Samson: Whereto thou hast beguiled me, and tolde me lyes: tell me how thou mightest be bound. And he sayd vnto her: If thou plattedst Seven lockes of myne hed with the threades of the woufe.

14 And she fastened it with a pinne, and sayd vnto him: The Philistines bee vpon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of his slepe, and went awaye with the pinne of the webbe and the woufe.

15 Agayne she sayd vnto him: how canst thou say, I loue thee, wher thine heart is not with me: thou hast mocked me these thre tymes, and hast not tolde me wherin thy great strength lyeth.

16 And because she was importunate vpon hym with her wordes continually, and vered him, his Soule was payned vnto the death.

17 Therefore he tolde her all his heart, and sayd vnto her: There neuer came raso: vpon myne head: for I am a Nazarite vnto God from my mothers wombe: therfore if I be shauen, my strength will go from me, and I shall be weake, and be like all other men.

18 And when Delila sawe that he had tolde her all his hearte, she sent, and called for the princes of the Philistines, Saying: Come vp once agayne: for he hath shewed me all his heart. Then the princes of the Philistines came vp vnto her, and brought the money in theyr handes.

19 And she made hym slepe vpon her knees, and she called a man, & made him to shawe of the seven lockes of his head, and she began to bere hym, and his strength was gone from him.

20 Then she sayd: the Philistines be vpon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of hys slepe, and sayde: I will go out now as at other tymes, and shake my selfe, but he knewe not that the Lord was departed from hym.

By the outrageous loue of Samson vnto women, we easely vnderstand, that the desyre of lust is neuer satisfied, so long as we obey it. Samson had played the whozmonger before, & yet not being content with that, he toke vnto him a harlot agayne. Wherfore no man ought to cocker his sinnes, as though he myght afterwarde leane them at will. Seneca hath ryghtly admonished Lucillus: What we must not adde to lustes, but rather plucke away from them: otherwisse they will grow vnto vnumeasurablenes. We see in this history as in a glasse the perversnes of mannes nature, when God wyneketh, and desereth the punishment, we are made woozle, and the moze so:warde he goeth in so:geuyng, so muche the moze & moze do we go so:warde in sinnyng. Wherfore Paul to the Romaines writeth truly and profitably: doest thou not know that the goodnes of God calleth thee to repentaunce: but thou acco:dyng to thy hardnes and vnrepentaunt hart, heapest vnto thyselfe wyath in the day of wyath. God seemed to spare Samson, but he was neuer a whit the better.

But what this woman was, whether she were an Hebrewe or a Philistine, it appeareth not by the History. It is onely written that she dwelled by the river or brooke Sorek. R. Levi ben Gerson thinketh that she was a proselite, and that she had receaved the profession of the law of the Jewes. But he confirmeth not his opinion by any testimony of the scripture. Howbeit if she had ben a proselite,

Samson

Seneca

R. Levi ben Gerson

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Samson had sinned much more grievously. For he ought rather to haue dissuaded from fornication a woman being a stranger, & peradventure not thoroughly instructed in religion, then to haue allured her to sinne. For that cause Christ rebuked the Scribes & Pharisees, saying: Wo vnto you Scribes and Pharisees, because you compass about sea & land, to make one proselite: & then ye make hym the child of hel, twise so much more then ye your selues. And euen the same selfe thing is also now a dayes practised, and that very often: the Papistes laboꝝ very much, to conuerte a Jewe to the Christian religion, and then they corrupte him, and make hym wooser then they are themselves. After whiche selfe same manner Donkes leade younge men and maydens to the institutions, whom afterwarde by euill artes they make moste corrupte. But these thynges haue I spoken by the waye.

Of howe greates
force the entice-
mentes of wo-
men are.

But howe many of the Philistines came vnto the harlot, it is not written. Some thinke, that there were five, because there are so many pronounces in that region. Every one of them promised to geue her xi. hundred peces of silver, the whole somme therfore was. 5500. peces of silver. So the Philistines, when they coulde not conquere Samson by strength, assayed to wyne hym by deceate, and they allure the woman with money to betray hym. By the voluptuousnes of Samson they take occasion, and with large promises they styꝛe by the couerousnes of the woman. But of honesty and vertue, they haue no regarde. And that the nature of stronge men is suche, that by the flatterpnges of a woman it maye bee deceaued, we maye vnderstande not onely by this Hystoꝝy, but also by many other. But it shalbe sufficient to set befoze vs Adam for an example: whose nature in that fyꝛste innocency beyng yet perfecte, was yet by a woman brought into deceate. Wherefore we must continually praye vnto God, that he woulde not suffer vs to be led into deceate, for we muste not trust to our owne strength.

The woman beyng intised by the Philistines, goeth vnto Samson. Wherefore she is not onely an harlot, but also a betrayer. Such an ende ought they to looke for, and be most assured of, what soener they be, that haue fellowship with harlottes. There are extant examles of many, whiche partely were very euill handled of harlots, and partely betrayed by them to theꝝ enemyes to be slayne. For she whiche selleth her selfe, will vndoubtedly muche easelyer sell her louer. Wherefore Salomon hath wisely admonished, that a harlot is no les to bee auoyded, then the mouth of hell.

And Delila sayd: Shewe me wherein thy strength lyeth. These thynges are here setfoꝝth simply, but it is very likely, that the woman dyd thus flatter Samson saying vnto hym, that she muche meruayled at hys so greates strength, and that she muche reioysed, that she had gotten her selfe suche a louer. And therfore she exceedingly desyꝛed to knowe thys, wherein hys so greates strength consisted. Samson mocked her two oꝝ thꝛee tymes. And fyꝛste he sayeth: If I bee bounde with greene rodde. That is, with boundes made of asiers and newe twygges, whiche haue not yet bene dꝛyed. The seconde tyme he biddeth her take newe ropes, wherewith Delila afterwarde bounde hym, namely when he was on sleepe. Thirde he sayneth that seuen lockes of his head should bee platted with the threades of the woufe, to take away his strength: He putteth a certayne nũber for an vncertayn. He woulde in deede haue ben constant, & hidden & secret from the woman, but on the other side his weakenes and softenes was so great & he saynted. For after he dissembled once oꝝ twise, she was so much the more importunate with him. And though she were mocked, yet she geueth not ouer, neither despaireth she to obtaine & which she sought for. The Hebrewe interpreters thinke & these thynges were not done in one day, straight after an other, but at sondꝛy tymes, & the woman as occasion serued might repeate the same request. Lastly it is said & the harlot was greuousome vnto Samson, euen vnto the death.

He

He coulde not suffer to bee relected of hys louer, it was lyke death vnto hym to be repulsed from hys pleasures and delyghtes. So Samson is taken, bounde, and lead awaye.

Of whooredome or Fornication.

Now I thinke it good somewhat to speake of whooredome or fornication. For as in the olde tyme there were very many, so also at this daye there are not a few, whiche affirme that it is no sinne. But I will proue by Scriptures, and by most certayne reasons that it is a grieuous sinne.

They whiche extenuate this wicked crime, doo leane vnto sundry arguments. Firste in the Actes of the Apostles the .xv. chapter, when in those firste tymes, there arose a dissention amonge the Jewes and the Gretians, it was by common assent decreed, that the Ethnikes shoulde absteyne from bloud, from that whiche was strangled, from thynges offred vnto idoles, and from fornication. Here, say they, that whooredome or fornication is reckened with those thynges whiche of their owne nature are not sinnes. Wherefoze it appeareth that of it selfe it is not sinne: for these thynges were then for a tyme decreed of the Apostles, that Christians shoulde lyue peaceably together. For there is no creature of God euill, as sayth Paul to Timothe: Farther they saye, God woulde not commaunde that whiche of it selfe is sinne. But he had Hosea the Prophet to take vnto hymselfe an harlot, & to beget children of whooredome or fornication. Wherefoze of hys owne nature it seemeth not euill. Farthermoze every sinne is agaynst charity, either agaynst that charity whiche we owe vnto God, or that whiche we owe vnto our neyghbour. But in whooredome or fornication there seemeth nothyng to be committed agaynst God: for his worshyping and Religion is not hurt. Neither also agaynst our neyghbour, for there is no violence offred his wife, neither is there any violent oppression. Whereouer Augustine in hys booke de bono coniugali writeth, that what meate is vnto the body, that is accompanyng together for procreation. But if a man eate or drinke a litle moze then he ought, he is not accused of synne. Wherefoze also if a man in accompanyng together doo a litle straye, he is not to be counted guilty of sinne. Lastly, those things which god hath prohibited as sinnes, ar so playn & manifest, that euen by the light of nature every man may vnderstand that they are sinnes: but whooredome or fornication in mans iudgemēt is not so iudged, & many thinke that it is no sinne. Mitio in his Comedy in Terce saith: Beleue me, it is no wicked acte for a yong mā to comit fornication. And in the Church of Corint. there waited not some which so thought also. Wherefoze by these reasons the filthynes of whooredome is so extenuated, that either it is not counted for sinne, or els counted among the lest sins.

We must haue a regard not to humane reasons, but vnto the word of god, not what men thinke or iudge, but what the holy ghoost speaketh in the holy scriptures. And in the Prophets & in Salomon, there is in every place detestatiō of fornicatiō. But in the law they say there is nothing decreed agaynst it. But for asmuch as they will reason by the law, I will bring testimonies also out of it, wherby it may easely be vnderstand that fornicatiō is prohibited. In Levit. in the booke of Nūb. & in Deut. the Jewes are prohibited to adioyne vnto theselues straunge womē. Agayne in Deut. the .xx. chap. it is comaūded, that there shuld be no harlot nor whoze in Israel. Let these places be cōpared together. It was not lawfull to haue harlots, neither strangers, neither Israelites, therfoze they were all forbidden. But some will say: How then had Sason fellowship with an harlot? Some of the Hebrewes answered that she was not a harlot, to whom Samson had fellowship, but one that kept a vitling house. But for asmuch as that is a weake answer, we thinke we must otherwise aunswere vnto it. The publique wealth of the Hebrewes was at that tyme corrupted. For they lyued nowe vnder the Philistines: neither is it any marvaile if they were imbezewed with any of their vices and corrupte manners.

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Wherefore they had some harlottes, but not by their lawes, but by the vse and custome of the Philistines.

Testimonies
of the new te-
stament.

But in the new Testament whoredome or fornication is apertly & manifestly prohibited. To the Hebrewes it is thus written: Adulterers & fornicators the Lord wil iudge: & Lord is not said to iudge & to auenge, except it be for grievous sinnes. And to the Ephesians, not onely couetous men & idolaters, but also fornicators are excluded from the kyngdome of God. To the Corinthians also, where Paul writeth of Excommunication, I doo not speake (sayth he) of all fornicators: but if any be called a brother, and is a fornicator, with such ye shall not so muche as eate meate. But he entreateth muche more manifestly of all this matter in the same Epistle the 6. chapter, and of purpose: for many (as it is sayde) were of an euill opiniõ, as touching this kynd of wickednes. First, he sayth, meate is ordeyned for the belly and the belly for meate, but God shal destroy both this and that, now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord. For all meate of his own nature is pure: but for the offence of our neyghbour, we ought sometimes to absteyne. But some man myght say: Meate is necessary to lyue by. It is, sayeth Paul, in this lyfe, but in the blessed resurrection, God shall destroye both the meate and the belly. Wherefore thou muste not so muche esteeme them, that for theyr cause thou shouldest offende thy brother. It is not vniuersally commaunded to absteyne from all meate, but from that onely wherby thy weake brother is offended. But as touchyng fornications (sayeth he) whiche ye contemne, the reason is farre otherwyse. Your body is not geuen for fornication, but for the Lord. And this is not to bee passed ouer, that Paul with greate prudence sayeth not, not for procreation, but not for fornication. For the body is geuen also for procreations sake. Men are went oftentimes to excuse their faultes and to laye them vpon nature. The nature of the body (sayeth he) is to bee geuen vnto the Lord. Wherefore of it is to be taken the rule of life, and not of euil examples.

The nature of
relatiues.

This is the nature of relatiues, not onely of suche as in that thyng that they are, are referred vnto other, but also of those whiche are by any meanes referred vnto an other thyng, as the head vnto the body, and agayne the body to the head. For when we see the head, we straightwaye require the body, and agayne when we see the body, we require the head. Suche relatiues (as the Logicians saye) are called secundum dici. The Lord is the head of the body of the Church, and it is the body of that head. Wherefore Paul both wisely and pitheily disputeth, when he sayth: The body is not made to this end, and to pollute it selfe with lustes, but to bee correspondente vnto the head, and to bee conformed vnto it. And he addeth, God whiche hath raysed vp Christe, shall rayse vs vp also by his powre. The firste argument was taken from relatiues. The seconde is drawn of God. For if he wyll rayse vp our bodies, as he hath raysed vp Christe, why doo we then defile them with ignominy? He goeth on and sayeth, doo ye not knowe that your bodies are the members of Christe? Shall I then take the member of Christe, and make it the member of an harlot? Undoubtedly a soze conclusion whiche he concludeth. Shall I take (sayeth he) the member of Christe? As though he shoulde haue sayde: No without doubt, for this were to teare the body of Christe. And it is a thyng moste cruell to plucke awaye the members from a lyuely body, and to ioyn them vnto a rotten or dead body. But the strength of the reason consisteth herein. Christe can not commit fornication: wherefore if thou wilt commit fornication, thou must firste be plucked from Christe. Here is shewed that fornication is not onely a sinne, but also a deadly and moste grievous synne, whiche plucketh vs awaye from Christe.

Afterwarde he addeth: He whiche completh hymselfe vnto an harlot, is made

one

one body. For they shalbe two in one fleshe. And: He whiche is ioyned with God is one spirite. This place is most full of consolation: for as much as it declarereth that we are most nigh ioyned vnto Christ, from whom we must nedes be first plucked away, before we be made the members of an harlot. He whiche cleaueth vnto an harlot is made one body: For they shalbe two in one fleshe. The Apostle seemeth at the first sight to abuse the wordes of Genesis. For he transferreth the to whoredome whiche are spoken of matrimony. For these wordes were spoken first of Adam and Eve: because the fleshe of Eve was before in the fleshe of Adam, from whom God took a ribbe, and made therof a woman, which he agayne adioyned vnto Adam, to be with hym one fleshe. But in very deepe the Apostle abuseth not this sentence, for as much as whoredome is a certayne corruption of matrimony: for one thing is common to them both, namely, the confusion of the fleshe. For bodies are communicated as well here as there. Wherefore Paul had a respect vnto that whiche is common to them both, when as yet this difference is there betwene them, that in whoredome the confusion is agaynst the lawe of God, and therfore fornicators must be plucked a sinder, otherwise there is lesse hope of saluation for them. But in matrimony, the confusion is made by God, and therfore it is made an indissoluble knot. Wherefore saying that the confusion is in either all one and the selfe same, Paul hath rightly applyed that sentence to whoredome: He whiche cleaueth vnto God, is one spirite. These wordes serue muche vnto this present matter. For if we be with God in spirite, we muste with earnest labo: fflye from those thynges whiche he hath prohibited. Wherefore aptly the Apostle hath added fflye whoredome.

He sayth mozeouer: Every sinne that a man committeth, is without the body: but he whiche committeth whoredome, sinneth agaynst his owne body. If the argumentes whiche I haue before brought do not moue you, yet at the least haue a respecte vnto your owne body, whiche ye seeme in committynge of fornication to hate and contemne.

But it maye be demaunded howe other sinnes are without the body, but by fornication we sinne agaynst our owne body. For we doubt not, but that he whiche is very angry, nooyseth and augmenteth choler, wherby the body is not a litle hurte. Sickenes also doth very muche weaken the body: wherefore Salomon sayeth: A sad spirite dryeth by the bones. Drunkennes also and glotony doo hynder health, and doo in a manner utterly destroye the body: yea and enuious persons seeme also to sinne agaynst theyr owne bodies: For thou shalt see them dyled, withered, and in a manner kyled with leannes. Howe can it be then, that other sinnes are without the body? Some saye, that fornicators doo sinne agaynst their owne body, because very oftentimes by hauyng fellowship with harlots they are infected with the pockes, & with leprosie. But let other say what they will, I rather thinke, y the Apostle had a respect vnto those thynges which went before. For he had sayd, y the fornicator is made one body, with the harlot: & he seemeth to sinne grievously agaynst y dignity of his body, which maketh it all one with y most vile & filthy body of an harlot. For if a kyng or prince should mary a wyfe of a base and obscure stocke, it would be said that he had contaminated his kindred. I know that there are some which thinke y these wordes are spoken hyperbolically, because there are found other sinnes also whiche do hurt the body, but this hurteth it most grievously and most of all.

The same Paul doth still go on and sayth: do ye not know, y your bodies are y temple of the holy Ghost? And assuredly he whiche destroyeth the temple of God, God will destroy him. As though he should haue sayd: ye haue not your bodies of your selues, but of god. God hath made them his temple, and the holy ghost dwelleth in them. We are not your owne: Wherefore ye doo not a litle violate Justice in contaminatyng an other mannes thyng. We are bought with a greate pryce,

wherefore glorify God in your body. These argumentes of Paul are both most pleasaunt, and also most strögg, which if they satisfy not some, let him loke vpon our Samson. He was no idolatrer, no murdherer, no thefe, and yet is he taken, bound, his eyes put out, and is compelled to grinde in a prison, euen as if he had ben a foure footed beast.

Paul labourerth by many argumentes to pzoone whozedome is sinne. And no mar uayle: because then he wrote vnto the Corinthians whiche at that tyme abounded aboue other in fornications. Whereof came the pzoouerb, *Nö quius Corinthü* y is It is not soz every mä to go to Corinthus. And in vniuersal al y Ethnikes were in an ill opiniö touching this vice. For which cause, whē y Church was yet sprin gng (as Eusebius testifieth in his .3. booke of his hystrye the .29. chap.) the Nicola ites did openly & manifestly commit fornication, & layd y custome of their wicked crime vpo Nicolaus y deacon: although Clemēs Bishop of Alexandria in Stro matis do excuse Nicolaus: For he sayeth, that he neither thought, nor taught any such thing. But hauing a very fayre woman to his wyfe, and therefore beyng thought to haue ben gelous ouer her, he bzought her forth befoze the people and said: This is my wyfe. And y yemight vnderstand y I am not gelous ouer her, I am cōtēt soz my part that any of you take her to wyfe. Which thing also he mēt, as farre as the law of God would suffer. But they which were after ward called Nicloaites, vnderstandyng his woordes puerly, supposed y he thought y wyues among Chyistians ought to be cōmon. Of this Secte it is wrytten in the Apocalips: But this thou hast, because thou hast hated y actes of the Nicolaites, whiche I haue hated. Wherefore it is no meruayle, though Paul tooke so great paynes to teache that whozedome is sinne.

Eusebius.

Clemēs Alex- andr'us.

The history of Nicolaus the deacon.

Fornicatio cō- trary to matrimony.

Clemens.

Fornication is repugnat vnto Chyist & the publique wealth.

I Chyristis magistrats ought not to suffer harlottes.

Augustine

This wicked crime is contrary vnto matrimony. For they whiche haunte wandryng lusses and harlots, are farre from contracting of Matrimony. Wherefore Terence sayth: They which loue, can ill abide to haue a wyfe geuen thē. For whiche cause Clemens sayth: whozedome leadeth from one matrimony to many, that is from one lawfull coniunction, to many vnlawfull & wicked. The Epistle to the Hebrewes loyneth fornicatozs which adoulters, & testifieth that God will iudge them. And those two vices are so loyned together, that they are comprehended in the selfe same pzecept, wherein it sayd: Thou shalt not commit adoultury.

This pestilence also is repugnat both vnto Charity & to the publique wealth: vnto charity vndoubtedly, because the fornicatozs do injury vnto their chyldzen, whiche not beyng lawfully pzocreated, are scarcely at any tyme bzought vp honestly & vertuously. And they hurt y publique wealth, because they defraud it of good Citizēns. For Mamzer, a bastard I say, & one bozne in fornication, is prohibited to be receaued into the Church, not that he is restrayned from the holy cōmunion, or from the mysteries of saluation, but because it is not lawfull soz him to gouerne the publique wealth, & to be numbred among Citizēns. Some thinke y this euill may be remedied, if a man should keepe a concubine at home. So, say they shall the yssue be certayn. It may be peraduenture certayne, but it shall not be legitimate. Being therfore this wicked crime is both agaynst matrimony, and charity, & also the publique wealth, it cā not be denied but it is a sinne most grieuous.

And soz as much as it is so, why are fornications now a dayes openly suffered in Cityes: I speake not of the Ethnikes: I speake of Chyistians, and of those Chyristis which wil alone seme & be called the successozs of Chyist. Whozedome or fornicatio is most impudently mainteyned in their dominion, they not onely willing therunto, but also taking a commodity & tribute therof. That whiche is agaynst y word of God, agaynst matrimony, agaynst charity, agaynst the publique wealth, is no sinne, or els it is a notable sinne. If it be sinne, why is it not taken away & wedded out: But I know what they will bable, they bzing forth Augustine, who in his booke de Ordine wyrteth thus: Take away harlottes, and all thyngs shalbe filled w silt by lusses. But let vs consider in what time Augustine wrote

note that booke. Andoubtedly when he was yet Catechumenus, and not sufficiently instructed in religion. And although he had not bene Catechumenus, yet this his saying agreeth not with the word of God, neyther with Augustine himselfe, who in an other place affirmeth that the good which commeth of euil, as a recompensation, is not to be admitted. Which thing also Paule hath taught to the Romaynes: euen as they were wont to say of vs: Let vs do euil thinges, y^etherby may come good thinges, whose damnation is iust. We must neuer haue a regard to the end and euent, when we are vrged by the commaundemente of god. Somtimes men say vnto vs: Unless thou committe sinne, this euill or that will succede. But we must aunswere, let vs do what god hath commaunded vs, he will haue a care of the successe. Neither is it meete, that one onely sentence of Augustine should be of greater authoritie, then so many reasons which we haue brought, and so many most manifest wordes of God.

God commaunded absolutely and by expresse wordes, that there shoulde be no harlot in Israell. But some go aboute to wrest this place out of our handes, in sayinge that these hebrewe wordes Kadschah and Kedaschim signifieth not whores or harlots, but rather the priestes of Priapus, which were vowed or consecrated to thinges most filthy. I contrarily thinke that Chadschah signifieth an harlot, and Kedaschim, vnnatural, and effeminate persons. God woulde haue neyther of these suffered among his people. But in that they object the holy seruices of Priapus, it is nothing. For it was sufficiently befoze decreed touching idolatry: and what nede it agayn to be repeated? But that we may the more manifestly vnderstand that Kadschah signifieth a harlot, let vs reade the hystorye of Iuda and Tamar in the booke of Genesis, and there we shall see that Leuah & Kadschah are taken both for one and the selfe same thing. For whiche cause we must note that there are certayne wordes which maye be taken both in the good and euil parte: of which sort is this word Kadschah among the hebrewes, which signifieth both holy and also an harlot: euen as among the lattines this word sacrum that is holpe, wherefoze Virgill sayth Auri sacra fames that is the holy hunger of gold. This hebrewe word Kadasch is to prepare, or to be prepared. Wherof is deriued that word which signifieth an harlot, because such women are redy and set forth vnto all men, or els because they are wont to go trimly decked and paynted. Wherfoze Clemens sayth, that the Lacedemonians permitted harlots to weare broughte garmentes, fine apparel, and golde, which thinges were not lawfull for matrones to vse.

Certaine wordes are taken both in good and euil parte.

Virgil.

Clemens.

Now let vs see what followeth in Deut. And the hire of a whore shall not be brought into the sanctuary. Here againe the law calleth her Zanah, which befoze is called Kadschah. But thou wilt say: If the law would not haue harlots suffered, what neded it to haue forbidden their oblations? It hat neded this law: they which say this, do seme indebe to speake wittely, but yet they speake not sufficiently. For outwarde nations also sente giftes for ornaments and vses of the temple. The Eunuch of the quene of Ethiope came to Ierusalem, to offer in the temple. The Macedonians and Romaines gaue yearlye oblations and sacrifices in the temple. Wherfoze the law forbiddeth, that if any thing be offered by straungers, that is gotten by the gayn of a harlot, the same shoulde not be admitted into the sanctuary. Farther, god had commaunded that there shoulde not be harlots in Israell, but he knew that they would not obserue that law. For when the Philistians, Macedonians and Romaines raygned ouer them, they had harlots. Yea & Christ maketh mention of harlottes and publicanes together. Wherfoze god both rightwell first forbid that ther shoulde be no whores among the hebrewes. And afterward he ordeineth, that if by any chaunce there were any, they shoulde not be admitted in to the sanctuary. Which thing vndoubtedly he commaunded, because of the vilenes and filthinesse of the gayne. In the same place he addeth: The price also of a dogge shall not be broughte into the sanctuary, because that beast is filthy and vncleane.

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*Suetonius
Hostiensis.*

*The Pope
doth vnjustly
get gaine of har-
lots.*

*It is not law-
full to geue vn-
honestly.*

Caligula otherwise a filthy monster, commaunded (as Suetonius writeth) that harlots and baudes should be openly punished. Of this thing Hostiensis writeth ridiculously. Harlots indeede (sayth he) are bound to pay and to offer, but the church can not nor ought not to receaue them. Yet the Glose doth much better decre in the decretals, dist. 90. chap. Oblationis, namely that nothing at all should be offered in the church, that is of the gain of an harlot. But priests and monkes when they feared leaste some of their profite should departe, haue inuented another reason. For although he, saye they, the gaine of harlots cannot be receaued for an oblation, yet nothing letteth but that it maye bee receaued for almes. But by what meanes doth the Pope receaue the money of harlots? Not vndoubtedly, as an oblation, because he cannot: not as almes, because he is not poore. Wherefore the must he needs receaue it as a pynce. The lord would not haue this kind of money in his sanctuary: but the pope will haue it in his treasury, & hath it: & getteth a wonderfull greate gaine by it. Whose vicar then is the Pope? Gods vicar? God refused such a gayn. What, is he Christs vicar? Christ neuer departed from the will of his father. When must it consequently follow, that he is Antichrist, when as he both teacheth and doth those thinges which are expessedlye & of purpose against the word of god and of Christ. But he will saye y^e he exacteth this mony as a pynce. Let him then be pynce. But I will demaund, whether he be an euill pynce or a good? For a good pynce it is not lawfull to depart from the lawes of God. Let him then be an euill pynce, let him also be enen Caligula.

Paraduventure he will aunswere, that in respect he is a pynce, he doth accordyng to the ciuill lawes, which do not take away harlots out of y^e dominion of the Romaynes, yet rather they disdayne not to decree somethinge touching they^e pynce or reward. In the Digestes de Conditione ob turpem causam, in the law idem est: it is decreed, that there can be no requiring againe, if thou geue anye thing vnto an harlot. And there is a reason added: because although a harlot do filthily in that she is a harlot, yet she receaueth not filthily, in that she is a harlot. These wordes are darke, so that they may seme to be a riddle. Farther, in y^e digestis in the title de donacionibus, in the law affectionis gratia, it is decreed, y^e it is lawfull to geue as wel vnhonestly as honestly. It is lawfull honestly to geue, as vnto parents, kinsfolks friends &c. Vnhonestly, as to harlots. But I would know, by what license that is lawfull: Hath god geuen goodes vnto men, to cast them vpon harlots? But here they confesse there is some filthynesse: for although it be lawfull to geue, yet if thou haste promised anye thing vnto an harlotte, thy obligatyon byndeth thee not, neyther canne the harlotte require thy promes, as it is had in the glose, in the title de donacionibus, in the law eaq^{ue}. But there is a doubt, if she receaue not filthily, why is it not lawfull without filthynesse to require it? They aunswere, that that followeth not: because many thinges are taken honestly, which are not required honestly. And to that purpose there is cited the law .i. de variis & extraordinariis cognationibus. Wherefore the Pope will by the ciuill lawes not take away harlots, but receaue monye of them, which he seeth can not be suffered by the lawes of god. But here I will a little reason with him. Vndoubtedly he professeth that he is ruler ouer the ciuill lawes, and in very dede he hath altered manye of them, as though he would amend them: when as yet he hath taken away the good, and for the most part hath set euill in they^e place. Why hath he not amended these lawes for the sufferinge of harlots, when as they are against the law of God? Vndoubtedly the true cause why he hath not taken away the lawes of harlottes, is this, because it should be to muche hurtfull vnto the Popes treasoure. For at Rome they measure their lawes by profite, and not by honesty.

But by what ciuill law do they receaue mony of harlots? They aunswer for
tribute

tribute. But why do they not rather say, for bauds? Assuredly, if we will speake truly, Popes are not as touching this thing, other wise then baudes. Let them diligently marke the ciuil lawes, whereby they now go about to defende themselves, and ouer which they boast that they are rulers, and let them looke what they iudge of bauds. In the Digestes de ritu nuptiarum, in the law palam it is thus witten: He which hath bondewomen for gayne, and filthily setteth them out, & is partaker of the gayne, the same committeth bauds. Now I demaunde of these men in what condicion they count the harlottes of Rome? For citizens? Nothing lesse. They count them therfore in a manner for bondewomen, and of them they make gayne, wherfore they are in a manner baudes. As much might be sayd concerning vsury. They suffer in their dominions Jewes which are vsurers, and they take gayne of their vsury, euery yeare a certaine part, at the leaste the twety part. Wherfore the Pope is not onely a baud, but also an vsurer. And that which I affirme of the Pope, let prophane princes also take heede, leaste the same may be saide of them also, which exercise this kind of gayne of the Jewes. To them vndoubtedly agreeth that sayinge of Dauid: If thou sawest a theefe thou ranst with him, and thou didst put thy portion with adulterers.

What the lawes decre of bauds

But they say y these are tributes. But in y Code in y title de vectigalibus & co. mensis, in the law ex prestatione, and in the lawe allegatis: Tribute is defined to be that which is payd for those things which are brought into the publike wealch from outward nacions. For they are called in latte vectigalia, that is tributes, of this worde Vhere, which signifieth to cary. And the eight parte of euery thinge was paide in the name of a tribute, wherfore publicanes were called Octauarii of octaua parte, that is the. viii. part which they gathered. But what do harlots y paye you bying into the publike wealth? Uncleanes and filthy lustes, of which thinges the courtiers & sacrificers of the Pope do not gather the eight parte, but the whole. These thinges are called tributes and customes, which are taken of fieldes and landes, but what fieldes haue harlottes? What landes? None. Wherfore let the cease to excuse a most filthy thing with an honest title. I know they will say, if harlots were suffered free and at liberty, they would moze licenciously sinne. O godly kind of cozeation. Can harlots be by no other meanes restrained, but so? They shoulde rather decre that they shoulde not be in the cite, that they shoulde haue filthy and darke houses, that they shoulde cast away al the ornaments of they body, that they shoulde not come abroade openly, and shoulde be dishonored by some markes of filthines, that thereby they might be a mocking stock vnto all men. By this meanes peraduenture they might be reuoked into the righte way. But now good God, how are they restrained? They haue mozte gorgeous houses, they openly ride in Chariots, apparaled like princes, they ride vpon their fine ambling hozses, they haue with them as fellows, men decked with chaines and disguised, yea and sometimes Cardinals, especially in the night, and a most sumptuous flock of waiting maidens. Will they deny that these thinges are true? Let graue and sincere men then, which haue at any time bene at Rome, shew whether the thinge be so or no. If they will not belene me, I can byinge for witness Cardinals and Prelates of Rome.

What tribute is.

Octauarii.

The sumptuousnes of harlots of Rome.

Paulus. iii. once declared that he entended some refozmation of the Church: & he committed the matter to Cardinals and Bishops, which were counted moze pure the other. And what they iudged, it is extant in the. 3. Volume of counsels. And they complain y the power of harlots was greater at Rome, then it was any where els. But hath Paulus. iii. amended this? In the Sinod also of Trident y clergy of Rome promised some great refozmacion. But they did it not, neither went they about any thing at al. Why do they not rather imitate and folow the lawes of Iustinian? He in is Authentikes, in the title de lenonibus, wil haue har-

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lots

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lots to be utterly thrust out of the city, and that if they promised any thing vnto bauds, they should not be bound to pay and accomplish the same. Yea rather, if they haue sworn to be harlots for a time, he absolue them of the oath. These things these men dissemble, and suffer and maintaine harlots. Which thing yet ought not to be meruailed at. For, so much as they do so diligently retain and encrease spirituall fornication of myndes, that is, superstition and idolatrye, why also should they not maintaine fornication of the bodye? But seeinge they take away liues from the sacrificers, it was a harde thinge, yea and impossible to want bzothe houses. Iustinianus solved, because he saw bzothe houses nigh vnto the Churches of God, but now they dwell in the midst of cities, & not from the houses where holpe seruices are ministered: and it nothinge grieueth the Pope. But let the Lordes of those houses whiche the harlots dwell in, pleade the cause. But such houses pertaine for the most part vnto Bishops and churches, & they will say, we do not take part of the gain of a harlot, but as it is mete, we receaue rentes for our houses: which is not prohibited by the ciuill lawes. For in the Digestes (de petitione hereditatis in the law Ancillaram) it is sayd, that bzothe houses are occupied in the city rents of honest men. And in the same title in the law possessor, it is ordeined, that if a man haue vn honest gaines, he should be compelled to restore the, least an honest interpretation should bring profite vnto the possessor with an vn honest gayne.

But because they will maintain it by lawes, why haue they not a respect vnto the interpretation of those lawes? What is: If this kinde of gayne bee once eradged of harlots, that ought to be restored vnto the hire: otherwise it is not lawfull to require them. Neyther can contrariety of lawes be auoided by any other meanes. For these lawes should not agre with those of Iustinians, which are had in the Authentikes de lenonibus & scenicis mulieribus. But let them marke I pray you the thinges which are had in the title de ritu nuptiarum, in the law palam, and in the title de iis qui notantur infamia, in the law Athletas, namely that that woman is infamous, whiche hath prostituted herselfe, and he also which is partaker of the gayne. And that vniuersally all bawdes are infamous. Let vs also (which is of much more weight) haue a regard to the wordes of god which commaundeth: Be ye holy, because I am holy. What do we gather by these wordes? That it is not to be suffered among Christians, wherby men are made infamous: wherfore take away baudes and harlots, for as much as these kinde of persons are by the testimonie of the ciuill lawes noted infamous. But they will say: Men fall very oftentimes, and sometimes commit those thinges wherby they are made infamous. I graunt that, yet is not this to be borne withall, wherby wil or nill they, they are made infamous. But though they had a thousand ciuill lawes on their side, yet ought we more to esteeme the worde of God. Ierome speakinge of this thinge, writeth verie well in his Epistaphe of Fabiola: Ciuill lawes sayth he, are not so diligentely to be cited. Pampinianus writeth one thing, and Paule an other. And before Ierome, Tertulliane de anima: Bzothe houses (sayth he) are execrable before God.

But if they should be suffered, saye they, there is some hope of the conversion. For Christ sayth: Harlots and publicanes shall go before you in the kingdome of god. But let them tel me, whither they can by no other meanes be reuoked into the right way, then to be borne withall? It is true indeede that Christ sayd: Harlots and publicanes shall go before you in the kingdome of God. But he vnderstandeth not Harlots as long as they be harlots and are not conuerted. For what cause then is it said that they shall go before the Phariseis & Scribes in the kingdom of God: because they being conuerted, do acknowledge and bewaile the sinnes: but the Phariseis & Scribes regarded not their wicked actes, but would seeme to be moste holy. If harlots should be suffered because they may be conuerted, then shall there be no sinne so greuous which ought to be punished:

for

Ierome:

Tertulliane

How harlots
do go before the
Scribes and
Phariseis in
the kingdome
of heauen.

for there is none so farre past grace, but there is some hope that he may be reuoked into the right way: and so all lawes shall sleepe.

They adde mozeouer: God hath prohibited harlots, as it is had in Deut. which yet were afterward suffered. For Salomon gaue iudgement betwene two harlots. First I answer, that it is not certaine that they were harlots, for as muche as this woord Zouah signifieth also her that keepeth a bittling house, and one also which getteth her liuing by sundry kinde of gaine. Further, though they were harlots, yet is it a frivolous and most weake argument. For we must not reason from that which is done, to that which ought to be done. God in deede prohibited harlots, but afterward discipline quailed, and many things were committed against the law. But we ought to haue a regard not to that which is done, but to that which God hath commanded to be done: other wise if we will liue according to examples, there are euill examples inough euery where. For Popes and Cardinals doo not onely suffer harlots, but also keepe them themselves, as things most daintie. Neither are they asfearde of the Canons which decree that Priests for whooredomes should be deposed, in the distinction. 82. chap. Presbyter, when as yet the glose saith there: Now adales no man is deposed for whooredome. The same is had in the second question. 7. chap. Later: The Apostle excludeth whoozemongers from the kingdom of God. But these exclude them not from the Church, neither thinke they, that they ought to be deposed. But that is no maruaile, for as muche as they say that the Bishop may dispense with aduontries, and other light crimes, as it is had Extra. de Iudiciis in the law. At Clerici, they are the woordes of Alexander. 3. wherby it appeareth, that these men count aduontries for crimes very light. Why ought we then to depende on their examples. Philo a Jew saith, that in the publike welth of the Jewes, harlots could not be suffered. For al when they came to ripe age, ought of necessity eyther to be husbandes or wiues. Widowes in deede ther were some, but yet wel growen in yeares, and of an approued incontineny. This example should we followe, namely of such an holy publik welth, & not the example of the papistall court. When I was on a time at Rome, I remembred a wittye saying of Crates. He when he came to Delphos, and sawe in the temple of Apollo a golden ymage of Phrynis a very notable harlot, cryed out: Beholde a token of the wantonnes of the Grecians. So I, considering there suche sumptuous harlots, and so gorgeously appareled, said: Behold a token of the wantonnes of the bishop of Romes Prelates. But let vs leaue them, and go on with the woordes of God, and the reasons brought from thence.

Basilias (in his first booke vpon the Psalmes, expounding these woordes: And hath not spt in the chaire of pestilence) writeth very wel. Whooredome (saythe he) stayeth not in one man, but inuadeth a whole City. For some one yong man cometh vnto an harlot, and taketh vnto himself a fellow, and the same fellow also taketh an other fellow. Wherefore euen as fire being kindled in a City, if the winde blow vehemently, stayeth not in the burning of one house or two, but spreadeth far and wyde, and maketh a great destruction with it: So this euyl, being once kindled, spreadeth ouer all the partes of the City. Ambrose also wisely writeth vpon the. 119. Psalme, alledging the woordes of the. vi. chap. of the Proverbs: who can noozi the burning coales in his bosome, and not bee burnt? who saith he, can thinke that harlots can be noozished in a City, and yong men not be corrupted with whooredome? And so may we aptly turne that sentence of saint Augustine cleane contrariely: If thou take away harlots, thou shalt kyl all thynges with filthy lustes. Not so, but rather contrarily: Noozi the harlots, and thou shalt kyl all thynges with filthy lustes.

They object againe, that the good which commeth of euil, is a recompensation, and they wil haue brothel houses to be suffered, least violence should be offered vnto honest patrons. I haue answered before, that euill thynges are not to

In the tytle of Salomon there were harlots in Israel.

Aduontries are counted of the Papistes very light crimes.

Philo.

In Apothegma of Crates.

Basilias.

A similicude.

Ambrose.

The sentence of Augustine is turned.

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be done, that good thinges should ensue. Yea, but (saye they) God himselfe hath ordained that the good which cometh of euil, is a recompensation. For because of the hardnes of hart of the Hebrewes, that they should not solow greater euils, he graunted them the booke of diuorcement. But these men ought to remeber, that we must not cal God vnto iudgement, neither is it lawfull to require of hym a reason of his lawes. Wherefore it is no firme conclusion, God did so, therefore it is lawfull for vs to doo the like. We must not looke what God hath done, but what he hath commaunded vs to doo. But as concerning diuorcement, we shall haue occasion in an other place to speake therof. God saw that hatred oft tymes happeneth betwene man and wife, and danger of committing murder, which thing rather then it should happen, he graunted the booke of diuorcement. But it is a false argument, God gaue the booke of diuorcement, therefore it is lawfull for vs to keepe brothelhouses.

It is not law-
full to require to
reason by the ex-
ample of God.

To the reasons
of the aduersa-
ries.
To the first.

Now resteth to confute the reasons of the aduersaries. First they said, whose dome is in the actes of the Apostles numbred among those thinges, which of their owne nature are not euil, as blood, thinges strangled, and thinges dedicated vnto Idoles. For there is no creature of God euil, which is reuealed with thankes geuing. Wherefore fornication is no syn, seing it is reckoned with those thinges. But this is a weake reason, for these thinges are not reckoned of the Apostles, that in them shoulde be like reason of fault, but because that all those thinges, if they shoulde haue bene vsed, would at y tyme haue disturbed the Church. The Jewes by the custome of their law, abstained from blood, and that wherby was strangled: and the Ethnikes made nothing of whooredome. Wherefore, that peace shoulde be had among them all, they decreed that they al shoulde abstayne from these thinges, wherby it followeth not, that al these thinges are like syns, but rather this we may inferre, that all these thinges were an occasion of disturbing the Church.

To the second.

What is the
proper nature
of synne.

Farther, they objected that God commaundeth not synnes, but he commaunded Hosea the Prophet to haue fellowship with an harlot. I answer: Euery synne, is in that respect synne, because it is against the word of God. But if God commaund any thing to be done privately, which other wise disagreeeth with the word written, the same vndoubtedly is not sinne, because vniuersally it repugneth not with the word of God: for although it disagreeeth with the word written, yet it disagreeeth not with the word privately reuealed. It is synne to take away an other mans good. But God, when the Hebrewes shoulde depart oute of Egypt, commaunded that they shoulde bozowe flasse and syluer vessels of the Egyptians, and take them away with them, which thing they did with out sinne. No man doubteth also but that murder is synne, and yet Abraham, if hee had sacrificed his sonne at the commaundement of God, which he was ready to doo, had not synned. So may we say of Hoseas the prophet: If he committed whooredome at the commaundement of God, his whooredome was no synne. I knowe there are some which thinke that Hoseas was not commaunded to comit whooredome, but to take a harlot to his wife, but that agreeth not: for it followeth, and thou shalt beget of her children of fornication. Children gotten after that manner, namely of a lawfull wife, shoulde not haue bene children of fornication. Ierome doth better interprete these thinges hyperbollically, and saith, that by this image was expessed the wickednes of the Jewes, which had forsaken god their common husband, and had committed fornication with the Idoles of the Gentiles, and had begotten vnlawfull and bastard children, as touching the whooring and religion of God.

Ierome.

To the third.

Farthermore, that is false which they alledge, namely that whooredome is neither against religion, nor charite. For we haue before declared that it is otherwise, neither is it needefull here to repeat that which we haue sayd.

To the fourth.

They byng Augustine also whiche sayth, what meate is vnto the body, that is ac-

is accompanieng together for procreation, but to eate or drinke a litle more thē needeth, is not a grieuous synne: therefore neither is fornication also. A similitude is not take to agree in every part, but serueth onely for that part for which it is taken. And vndoubtedly, he which eateth or drinketh more then he ought, doth not straightway loose the health of his body, but he which strageth in carnal fellowship, and committeth whoredome, may easelpe straightway beget a childe, vnto whom he doth injury, because throughte his fault he is bozne a bastard. Farther, there succeedeth euyl education, and so charity is hurt. I myghte say also, euen as euyl and hurtful meate destroyeth the bodye (yea Adam by eating of the prohibited aple corrupted his posteritye) so whoredome killeth the soule. Lastly, that which they alledged, namely that fornication is therefore no sinne, because it cannot be so iudged by the light of nature, that I say is nothing. For the preceptes of God are knowen to bee iust of nature, but yet of a nature vncorrupt and perfect: when as a corrupt nature doth often times allow sinnes for vertues. For with the Lacedemonians theft was praised, and as Thucydides writeth among the auncient Grecians piracy was counted a vertue. Farther, more it followeth that the preceptes of god may by nature be knowen to be iust and honest, but yet of a nature instructed and formed by the word of god, other wise as Paul testifieth: The carnal man knoweth not the thinges whiche are of god. But now let vs returne to the history.

To the style.

Thucydides.

21 Therefore the Philistines tooke him, and put out his eyes, and brought him downe to Azza, and bound hym wyth fetters: and he did grinde in the prison house.

22 And the heare of his head beganne to growe agayne, after that it was shauen.

23 Then the Princes of the Philistines gathered them together to offer a great sacrifice vnto Dagon their God, and to reioyce. For they sayd: Our God hath deliuered Samson our enemye into oure handes.

24 Also when the people saw him, they praised their God: for they sayd, our God hath deliuered into our handes our enemye, and destroyer of our countrey, whych hath slayne many of vs.

25 And when their hartes were mery, they said: cal Samson, that he maye make vs pastime. So they called Samson out of hys prison house, and he was a laughing stocke vnto them, and they sette hym betwene the pylers.

26 Then Samson sayde vnto the seruaunt that ledde hym by the hande: leade me that I may touche the pylers that the house standeth vpon, and that I may leane to them.

27 (Now the house was full of men and women, and there were all the Princes of the Philistines: also vpon the rooffe wer about thre thousand men and women, that beheld whyle Samson played.)

28 Then Samson called vnto the Lord, and sayde: O God I beseeche thee strengthen me at this tyme onely, that I may be at once auenged of the Philistines for my two eyes.

29 And Samson layde holde on the two myddle pylers, where vpon the house stode, and on whiche it was bozne vppon: on the one wyth hys ryght hand, and on the other wyth hys left.

30 Then sayd Samson: Let me lose my lyfe with the Philistines: and he bowed hym wyth al hys myght, and the house fell vpon the Princes.

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Princes, and vpon all the people that were therein. So the deade which he slewe at hys death, were mo then they whyche hee hadde slayne in hys lyfe.

31 Then hys brethren, and all the house of hys father came downe and tooke hym, and brought hym vp, and buried hym betwene Zorah and Esthaol, in the Sepulchre of Manoah hys father: nowe he had iudged Israel twenty yeares.

When Samson was kept in prison, hys heare in the meane tyme grew to the same length that it was befoze it was shauen by the harlot. God at the length tooke vengeance of the Philistines, when yet he had first begone at hys owne house. For Samson for his synne, came into the power of hys enemyes, and hys eyes being put out, he was compelled to grinde in prison, and was vtterly made a mocking stocke. Howbeit the wicked Philistines in the meane tyme escaped not unpunished. Thus God bleth to doo, first to punish his owne, befoze he afflict straungers. Philistines also, when a man hath taken poyson, haue thys as their chiefe care, to driue away the poyson from the hart, from the lyuer, and other principal partes of the body, then they apply medicines vnto the other members of the body. So also the good man of the house firste instructeth and chastiseth his chyldren, and afterwarde he instructeth other. Wherefoze Paul wryteth of a Bishop: If he cannot wel gouerne his owne family, how shall hee gouerne the church of God? Wherefoze it is no maruayle if god chastised Samson first, & afterwarde grievously afflicted the Philistines. But in that it is writte that his heare was growen againe, we must not beleue y^e hys strength lay in hys heare, for it was a gift of god geuen him freely, but yet God required, that for that gift he should be a Nazarite: vnto which it belonged, to let the heare growe, and not to cut it with a raso. But if a man had transgressed, he did not therfoze straight way cease to be a Nazarite, but ought to let his heare growe, and be clensed, and so begyn againe his institution, which he tooke in hand. Wherefoze Samson repented that he had violated his vow, and returned to the rule of a Nazarite, and when his heare was growen, and he restored both vnto god, and to his olde state and strength, being assured of the helpe of god, he tooke vengeance of hys enemyes.

In the meane tyme the Philistines ascribe their victoꝝ against Samson, vnto their god Dagon. But what this god was, it is not very wel known. Howbeit as farre as may be iudged by the Etimology of the woꝝde, it was some god of the sea. For Dag in hebrewe signifieth a fysh. And that both the Grecians and the Latines woꝝhipped gods of the sea, it is certayne. For they had Neptune, Leucothea, and Triton. Aboue the belly (as they say) it had the foꝝme of a man, & down ward it ended in the foꝝme of a fysh. Suche a god woꝝhipped the Philistines. And vndoubtedly the old Ethnikes synned grievously therein, in that they woulde rather serue the creature (as Paul sayth) then the creatoꝝ, and chaunged the gloꝝy of the immortal God, and transferred it, not onely into the similitude fashioned like a moꝝtal man, but also into the images of birdes, fourefooted beastes, and Serpentes oꝝ creeping thinges. Neither did they onely woꝝhip those thinges, which ar in nature, but also they fained vnto the selues Monsters, which appeare no where. Such gods in a maner do heretikes woꝝhip. For they doo set befoze them selues some shape and head of God, when they confesse that they beleue in God the creatoꝝ of heauen & earth. But when farther they adde their own thoughtes and fancies, they make the inferiour part to ende in a fysh. Of this Dagon there is manifest mencion made in the first booke of Samuel. The Philistines extolled their Dagon, because he had deliuered their enemye into their handes: which was nothing els, then to blaspheme the name of the true God.

The custom of God in punishing.

A similitude.

The bowe of the Nazarites being violated, was renewed.

What Dagon was.

Gods of the sea

What maner of thinges the Gods of heretikes are.

God. For they attributed his woorkes vnto an idole. Neither considered they that Samson was therfore taken, because he had sinned against God. Wherefore our synnes are a cause, why God is blasphemed: for when by reason of them we are destitute of the helpe of God, our enemies, whiche get the victorie against vs, doo ascribe the same, both vnto their owne strengthes, and to their super-
stitions.

So happened it in the conquering of Constantinople, where the Turkes when they had gotten the city, carted about in derision the image of Christ, clothed with the apparel of the Turkes, throughout all the host, and throughout all the wayes of the City. And not many yeares ago, when the Emperour Charles the first lost a great nauy, and many souldiours at Argery, I remember I heard some souldiours say, that Christ our sauour was now become a Mahometan or Mooze, neither considered they that they them selues were become farre worse then the Mahometes. So the name of God is mocked for our synnes. Wherefore holy men were wont not without a cause thus to pray, and to implore mercye, that the name of God should not be euill spoken of among the Gentiles. So delt Moses with God, when he was angry with the people, for making the golden Calfe. The Prophets also sayd: Be merciful vnto vs Lord for thine owne sake, and for thine names sake, least the nations say, wher is their God: Let vs in the meane time, when we heare or reade these thinges, thus thincke with our selues: Seeing God hath for synne so grieuouly afflicted Samson, so great a man, sanctified from his mothers wombe, and appointed to deliuer Israel: what shall become of vs if we synne? So Paul to the Corinthians in his first Epistle, setteth forth vnto vs the examples of the Israelites to consider, whom God sundry wayes chastised. And to the Romanes he sayth: If he hath not spared the natural branches, take heed that he spare not thee. Marke the goodnes and severity of God: his severity on those which haue fallen, and his goodnes in thee, if thou abide in goodnes: otherwise thou also shalt be cut of. Wherefore by these cogitations we may take fruite by the punishment of other.

Horrible examples of blasphemies.

How holy men called vpon god in tribulations

For this vse are examples set forth vnto the Church, that we in reading them shoulde become better. Paule sayde: what soeuer thinges are before wyrt ten, are written for our learning, that wee through patience and consolation of the scriptures shoulde haue hope. Wherefore when we reade that holpe men were so corrected, we ought to tremble, least we also fall into the lyke anger of God. If we doo not take suche fruite by reading of the holy scriptures, we then reade them in vayne.

What is the fruit of holy histories.

The Philistines geue thanks vnto Dagon their God for the victorie. So were they deliuered by into a reprobate sense, to geue thanks for those thinges, for which they ought most of all to haue bene sorry. For how obtayned they Samson? By the artes of an harlot, and by most filthy decrete. After sacrifices folloiweth a verie sumptuous banquet. For in those holpe seruices of Idoles, was set forth a certaine communion, that the people in that feast, shoulde reioyce together with a certaine common ioy.

So also in the olde Testament the Israelites in theyr peaceofferings feasted and reioyced together before the Lord. Neyther is it vnkely, but that the Fathers also before the law, had suche holpe seruices and solemnities. Christ also our Sauour instituted a Communion and holpe Supper, that wee shoulde there celebrate his name and healthfull death. But in the sacrifices of Idoles, all thinges were ordayned for ryot and pleasure, and they seldome departed from thence without filthy lustes or murder, as at this daye doo the Papistes in consecrations of theyr Churches, after Masse they celebrate a feast, after ward they fall to dauncyng and wanton leapinges: whereby oftentimes they fall together by the eares.

To what vnde the Supper of the Lorde was instituted.

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Iosephus.

The Philistines assembled together aboue thre thousande men, and at the length commaunde that Samson shoulde be brought befoze them, a man myserable, bounde, and blynde. When they had with so many injuries not sufficient lye fulfilled their hatred, they woulde mozeouer make hym a mocking stocke. These thinges were farre moze bytter, then if they had put him to death. For as Iosephus writeth in this place: Death is naturall, and maye after a sorte bee suffered: but so; as muche as to bee made a mocking stocke, bath reproche and contumely ioynd with it, that seemeth not possible to be bozne wythall. It is a thing very cruell to adde affliction vnto the afflicted. Wherefoze, althoughe God seemed to haue smytten Samson, they oughte to haue bene touched wyth some mercye towarde hym, neyther must we be molestious vnto them that are smytten by God, as though we woulde imitate God. Wherefoze Amos the Prophet writeth: For thre transgressions of Edom, & so; the fourth I wyl not be turned. For when the Iewes were dyspued and banished oute of theyr owne countrey, and had escaped to their borders, they handled them moste cruellye. This thyng, sayth God by the Prophet, hee wyl not leaue unpunished. For althoughe the Iewes were so; their desertes afflicted of God, yet it was not the duty of neighbours to heape moze injuries vpon the afflicted.

David in his hundreth and nyne Psalm curseth hym which shoulde persecute him, whom the Lord hath stricken. Set thou (sayth he) the synner ouer him, and let Sathan stande at his right hand. When hee is iudged, let hym go oute condemned, and let his prayers be turned into synne. Let his dayes bee fewe, and let an other take his charge. Bycause he remembred not to thewe mercye: but persecuted the afflicted and pooze man, and the sorrowful harted to kill him.

*A cruel manner
towards those
which haue suf-
fered shipwacke*

These thynges we reade, and contemne them, and it is horryble to see the manner in certayne regions, so; if any that hath suffered shipwacke escape to the shoze, theyr goods, if peradventure they bee cast on lande, are made so; sayte. What other thyng is this, then to adde affliction to the afflicted?

*Howe Samson
was reconciled
vnto God.*

Samson being brought befoze them, declareth by the successe, howe deare he was to God. Not that the sufferance of the prysen had purged his synnes, it is Christ onely which purgeth synnes. Not that by patience or anye other vertue he had deserued the mercye of God: awayne wyth all consideration of desert. But in prysen he acknowledged his synne, hee beleued trulye in Christ, and as it becommeth a godlye man, hee repented, and that so muche the moze, howe muche greater the calamitye was, where with he was oppressed. Wherefoze being endued wyth fayth, where by he tooke holde of the mercye of God by Christ, he was reconciled vnto God. And that he had fayth, manifestly appeareth by that, which he prayed. How (sayth Paul) did they call vpon god, in whom they beleued not: And in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, Samson is numbred among them, which being excellent in fayth, wrought wonderful thinges.

*Samson is pro-
ued to haue had
fayth.*

*In what man-
ner Samson
prayed.*

And he sayd vnto the Ladde: leade me vnto the pyller. As though he had bene wearye, hee made as though hee woulde haue leaned to the pyller. There were there al the princes of the Philistines. They were assembled thether bycause god had appointed to take punishment of them al together. And Samson prayed: Remember me Lord. These prayers at the fyrste syght seeme not verie godly. For he prayeth to haue vengeance graunted him of his enemies, because they had put out both his eyes. And doubtedly if he did it of a stomake or choler, we could not iustly defend his prayers. For he shoulde haue bene no moze allowed of god, then if he shoulde expressedly haue sayd: I pray thee Lorde, prosper eyther my theft, or my aduontry. Augustine sayth that Samson dyd these thinges, not of his own wyl, but by the impulsioe & counsell of the holy ghost. Farther, (as I haue often admonished) wee muste not thynke of Samson as of a private man, but as of a Magistrate, whom God hym selfe had appoynted.

Augustine.

And

And in deede as a private man, it was not lawfull for him to reuenge his owne iniuries: but as a Magistrate, he both might & ought. If we haue in hand a private cause, that saying of Paul ought to be of force: *Gene place vnto anger. To me belongeth vengeance, & I will render,* saith the Lord. But in a publike cause the Magistrate ought by the commaundement and authoritie of God to auenge iniury: because he is gods vicar in earth: and god himselfe, although often times he take vengeance of synnes by himselfe, and as it is sayde withoute meanes, yet for the most part he punisheth by Magistrates. Wherefore those wordes: *To me belongeth vengeance, and I will render,* doo not let the seueritye of Magistrates, whereby they punish the guilty. For they are the Ministers of God: and that which they do, God himselfe doth by them.

By the same manner of speeche it is sayd vnder the person of God: *Equity is mine, iudgement is mine, and power is mine:* all which thinges yet he communicateth wth men, vpon whom hee bestoweth them. Wherefore God commaunded Samson to reuenge the iniuries of ether, namely of the name of God and his owne: for as muche as the Philistines had put out hys eyes. But for what cause? That, because he had committed whooredome: No vndoubtedly: but because he was an Israelite, a deliuerer and reuenger of the people of God. Wherefore Samson auengeth either iniury, both that which the Philistines had done vnto hym selfe, and that which they had done vnto God. When he calleth vpon God, he prayeth hym to prosper hys vocation. And suche prayers are woont to be of most efficacye. For what other thyng dyd the Apostles and other b^{re}thren pray for (as it is w^{ry}tten in the Actes of the Apostles the fourth chapter) then that God would prosper their vocation and office: *Gene vnto thy seruantes (sayde they) not to regarde their th^{re}atninges, graunt them boldlye to speake thy wordes. Streche forth thine hande, that they maye woocke synnes.* If a man will say, the synnes of the Apostles were profitable and healthful, because they deliuered and healed the afflicted. But contrariwise the signe of Samson tended to the slaughter of his enemies. Wherefore there is not in them both one consideration: I answer, that often times it happeneth so, but yet the signes of the Apostles also were sometimes hurtful. For Paul made Elymas the Cuntur blynde, and sayd: *Thou Sonne of the Denyl, why peruerstest thou the right wayes of the Lord? Beholde the hand of the Lord is ouer thee, and thou shalt be blynde, and shalt not see.* Peter also wth hys wordes slewe Ananias and Saphira. Peter and Paule deliuered manye vnto Sathan. Wherefore Samson prayeth vnto God to make fortunat, and to helpe his ministry.

Next can it be properly sayde that Samson kyled himselfe. He dyed in deede, but he prescribed not vnto hymself this ende, namely to dye. But sought vengeance of hys enemies, whych he vnderstoode woulde by this meanes ensue. The Apostles also dyd thus make reckonyng wth themselves: If as wee haue begonne we teache vnto the people the kingdome of Christ, vndoubtedly we shall bee kyled: and in that they went on wth their purpose to teache the Gospell, it cannot be iustly sayd, that they kyled them selues. Paule also, when hee shoulde go vnto Ierusalem, and Agabus the Prophet tolde hym, that the Iewes woulde bynde hym at Ierusalem, what dyd hee when hee hearde these thinges? Dyd he forsake hys vocation? No verely. But rather affirmed that hee was ready both to be bounde, and to dye for Christ. So sayth Samson: *Let my soule dye wth the Philistians.* He dyd not rashely incurre death, but folloiweth hys vocation. Souldiours when they go on warrefare, if a man peraduenture say vnto them: ye shall be slayne wth gunnes, or wth the swoorde, or wth arrowes. They wyl answer, if they be men of valiaunt courage: we seeke not death but victo^{ry}e, or we folloiw the defence of our owne thynges, whereunto we are called.

God communi-
cateth many of
hys properties
vnto men.

For what
cause the Philis-
tines afflic-
ted Samson.

The signes of
the Apostles
did not alwayes
heale.
Similitudes.

Samson killed
not hymselfe.
Similitudes.

Ab. ii.

But

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But as touching Samson, God gouerned him by his spirite. Wherefore when he dyed, he slewe more of the Philistines then he did before while he liued. What fruite therefore had the Philistines by their deceite and treason? They bought to them selues death, and present destruction. And euen as to them that loue god al thinges woork to good, so to the aduersaries and enemies of God, al things are turned to their destruction.

The difference
betwene the
death of Philis-
tines and of
Samson.
A moote vnospe-
cable admoniti-
on of Salomon

Samson dyeth together with the Philistines, but the ende and maner is far diuers. For they dye in their wanton behauiour, cruelty, and idolatrye, but this Samson in fayth, and calling vpon the true God. But as touching the matter it selfe, the residue were to eyther of them alike. Wherefore Salomon admonisheth vs most wisely, that wee muste not measure the godlynes of men by outward thinges, bicause they happen alike, both to the godlye, and to the vngodly. That Samson dyed in the fayth, hereby it appeareth, bicause euen in the very destruction he called vpon God, and was heard, and bycause God restozed vnto him his old strength. But they which are in the fleshe, can not please God: neyther can God be rightly called vpon, vnlesse sayth hyne befoze. Howe shall they cal vpon hym sayth the Apostle, in whom they haue not belened? And bycause he was heard, he prayed by the inspiration of the spirite. For wee knowe not what we shoulde praye. Wherefore the spirite doth with vnspeakeable sighinges pray for vs.

Ambrose.

Samson is a fi-
gure of Christ.

Samson had befoze fallen, he turneth vnto god, & he beareth hym. So let vs al so, when we haue somtimes sinned, returne vnto God, & faithfully cal vpon him, & we shal be heard. For he is the same god that he was then, riche vnto al those that cal vpon him: that which he did vnto him, he will do also vnto vs. Ambrose vpon this place writeth, that Samson was so heard of god, that hee lost his lyfe triumphantly, and he did not onely overcome the Philistines, but also hymselfe: for he represented the image of Christ, who although while he lyued, exceedingly hurted the diuel, yet when he dyed, he utterly triumphed ouer hym. The Philistines when they ouercame Samson, got vnto them selues mooste certayne destruction: So the Jewes, when they crucified Christ, thzewe them selues into euerlasting condemnaciō. And, which is to be maruelled at, the Philistines with this so great and so sodaine destruction, were so amased, that they suffered the kinsfolkes of Samson to come, and honozably to bury him. For when the princes were perished, the courages of the people were daunted, neither durst they attempt any thing against the Hebrewes. This place seemeth here to requyre a disputation, whither it be lawfull for any man, for any cause, to kyll hymselfe. But bicause we shall haue a place moze opportune for it, at this present I wyl omit it, and wyl in an other place fully write thereof.

The .xvii. Chapter.



1 Here was a man of mount Ephraim, whose name was Michaiehu.

2 And he sayd vnto his mother: The eleuen hundzeth peeces of syluer that were taken fro thee, for the which thou cursedst, and spakedst it euen in myne hearing, behold the syluer is wyth me, I tooke it. Then his mother sayde: blessed be thou my sonne of the Lorde.

3 And when hee had restozed the eleuen hundzeth peeces of syluer to his mother, his mother sayde: I had dedicated the syluer to the Lorde, of myne owne hand for my sonne, to make a grauen and molten image. Now therefore I wyl geue it thee againe.

4 And

4 And when he had restozed the mony vnto his mother, his mother toke two hundzeth peeces of siluer, and gaue them to the goldsmith, whych made thereof a grauen and molten image, and it was in the house of Michatehu.

5 And this man Michah had a house of God, & he made an Ephode, and Theraphim, & consecrated the hand of one of his sonnes, and he was his priest.

6 In those dayes there was no kinge in Israell, but euery man did that, which was good in his owne eyes.

First I thinke good to enquire in this history cōcerning y^e time wherein these things happened. For al men do not aunswere a like vnto this question. The elder Rabbines do thinke, that this was done, when Iosua was olde, and hee not able for age to execute hys offyce, neyther was there anye other Magistrate substituted in his place. But this is not verie likely, because wee reade that in all his time the Israelites worshipped God rightly and orderlye, and that he in the latter time of his life, renued the couenant of god with the people. Other thinke that they were done after Iosuas death, when Othoniell gouerned. This sentence R. Selomoh defendeth. The sonne of Gerson thinketh that this happened vnder Eglon kinge of Moab, whome Ehud afterward slewe. But this also can not be p^{ro}oued, for in the x. chap. of this booke it is w^{ri}tten, that the people cri ed vnto the Lord when they were oppressed of they^r enemies. And that Iiphtah was stirred by by the sp^{ir}ite to bear rule. But befoze God aunswareth the very sharply. For he sayd: I will not helpe you, because you alwayes retorne vnto your Idoles, and forsake me. But rather cal vpon your gods let them helpe you. Which wordes when the people heard, they repented, & put away frō them their idols which they had made. But this idle which is now spokē of, indured to the time of Samuel: Wherefoze it canot seme probable that it was done at that time. The order of the holy scriptures is of most high authorizy wth me, and therfoze I thinke y^e these things happened after the death of Sālon. Forasmuch as frō that time euen to Heli there wer many yeares passed, wherein y^e Philistians possessed y^e land of the Iewes, neither suffred they any magistrate to be ouer thē. Iosephus agreeth with the Rabbines, but he is many times decened. Wherefoze it shalbe best to follo^w that opⁱnion, which agreeth with the simple order of the holy history.

Howbeit ther is one thing which semeth to be a let, namely if a man rekē the yeares frō Sain^tō vnto Saul, he shal find thē to be scarce. 60. or at y^e most. 70. And whē as by reasō of filthy whozedom y^e tribe of Benjamin was almost brought to nothing, and they which remained of it, had no wiues, but those which they got by violence: how could it be, that in so short a time it should so much encrease, y^e Saule was out of that tribe chosen a king? This argumēt hath a certain shew, but it is not firme nor sound inough if a man moze diligently examine it. For although there were but a few remayninge of that tribe, yet were they not so few, but they mought very much multiply. For there escaped sixe hundzeth mē of warre, who had wiues geuen them partly of the men of Iabes Gilead, and partly by violence. And sixe hundzeth men wer able in the space of 60. or 70. yeares to beget a great p^{ro}p^{er}ty, and to se they^r childzēns childzē. They could not indeede be so many as to be equall with the other tribes, but yet they might encrease to a sufficient numb^{er}.

But that is farre moze harde whych is objected concernynge Pinhas, namelye that hee remayned on lyue euen to the tyme of the warres of the

Ab. iii.

Benia.

When thys history happened

It is not to be ascribed vnto y^e time of Iosua.

R. Selomoh. Levi ben Gerson.

These things seme to haue happened after the deathe of Sālon.

Iosephus.

In objection.

Another objection.

Beniamites. Whiche if it be so, then muste be he at that time. 300. yeres of age. Therfore some thinke that it is moze commodious to drave backe this hystorie vnto the beginninge of the Judges. But I see not what should let, but that god might permit him to liue so longe. For when he had slaine a prince of Israell & a Madianitish woman, when they were committing whooredome, god graunted him not onely to succede his father in the priesthode, but also gaue him very long to liue. But vndoubtedly I chiefly allow the order and course of the hystorie, from which vnlesse great necessity brge, I will not depart. And in this sentence I follow the iudgement of Dauid Kimhi, whose authoritie in expounding of the terte I thinke is not to bee contemned. Yea and all the Hebrewes in a manner agree in this, that Pinhas liued a very long time, and there are some whiche produce his age euen vnto the time of Elias the Prophete. Vnto whome I doo not agree, because no necessity compelleth me therunto. Howbest as concerning this thinge I will not much strue: But I leaue it free to every willing mind to follow which opinion he will.

D. Kimhi.

*What a bove
is.*

And in this hystorie first I marke the institution of idolatry, then the consecration of a priest, which was twice doone. For first Micha instituted his sonne a priest: and then when by chaunce he met with a Leuite, he made him apriest. But wherefore was this so le made? For her bowes sake. For the promise of her mother of Micha was not simple, but w^a bove. And a bove (as al deuines as firme) is a holy promise made to God of thinges which are ours. Wherefore it must nedes be that this woman was a widow, with whome paradventure her sonne dwelled. For if she had beene a wife, or a maiden vnmarrid, or a widowe in the house of her father, shee coulde not haue bowed a firme bove, as it manifestly appeareth by the booke of Numb. Those persons might not bowe with out the consent of their father or husband. For the law ordeined that if they wer against it, the bove should then be voide. Hanna did in dede bove in the firste of Samuell, but we must beleue that Helkana her husbande confirmed her bove. This woman sinned, not because shee bowed, but because shee bowed a thinge vngodly, namely, an idole. For it was at that time lawefull for anye to bowe anye thinge of his owne thinges, for the adorninge of the temple of God, and to amplifie his honoz. But to institute a new and forbidden worshippinge, it was vtterly vngodly.

The sonne had stolen from his mother that money: neyther is it any maruail if he would scale, whych was so redy to idolatry. He which sinneth against the first table, doth easely sinne against the second.

*Women do easely
fall to cursing.*

The mother curseth the theefe, whosoeuer he were: neyther doth she so greuously take the matter for the money taken away, as for that she could not perforce her detestable bove. And she curseth, as men in a manner vse to do, in aduersities. Yea and God himself also vsed curses in the old testament, in the assembly to the mount Hebal & Garizim. The priest also cursedly prayed for barrenes, diseases, losse of children, and other thinges of like soyte. And in our time, the Pope, by what wicked zeale I know not, in the day of the supper of the Lord sendeth forth curses vpon all those whiche haue alienated themselves from his institution and sect. This woman cursed the theefe: and no maruail. Because women when they fail in strength, do easely fall to cursing.

The sonne as soone as he heard the curse of his mother, was a feard. For so hath nature ordeined, that children do wonderfully feare the curses of their parents. But this man feared not to violate the lawe of God: which thing happeneth not selde vnto men, to haue hozroz of small sinnes, and to neglect them that ar moze gricuous. Ther is some fruit sometimes of curses, euen as of errō-
mu.

municatio. Ther at some sometimes so hard & obdurate y they can be botwed by no other meanes then by curses, although they be corrected by publike and apert reprehension. But whether this sonne knew that his mother had by a vow dedicated that money unto the Lord, before he tooke it away, it appeareth not by the wordes of the history.

Neither is this to be passed over, in that the mother sayth y she had consecrated it unto the Lord, and he useth the name of .4. letters. Wherefore we must consider that there are two kinds of Idolatry. The one is, whereby a strange God is called vpon, the other is, whereby the true God indeede is worshipped, but not with that worshipping which he himself hath commanded, but by images or idoles, or by some other meanes inuented of our selues. To the seconde kinde of idolatry pertaineth the sinne of this woman. As often as we heare an image that is made, and a strange God not added, we muste vnderstand that that image was made vnder the shew of the worshipping of the true god: but that religion is far contrary to the institution of sound religiō. Wherefore when the people (as it is written in Exodus) made themselues a golden calfe, Aaron proclaimed a holpe day vnto the Lord, that is to the true god, and not to an idole. For they counted it absurd, to worshippe, either the true god himself without an image, or els an image without the title of the true God. And so muste we thinke that Ieroboam did when he consecrated the golden calves in Dan and Bethel. For I doo not beleue that in images he instituted the worshipping of Baal, or Astharoth, or Chamos, but he would vnder them worship the Lord. Vnto the selfe same error fell the Samaritanes also, who (as Iosephus writeth) would haue a temple amonge them like that which was at Jerusalem. And the selfe same thing went the Jewes about at Heliopolis, when they wer in exile in Egypt. And it was detestable to worship god with oblations and sacrifices in any other place, then in that which he himselfe had chosen to be worshipped in. Wherefore the woman vowed that she would make an idole, which shee deliuered vnto her sonne, that he should institute a newe religion in her house. I wyll (sayth she) that thou haue the syluer, but thou shalt make an idole thereof.

Why these two wordes grauen and molten are so ioined to gether, the interpreters do doubt. Some of the Hebrewes and some of our writers doo thinke y there were two images, of the which the one was grauen, and the other molten. But this seemeth not to be so, because these wordes are oftentimes ioined together in the holy scripture: neyther is it necessary, as often as we finde them, so to vnderstande many images. Other thinke that that image was first molten and then grauen, or wroughte. The opinion of other is, that wee shoulde reade grauen and molten disunctly, that is, an image which was either grauen or molten. But I very wel allow the opiniō of Dauid Kimhi, who writeth that it was the maner to graue images firste out of marble stone, or some other matter, and afterward to couer them with siluer or copper plates or peces. And so in one and the selfe same image was either: For it was both grauen, & the plates also were molten & extenuated to lay ouer it. For this hebrew word Nasach signifieth to couer. We must vnderstand by this word house of god, a priuate temple, wherein she would worship the idole. How much the peces of siluer were, or of what kinde, valew and waight it is not expessed. The Rabbines do thinke that they were siluer syckles. And a syckle (as Iosephus sayth) contained .4. drammes of Athenes. And a dramme of Athenes (as Budeus gathereth in his booke de Asse) conteyned thre shillings of Towres. A shilling of Towres is the half part of halfe a batse. Wherefore a dramme was as muche in valew as a shilling of Argentine, that is, thre halfe batfes. By which meanes a sickle contained sixe batfes. That is .4.

Ab. lili.

Shillings.

The maner of
Idolatries.
Τετραγραμμά
τον.

Iosephus.

Grauen and
molten.

D. Kimbi.

A sickle
Iosephus.
Budeus.

Cap.17. A Commentarie vpon the

Two sortes of
Sickles.
Obuli.

Sicklinges. But there was two manner of sickles, one was vsual and pꝛophane, & the other was of the sanctuary. The holy sickle was double so much as the pꝛophane. Wherefoꝛe Ezechiell in his 45. chapter sayth, that a pꝛophane sickle contened. 20. halfe pence, but the sickle of the sanctuary. 40.

There is a fable among the Hebrzewes, that this woman was Dalila whiche deceaued Samson, as though she had receaued this mony foꝛ the rewarde of her pꝛodicion. These thinges are sayde by the Rabbines, but without reason. But I with reason thinke contrarily. Foꝛ Dalila receaued of euery one of the lordes of the Philistians. xi. C. peeces of siluer. Wherefoꝛe seing there wer fise of the lordes, then must she nedes haue receaued 5500. sickles. But these whercof we nowe entreate were but. 1100. Seing therfoꝛe the number agreeth not, the fained tale of the Hebrzewes is easely confuted.

The papistes
tunicle.

Theraphim

The sonne bringeth againe vnto his mother the money which he had taken away. She straightway saith: Blessed art thou in the Lord my sonne. As though she should haue said: Now I reuoke my curses, and turne the to good and lucky pꝛayers. How superstitious þ woman was, appeareth by these wordes. She commeth ber sonne, bycause he had bzought the money againe: but she repꝛoueth him not, because he had befoꝛe stollen it. Straightway she entreateth with him about idolatrye. This mony sayth she, thou shalt not lose, thou shalt haue it indede, but yet in an idole. Neyther made they onely a molten and graue image, but also an Ephod: by which wordde wee muste by the figure Sinechdoche vnderstande all oznamentes longing vnto a pꝛiest. Foꝛ an Ephod if we speake pꝛoperly, signifieth a pꝛiests garment that commeth ouer his shoulders.

They made also Theraphim. Touching the signification of this word, there is greate ambiguitye amonge the expositors. But I vnderstande it to be that idole whiche they had grauen and molten, when all the other thinges were redye which serued foꝛ idolatry, they at the lēgth bzought that image vnto the temple. And of these Theraphim oꝛ images they were wont in the olde time to aske ozacles. In Genesis we reade that Rachel the wife of Iacob stole alwaye the Theraphim of her father. And in the first of Samuel the. 19. chapter whē Dauid escaped, Michel put in his bed Theraphim. In Amos also the third chapter, it is wꝛittent: There shalbe neither Ephod noꝛ Theraphim, that is, yee shalbe so bered and led into exile, that ye shal neyther be able to woꝛship god noꝛ idoles. In Ezechiell also it is wꝛittent: They shall enquire of Theraphim. An in Zachary the. 1. chapter: The Theraphims spake lies. Other thinke that Theraphim were certaine instrumentes of Astronomy, whereby houres, degrees, eleuations, declinations, both of the sunne and of other starres are taken. Which opīon Abin Ezra reciteth in the hystoꝛy of Rachell. But I thinke not this sentēce true. Foꝛ here is entreated of an idole, in woꝛshipping whercof there neded no astronomically instrumentes.

It is saide that Micha filled the hand of his sonne. By which Hebrzew phrase is signified that he consecrated him a pꝛiest. This soyme of speaking seemeth to arise hereof, bycause Moses when hee consecrated Aaron and his sonnes, did put in their handes sweete cakes, the shoulder, bꝛeste, and other thynges, whiche by them should be offred vnto god.

Now is the idolatry instituted, But how could that be doone in Israel: Bycause saith the hystoꝛy ther was no king in Israel: but euery man did that which seemed right in his owne eies. By these wordes is declared that it was a wicked and detestable acte, that the mother and the sonne committed. If ther had bene a lawfull magistrate, who oughte chieslye to haue a regarde to the woꝛshippinge of God, and obseruation of the firste table, this hadde not bene permitted noꝛ suffered unpunished. Wherefoꝛe let it not seeme meruailous if the lawe slepeth: Foꝛ there was no Magistrate whiche should haue bene the keeper thereof.

And

And if at any tyme there be Magistrates whiche haue no care of these things, by cause they execute not their office, it is all one as if there were none. Publique wealthes do oftentimes degenerate a kingdome into Tyranny, Aristocratie into Oligarchie, & a publique wealth into Anarchie, & an vnruines of þe people, & euery man doth what himselfe listeth. And there is nothing in the society of mē more pernicious, then that euery man should follow his owne will. For our nature is corrupt & vitiated, therfore whosoever followeth it onely as a leader, must needs exceedingly erre. But a law is a true minde, and a firme and sure rule of men in doynge of thinges. Plato in Cratilo elegantly sayth: As we call the mynde νόος, so call we the law νόμος, as it were *μονοτυα νόος*, that is an abydyng & stable minde, otherwise the minde of men is wandring. For þe whiche seemeth good vnto one, the same seemeth not so vnto an other. Neither doth one and the selfe same mā abide alwayes in one and the selfe same opinion. Wherfore for as much as all thinges are vncertayne, as often as any man doth that whiche seemeth good in his owne eyes, so the most part he strayeth from the true end.

Anarchie
whiche is wast
of a ruler, is a
destructio of pu
blique wealthes

Plato.
What νόμος is

7 There was also a yong man out of Bethlehem Iudah, of the familie of Iudah: who was a Leuite, and sojourned there.

8 And the man departed out of the Citie, euē out of Bethlehē Iudah, to dwell where he coulde finde a place: and as he iourneied, he came to mount Ephraim to the house of Micha.

9 And Micha sayd vnto hym, whence comest thou? And the Leuite answered him, I come from Bethlehē Iudah, & go to dwell where I may finde a place.

10 Then Micha sayd vnto hym: Dwell with me, and be vnto me a father & a Priest, & I will geue thee ten peeces of Siluer by yeare, & a sute of apparell, & thy meat and drinke. So the Leuite went in.

11 And the Leuite was content to dwell with the man, & the yong man was vnto hym as one of his owne sonnes.

12 And Micha consecrated the hand of the Leuite, and the younge man was his Priest, and dwelled in the house of Micha.

13 Then sayd Micha: Now I knowe that the Lorde will be good vnto me, seying I haue a Leuite to my Priest.

Here is set forth the consecration of an other Priest. For by chaunce there cometh a younge man of the tribe of Levi, whom Micha byreth to minister in his holy seruices, and remoueth his sonne from the priesthood. And the Leuite sojourned to find out a place where he might get his liuing, for he desired a state of life. Micha receaueth him to be his priest. By this Hystory is gathered, þe idolatrous worshippings, although they be contrary to the institution of god, yet they enter prise as much as may be, & they may be like vnto it. For euē as Apes will seme to be men, although they be not men in deede, so idolaters, although they worshippinge not the true God, yet they will seme to worship hym. For they laboꝝ to retayne some shewe of his worshipping as much as may be. So Micha, that he might seme to worship the true God rightly, instituted an Ephod, a temple, and a Priesthode. Lastly, bycause he would not much straye from the institution of God, he ordyeth a Leuite ouer his holy seruices and ceremonies.

Idolaters
worshippings
do imitate the
true worshipp
ing of God.

The Leuites wandred hether & thither. For that tribe was disparfed among the other tribes. In whiche thing we must remember the maner of the publique wealth of Israel. The other tribes had landes and possessions, and conteyned themselves in some certayne regions. But the Leuites dwelled disperfedly among them, that they might the easelyer minister vnto them. The Leuites in deede had their

The tribe of
Leui was dis
perfed among
other tribes.

Cap. 17. A Commentarie vpon the

their Cities also: but many of them wandred abrode through other tribes. This younge man was of Bethlehem which perteyned vnto the tribe of Iudah.

Doubt

D. Kimbi,

*The Cities
called Bethle-
hem.*

*Why the ten-
thes were not
at this tyme
geuen vnto the
Leuites.*

*How much the
stipende of the
Leuite was.*

*The law of na-
ture indgeth
that h-holy mi-
nistery is to be
had in honour.*

*The Synode
of Antioche.*

*The seuenth
Synode.*

But it may be demaunded, if he were a Leuite, howe he belonged vnto h tribe of Iudah: There are some whiche thinke that he had a Leuite vnto his father, but his mother was of h tribe of Iudah. For tribes were oftentimes mingled as concerning matrimonyes. But Dauid Kimhi somewhat doubteth concerning that thing. For he sayth it is not the maner of the holy Scriptures, for the sonnes to deriue his tribe or famely of his mother. Other aunswere, that whiche Kimhi sayth, is for the most part true, but not alwayes. For if h mother wer an inherito, the sonne had his surname of her, and to proue this true, they alledge a place of the .2. booke of Paralp, where Ezron of the tribe of Iudah toke to wife h daughter of Machor of the tribe of Manasseh, & the childzen which he had by her, were named by the name of their grandfather on the mothers side, & were called the childzen of Machor. And that was done, because the mother was an heire of .30. Cities. So it may be, that this young mans mother was an inherito of Bethlelem, of the tribe of Iudah. But me thinketh these thinges are spoken superfluously, & peradventure not very truly. For it is sayd a young man of the tribe of Leui, of Bethlehem Iuda. And in that it is agayne added of Iuda, h ought to be referred vnto Bethlehem, that it might be separated from the other Bethlehem h lay in the tribe of Zabulon. If we fellows this interpretation, then is there no ambiguity. But how dwelled the Leuite in Bethlehem: Not vndoubtedly as a Citizen, but as a straunger, and he wandred abrode to seke his lyuing. Wherefore it is not very likely that his mother was an inherito, when as he was compelled to seke his lyuing beggingly.

And that the Leuite so wandred abrode being compelled by hunger, was not for lacke of order by the law. For by it h tenthes were geue vnto the Leuites to lyue by. But as the tymes were then, they were not geuen vnto the, partly because h Philistines oppressed the Iewes, in polling the of their riches, & partly because there was no Magistrate, to loke that the people shuld pay their tenthes. And me are of themselves willingly in a manner so conetous, that vnles they be compelled they will not pay the. Lastly, because the Israelites were at h tyme very prone vnto idolatry, neither did they much regarde h worshipping or ministers of the true God: therfore they suffered the Leuites to starue. Wherefore it is no meruaile if this young ma were compelled to wander abrode, & to begge his lyuing. Nehemias in his .3. chap. sayth, that when Leuites had not so much geuen them as was sufficient for their liuing, they fled away, neither would they minister in h temple.

The Leuite came and turned into Micha, not minding to tary there, but to go on in his iorney, but Micha, when he vnderstood that he was a Leuite, hired him to be his Priest. The name of the Leuite is not in this place spoken of, howbeit by the latter end of the .18. chap. of this booke we learne that he was called Iona than the sonne of Gerson, the sonne of Menasse.

He promised him ten silueringes a yeare: which sūme is (as they say) in a maner as much as five crownes of Rync, & an ordre or sute of apparel, h is, garmentes for winter, & garmentes for summer. Whereby we gather, h althoughe Micha wer an idolatrer, yet had he h ministry in estimation. For he nooizeth his Priest, he geueth him apparel, wages, and other thinges necessary. So did also the Gentiles which knew not god. It semeth to be the law of nature, that they which labour in the holy seruices, should haue both liuing, & honour. He doth not in deede geue him any great stipend, but yet so much as was sufficient. Paul sayd: Hauing meate and drinke & clothing, with these thinges let vs be content. Also in the Synode of Antioche (as it is had in the .12. questio the .3. chap. Episcopus) the stipend for a minister, is appoynted to be so much as is sufficient for the necessity of yse.

And after ward in the .20. question the .1. chap. Clericus, and it is the seuenth Synode, is decreed the same thyng, where the glose demaundeth: What Church is to be

to be counted riche, and what Church poore: and it answereth, that that Church is sufficiently riche, whiche can nooziſhe his miniſters with their famely, ſo that they may be able alſo to keepe hoſpitality. But in our time nothing is ſufficient. They heape benefice vpon benefice, neither make they any end of ſekyng ſo; riches. What then at the length ſhalbe ſufficient? The gloſe aunſwereth, that it can not be preſcribed, ſo; we muſt haue a reſpect vnto the place, perſon, & tyme, & ſundry and diuers thinges agree to ſundry perſons, tymes, and regions. The Synode of Chalcedonia decreed that one man ſhould not haue a title in ſundry Churches. But they haue now long ſince aboliſhed theſe thyngs.

What Church is riche.

The Synode of Chalcedonia

And that the lawe of nature (as I ſayd) willet that Miniſters ſhould be noo- riſhed, appeareth alſo by that whiche Paul writeth to the Conrinth. in his .i. Epi- ſtle, when he teacheth that ſame, he bringeth argumentes euen from nature. Po man ſayth he, goeth on warfare at his owne charges. Thou ſhalt not moſel the mouth of the ore whiche treadeth out the cozne. Who ſedeth a ſlocke, and eateth not of the milke? Wherefore it yong man ſinneſt not in that he taketh a ſtipend.

For that was lawfull both by Gods law and by the lawe of nature. But in that he letteth his miniſtery to hye vnto an Idole, hee very hapnoully ſinned. For now he worſhipped not God, but his belly. Suche alſo were they whiche Paul ſayeth, ſerued not the Lord Jeſus, but theſe belly. This man nothing cared in what Religion he miniſtered, ſo that he myght get a liuyng. For this thing do very many euen now a dayes labour ſo; yea all the Waſtemongers ſo; the moſt part, who nothing regard, howe vngodly it is to ſay Maſſes. Herein is all they care to keepe ſtill their reueneues and benefices. This Leuite ſayeth not, God is not ſo to be worſhipped. Such a cup ſuch a couer. An euill Micha, hath gotten an euill Leuite. In his thyng alſo it Leuite ſinned, becauſe he was nothing made aſeard by the example of Core, who when he would haue vſurped the office of a Prieſt, was ſwallowed downe quicke into the earth. This younge man was not of the famely of Aaron, he was onely a Leuite of the famely of Gerſon, as ſome ſay. Neither doth Micha enquire of hym from whence he was, or of what ſa- mely, or howe well he was inſtructed in the lawe of God, but he ſtraight- waye conſecrateth hym a Prieſt. But he ought ſyſte diligently to haue exami- ned hym: ſo; God would not haue vncleane Sacrifices offered hym, and ſhall we thinke that he abhorred not from corrupte Prieſtes? This younge Leuite thought it a goodly thyng to be exalted to the miniſtery of a Prieſt. Thou ſhalt bee to me a Father and a Prieſt. He ſeemeth vndoubtedly with great reuerence to honour the Miniſter. And in deede the Miniſters of God are to be counted ſo; fathers. For the holy Ghoſt bleth their miniſtery ſo; the regeneration of o- ther. So Paul ſayde, he had agayne begotten the Galathians, when as he had befoze begotten them vnto God. The ſame Paul writeth vnto the Corinthians: Althoughe ye haue many ſchoolemaſters, yet haue ye not many fathers.

Wherein this Leuite ſinned.

Ministers of God are to be counted ſo; fathers.

Nowe the Lorde will doo good vnto me. Nowe God (ſayeth he) will in- crease my thynges: ſo; there were many whiche would come vnto thoſe holy ſer- uices, and he ſhould be partaker of all the oblations and Sacrifices, and ſo the miſerable man thinketh that gayne is godlynes. And in deede Paul ſayeth to Timothe, that piety is a great gayne with ſufficiency, but he addeth: That they whiche will be riche, doo fall into temptacions and ſnares of the deuill, and many whiche deſire to be riche, haue fallen into ſhipwacke from the ſayth, and haue wrapped themſelues into great ſorowes. All theſe thinges happened vnto Micha: ſo; he both ſtrayed from the ſayth, and was moſt greuously afflicted with

vnlooked ſo; calamities. For the Danites, as we ſhall heare, invaded his

houſe, and ouerthrew it with all his felicity. They led awaye the

Leuite with the idole. And yet he in the meane tyme flattereth

hymſelfe and ſayth: The Lord will bleſſe me.

The

In those dayes there was no kyng in Israel. And at the same tyme þe tribe of Dan sought the an inheritance to dwell in: for vnto that tyme their inheritance had not fallen vnto them among the tribes of Israel.

2 Therefore the childre of Dan sent of their famely fyue men out of their coastes, valiaunt men, out of Zora and Eshtaul to betw the land and diligently to searche it out, & they sayd vnto them: Go searche out the land. Then they came to mount Ephraim to the house of Micha and lodged there.

3 And when they were nyghe the house of Micha, they knewe the voyce of the younge man the Leuite, and they turned in there, and sayd vnto hym: who brought thee hyther? what makest thou here? and what hast thou to doo here?

4 And he answered them. Thus and thus doth Micha vnto me, and hath byzed me to be his Priest,

5 And they sayd vnto him: Aske counsell I praye thee of God, that we may know, whither he will prosper the way wherby we walke.

6 And the Priest sayd vnto them: Go in peace. Your waye whereby ye walke, is befoze the Lord.

The Danites were left destitute of their brethren.

The vntility of a Magistrate.

An obiectio touching the primitive Church.

Heresies increase vnles þe Magistrate represseth them.

In that it is sayd there was no kyng in Israel, is signified that it is not to bee meruayled, that Religion, and the Publique wealth was then troubled. There was no Magistrate, which shuld iustly haue punished these synnes. By this place is vnderstand þe Danites wer left destitute of their brethren, when they shoulde get their possession, whiche thinge vndoubtedly shoulde not haue bene done: for they ought euery tribe, one to haue helped an other, in getting their inheritance. For so had Moses & Iosuah prescribed them befoze, but the Israelites forgetting the brethren, studied euery man by himselfe for his owne commodity and profite. Hereof sprang Idolatry, and the taking away of other mens goods, bycause there was neither kyng nor Magistrate, to restrayne these euilles. Hereby we maye knowe howe muche a Magistrate is to be made of: Who if he bee good, then keepeth in he good order both the publique wealth & the worshipping of god. For he is the keeper as wel of the first table, as also the latter. Neither hath he a care onely for the bodies of his Cittizens, but also for their soules. And howe ill soeuer the Magistrate be, yet to defende the common society of men, he many wayes profiteth þe publique wealth. But now al things were decayed, bycause þe publique wealth was destitute both of a king, & also of a Magistrate. They were not depriued of this good thyng by the institution of God, but by theyr owne synne, whereby they were deliuered into the power of the Philistines.

But thou wilt say: did not Christian men so in the primitive Church? For they had not their Magistrates, but were most cruelly bered of tyrannes. That is true in deede, but in the meane tyme they had very excellent Ministers of the Church, and therewith all most aboundaunt and greate benefites of the holy ghost. And when the Apostles wrought wonderfull miracles, there seemed to be the les want of a Christian Magistrate. Paul by a great power of the holy Ghost made blind Elmas the sojcerer. Peter slewe Ananias and Saphira. They deliuered vnto Sathā such as were past correction. Howbeit in the meane tyme increased many heresies, bycause there was no Magistrate to keepe them downe, euen as now in Israel, when they wanted their princes, Idolatry crept in. Afterward wer

geuen

geuen vnto the Church both Christian princes & Magistrates, and therewithall there ceased such giftes of the holy Ghost, bycause they seemed not so necessary, when Christian Schooles, Christian Ministions, and Christian Judges happened vnto the Church.

Of the head of the Church.

This place the Papistes object vnto vs, & thinke it maketh very much to establish their tyrany. *In objection of the Papistes.* He (say they) hereof sprang so many sectes & heresies among you, bycause ye haue not an Ecclesiastical Magistrate, & for ye haue fallen from the onely head of the Church. Wherefore that the state of the Church may be the quieter, there must be one head thereof in earth. But we neither will, nor may suffer this: bycause it is manifestly repugnant vnto the word of God. We acknowledge one head of the Church that is Christ, from whom we fele that both lyfe & spirite floweth and spreddeth abroad into all the rest of the body.

But they say there must also be an other head of the Church. For Christ (say they) is the head as touching the soule and iustification. But there must be an other head also, concerning the retayning of outward rites and ceremonies, for the wedpyng out of heresies, & to vnite Churches together. To this we say, it is sufficient if every Church haue his minister or Bishop, who may dispense the word of God and the Sacramentes, & retayne discipline as much as may be. But that there should be some one man to gouerne all the rest, neither is it necessary, neither ought it to be suffered: bycause (as I haue sayd) the head is from whence lyfe and spirite is deriued into all the body. And such a head is Christ onely. And we must marke the institution of God, who would haue many Ministers in the Church. For so is it written vnto the Ephesians, Christ hath ascended into heauen, and hath led captiuitie captiue, and geuen gyftes vnto men. And that we should vnderstande howe he hath geuen them, it is added: Some he hath giuen Apostles, some he hath giuen Prophetes, some Euangelistes, some Pastors and teachers, for the renewyng of the saintes into the worke of administration, for the edification of the body of Christ, wherefore to builde the body of Christ, God will haue many and sundry gyftes of the spirite and Ministries retayned in the Church. Let these men every one execute his office, let them conferre together, if there happen any controuersy, and if neede be, let them assemble together to Synodes. But that every controuersy should be referred vnto the Bishoppe of Rome, and that all men should obey the Pope onely, it is intollerable, and bitterly Tyrannicall.

Neither doo the Popes containe themselves, to exercise power onely in outward things, but also they chaunge the institutions of God, and rules of religion: Which thing we haue now had experience of to the great hurt of the Church. *Popes do also chaunge the institutions of God.* It is a very good saying whiche the Apostle hath vnto the Romanes in the 12. chap. Euen as in one body we haue many members, but all members haue not one & the selfe same office: so we being many are one body in Christ, & every one the members of others, hauing sundry giftes according vnto the grace geuen vnto vs. And the same things in a maner are written in the 1. to the Cor. the 12. chap. Wherefore we must not thinke that if we acknowledge not the Pope for head, that for that cause the Church is troubled: yea rather hereof springeth the contention and confusion in the Church, bycause many, for that they will haue the Pope to be head, do most manifestly stand agaynst the truth.

Neither is it true that they say, how that the Church can not consist, except all men obey the Pope onely. For the Church was long tyme and that in much better state, before the Pope obeyned his tyrannicall power. When (say they) ye will haue no Magistrate in the Church. We will haue gouerners in it, but not one onely: we will haue Aristocratie kept in it, as Christ hath instituted. They on

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the contrary syde obiect that there ought to be but one onely, because in this place it is written that all thynges were troubled in Israel, because they had not a kyng. But we must consider, that the Scripture nowe speaketh so by anticipation: for as much as yet there was no kyngdome instituted in Israel. Wherefore a kyng is in this place to be vnderstand for a lawfull Magistrate.

An obiection of
the Papistes:
Thou art Pe-
ter, &c.

Christe is the
foundation of
the Church.

How there are
11. foundations
of the Church.

But leauyng this place, they say that Christ sayde vnto Peter: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church. I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, &c. These thynges (as they will haue them) haue a respect vnto one onely, and ought to be vnderstand of one whiche should be the head. But was not this selfe same thyng sayd vnto others also? Vndoubtedly in Iohn Christ sayd vnto them all: Receaue the holy Ghost, whose sinnes ye for- geue, shalbe forgiven. Wherefore Peter dyd not alone receaue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. But they say that it was sayd vnto Peter onely: Feed my Lambes. Yea but this he spake vnto them all, when he sayd: Go into the whole worlde, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. But where as they boast that this saying belongeth vnto Peter alone: Vpon this rocke I will build my Church, it shall not be so sone graunted them. For Christ is the foundation of the Church, as the Apostle hath taught. And there are some of the fathers, whiche do inter- prete that Christ referred these wordes, not to Peter hymselfe, but to the confes- sion whiche he had made of Christ. But graunt that Peter was in some sorte af- ter Christ the foundation of the Church: the same thyng also may we say of the other Apostles, forasmuch as in the Apocalipse are rebe. 12. foundations of the ce- lestial Ierusalem. But of this matter we haue spoken moze abundantly before, and shall haue better occasion hereafter to speake therof: onely these thynges I thought good to byyng, that it should not be thought, that the Papistes had got- ten the victory when they obtrude this place to the vnlearned.

They sent spyes. The cause was, because they had not landes ynough to dwell in, and to till. But howe could this be, when as all the land of Chanaan was distributed by Iosua: I aunswere, that it was in deede geuen vnto euery tribe accordyng to sundry porcions, but yet were not the Danites come to theyr full and whole possession. Yea, we gather by the Hystory of Samson, that the Da- nites dwelled yet in tentes, where the spirite of the Lord began to come vpon Samson. Farther we must remember, that they at the begynnyng were content with tributes, which they eracted of those, whose landes they should haue posses- sed. But they were made vnto them as thornes and briers. For when as they had not dyuen them out, but dwelled together with them, they quickly learned Idolatry of them. Wherefore we rebe in this booke that the Danites were compel- led to dwell in the hilly places, when they could not discend and possesse the playne. But now those hilly places seemed very narrowe, for they increased in number, and therfore they neded moze roome to dwell in.

The promise
of God was
not weaker the
the enemies of
the Hebrewes.

If thou shalt say: was the power of the enemyes of greater force then the pro- mise of God? No vndoubtedly. For it was not the enemyes that excluded them out, but they bynded themselues, for that they followed Idolatry. Wherefore God punished them, and longe tyme dyane them backe from the possession of their portion. That thyng therfore whiche happened, is to be ascribed vnto their impiety, and not to the strengthes of their enemyes. And to the promise of God was ioyned a condition, namely if they should abyde in the lawe of God. Their wickednes was the cause, that God did not straightway performe his promises.

They sende spyes to spy out for them some commodious place in the playne. They send out fyue spyes. Miklothim: which is fro theyr coastes, & they ar signi- fied to be in extremes: which may taken two wayes, namely if these spyes were either of the basest sort, or of the highest. For either of these in their order ar extreme. They wer in deede valiant and warlike men, but peradventure obscure, whereby they

they might be the moze vnknowe of their enemyes. For they y ar noble ar moze easely knowen. Contraryly other thinke y it is declared, that they were most honest & most noble: because spyres ought to be wise men, & such as haue good skill in warlike affaires. Homere writeth that Vlisses was commaunded to be a spyre, and that he in the apparel of a beggar went thozough Troy. Moses also sent Iosua & Chaleb which were very excellēt men, to searche out the land of Chanaan. But whether they were of y basest sozte or of the hyghest, it helpeth not much vnto y matter. And peraduenture this opinion is moze simple, namely that they were sent from the vtter partes of the places wherin the Danites dwelled.

Homere.

They came to the house of Micha. By a by way as it is thought, & not y right way as their iorney lay. For it is very likely, that there was in y place an Inne, wherunto men out of euery quarter resorted vnto the idole. So we see it happeneth in the Papacy, for in places where superstitious Pilgrimages are had, there are many Innes builded, as at Humbert, and at Maria Lauretana.

The spyres laboured with y yong mā the Leuite after they knew his ministry, to aske an oracle for thē. And he answereth thē in the name of Ichouah, whē they asked him by this woꝝd Elohim. Those men were wise & witty. For when they heard the yong mā speake, they perceaued he was a Leuite. And although all the Israelites spake Hebrew, yet were there sundry formes of speech amōg those tribes. Wherfoze we haue befoze heard, y the Ephraimites wer knowen by the pronūciatio of this woꝝd Siboleth. They might therfoze peraduenture note y the yong man spake in y speech of the tribe of Iuda, for asmuch as he was of Bethlechem, & peraduenture they heard him intreatyng of things deuine: wherfoze when they perceaued y he was a Leuite, whiche executed holy seruices there, straightwaye they enquired of him an answer of y successe of their iorney. They nothing regarded how rightly he did it, but straightway sayd: Aske of god. So at this day soldiers whē they go on warfare, they come to their Masse Priests, & desire them to say a Masse for thē either of George, or of Sebastia, neither haue they any regarde wherher y Masse be good or euill. This is to deale w god after our blind reason. At y first burnt it may seeme y the spyres did not euill. For it is a point of piety to aske counsel of god, whē we shal do any thing. But we ought to take heede, y what soeuer is taken in hande, y same be ioynd w right reaso & sound iudgement of y minde. For our actiōs must flow frō the heart, which as it is affected, so are they to be iudged either good or euill. Wherfoze although god require of vs actiōs, yet he much moze requirerh the hart. We must not separate y action & hart or purpose a sunder: let them abyde ioynd together as the Lord requirerh them.

Howe they knew the Leuite by hys speeche.

Good looketh also vpon the heart, and not vpon the actiōs onely.

If thou demaunde of a Philosopher how the action is good, & whether it alone maketh the mā good, he will deny it, & will say that the action must be directed be a right reason, whiche if it be awayne, then is the action corrupt. Wherfoze the goodnes of euery action dependeth of reason of the minde, and of iudgemētes. If these be euill, thē must y action also nedes be corrupt. Looke what y roote is in a tree: y same is reason in a moral actiō, & in religious woꝝkes & such woꝝkes as ar truly Chyristia sayth: it is as it were the soule of good woꝝkes, as without which nothing cā be acceptable vnto god. But faith leaneth to no other thyng thē to y woꝝd of God. Wherfoze for asmuch as these mē comaund to aske counsel of God contrary to the woꝝd of God, they do exceedingly displease God: they were moze led by their own commodity, then by true piety. So many at this day say: What euill is it to come to Masse: and there, with a godly mynd to pray vnto god: The Masse hath a great shew of piety: but we must remember that it cā not be good, for as muche as it is appertly repugnant to sayth, and to the woꝝde of God. Let euery manne take heede he bee not deceaued with the outwarde shewe of piety: and let hym diligently consider, that outwarde woꝝkes make not a man good, but rather contrarily good woꝝkes must procede out of a good man.

The goodnes of an action dependeth of the minde or iudgement of y doer.

Fayth is the soule of good woꝝkes.

But now come I to examine, & consider y which is here intreated as touching

Ex. ii.

the

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The commandment for asking counsel of God is moral.

the asking counsell of God, & I finde that it is comanded, & in things of great difficulty & mynde of the Lord is to be enquired of. This comendement thoughte it were geuen vnto the Jewes, yet it pertayneth to the moral kinde of preceptes. Wherefore it byndeth vs also. But vnto the Jewes were adioyned certayne outward ceremonies, from which we are by Christ deliuered. They were bound to come to the Priest, to the Ephod, and to the place of the arke of the covenant, or to the Prophet: those things are now taken away. And yet ought we also, when we take in hand to do any thyng, to aske counsell of the Lord, but remouyng away these addicions, which were necessary in the publique wealth of the Israelites.

We ought to aske counsell of the holy scriptures when we appoint to doo any thyng.

But where shall we in this tyme aske counsell of the Lord? In the holy scriptures, as we haue befoze taught. Wherefore euery Christian ought to haue them ready at hand, & to do all things by their guiding. Whatsoeuer we shall do, let vs first looke in them, whether it be iust or vniust. This is to aske counsell of the Lord, which thing if we do not, we shalbe alway in doubt concerning our things. Wherefore Paul hath rightly admonished: Euery thing that is not of faith is sinne. Neither are we ignorant but I sayth cometh of hearing, & hearing by the word of god. Wherefore whether we take in hand a iourney, or do or go about any thyng els, we must not wauer or doubt in mynde, but must be assured that our worke pleaseth God. Whiche thing when we knowe, we must referre the euent thereof vnto God. Let it suffice vs to haue knowen that. Remember this saying of the Poete: If the world should breake and fall, let the ruine thereof pearse the fearefull.

Horace.

The estate of the Hebrewes & ours is diuerse

But why the Hebrewes were so careful for the successe of their matters, we haue in an other place declared. Their state was not all one with ours. They were much careful for their publique wealth, because God had promised them that it should endure euer vnto Christs tyme. Neither was true religion in any other place publicly receaued. Wherefore they were very careful for the successe of their expediti- ons, namely that the publique wealth wherein onely was appointed sound religion, should not take hurt. Wherefore god also very oftentimes gaue them oracles for their euentes. But our state is farre otherwise. Sound religion is not at this day bound to one publique wealth onely. For the inheritance of Christ is dispersed throughout the world, neither shall it endure so long, as one onely publique wealth standeth. But rather if one publique wealth fall by reason of sinnes, an other shall rise. If there arise persecutions for the Gospell sake (which oftentimes happeneth) it is lawfull to departe to an other place, whiche thyng was not so free for the Jewes, for they had not a temple of god, & his outward worshipping in any other, then at Ierusalem. Superstition & idolatry possessed all other nations. Farther, this was an other cause, for the Jewes for their religions sake were hated of all nations: wherefore they had the more neede to be by oracles admonished of the euent of their things. Wherefore for asmuch as such difficultyes are farre from vs, it is sufficient to seke out by the holy scriptures, whether those things, which we do & medle with, do please god. And to the study ioyned with faith, let prayers be added, that which we our selues are not able to do, god himself may bring to passe. And then at length let vs diligently & valiantly attempte the thing which we haue taken in hand. So far (as I thinke) the precept for asking counsell of the Lord pertayneth vnto vs.

Why the Levite answered in the name of Jehouah.

And in this Hypothese let vs consider (as I haue befoze sayde) that the Levite answered in the name of Jehouah, that is, of the Lord, because he would signify, that he knewe well enough, that the Idole was nothyng. I sayeth he) answered in the name of the Lorde. This sentence, which R. Selemoh followeth, seemeth plausible. But to me it seemeth not so. For I thinke that the younge man dyd it to get authorite to his Religion. For whiche cause he is the more grievously to be accused, for that he contaminated the name of God, in applying it vnto an Idole. He answereth: your waye is in the sight of the Lorde, that is, God himselfe will go out befoze you, and direct your iourney, all thinges shall go well and prosperous with you, when as God is with you, and directeth you.

you. And so did it succede in very deede. For they luckely spied out all thynges, the event came to pas as they desired. Wherefore it may well here be demaunded why God so prospered these euill workes.

Before I aunswere to this question, this I thinke good to put in by the waye, that we ought not to take it for a sure token that our doynges do please God, bycause sometymes they haue a prosperous successe: otherwys if we should measure thynges by the event and successe, we should allowe the wicked and most euill doers, for as much as fortunate and prosperous thynges doo happen vnto them. We should also praysse deuiners, soothsayers and con- iurers, because they haue sometymes sogetolde thynges that are true. It is some- tymes permitted vnto the deuill to deuine by them.

Our workes do not therfore please God by cause they haue good successe.

Let suche sogetellynges be referred vnto the. 13. chapter of Deuteronomye, where it is thus wrytten: If a Prophet ryle vp among you, or a dreamer of dreames, and shall geue thee a signe or wonder, and that whiche he hath sogetolde thee come to passe: Thou shalt not harken vnto his voyce. If he entise thee to Idolatry, let hym be killed (sayth he) neither let hym be spared. Afterward is added a reason, why God dealeth after this maner, which thyng was at the begynnyng demaunded: bycause (sayth he) the Lord proueth you, whether ye loue hym or not. And therewith agreeth Paul in his. 2. Epistle to the Thes. the. 2. chap. wher he entreateth of Antechrist: His comming (saith he) shalbe by the working of Satan, with power, signes, & liyeng wonders, & withall deceatefulness in those whiche perish, bycause they receaued not the loue of the truth, to that end they might be saved. And therfore God shall send the the efficacy of illusion, & they should be lene eyes, & all they should be iudged whiche haue not beleued the truth. Wherefore althoughe we do see signes, yet must we not straightwaye geue sayth vnto those by whom they are wrought, but must diligently examine, whether they attempt to teache any thyng contrary to the worde of God.

The Lord proueth his by the miracles of the vngodly.

In the Papistical Passes & marchandise of reliques, were oftentimes wrought great miracles, & yet ought we not to beleue such superstitions, & to fall fro Christ & the true worshipping of god. God suffereth this kind of miracles to be wrought that ingrate men, & those whiche haue sofgotten their God, should be deceaued, & be taken as it were by these nettes, & that the godly should become the moze vigilat & better. Neither ar these things spokē to despise al miracles. For they whiche are done in a true cause & for sound doctrine, are certaine praises of god, & trumpets of his truth. But contrarily, they whiche vnder the pretēce of miracles do with dyuine men from the worshipping of God, we ought to counte them cursed, though they worke neuer so great miracles.

Howe miracles profite for saluation.

7 Then the spue men went and came to Laish, and salve the people whiche were in it, dwelling carelesly, after the manner of the Sydonians, quiet and sure. And for that there was no mā in the land whiche made them ashamed in any thyng, nor whiche by the inheritance receaued the kingdome, and for that they were farre from the Sidonians, neither had they any busines with other men.

8 So they came agayne vnto theyr brethren in Zorah and Eshtaol, and their brethren sayd: What haue ye done?

9 And they sayd: Arise, that we may go by vnto them. For we haue lene the lande, and beholde it is very good: and do ye sit still: Be not slouthfull to go to enter and possesse the land.

10 When ye shall enter, ye shal enter into a careles people, farther, the countrey is large in roome: for god hath geuen it into your hāds, a place whiche wanteth nothing that groweth in the earth.

Ex. iii.

11 Then

11 The there departed thence of the family of Danites, fro Zorah & fro Eshraol, sixe hundred men appoynted w instruments of warre.

12 And they went by, & pitched in Kiriah Iearim in Iudah: Wherefore they called that place, Mahaneh Dan vnto this day: and it is behind Kiriah Iearim.

13 And they went thence vnto mount Ephraim, and came to the house of Michah.

14 Then answered the five men, that went to spye out the countrey of Laish, and sayd vnto their brethren: Knowe ye not, that there are in these houses an Ephod, and Theraphim, and a grauen and molten Image. Now therefore consider what ye haue to do.

15 And they turned thetherward and came to the house of the yong man the Levite, whiche was in the house of Michah, and saluted hym peaceably.

16 And the sixe hundred men appoynted with their weapons of warre, whiche were of the childezen of Dan, stood by the enterpyng of the gate.

17 Then the five men that went to spye out the lande, went in thether and tooke the grauen Image and the Ephod, and the Theraphim, and the molten Image: and the Priest stood in the entrynge of the gate with the sixe hundred men, that were appoynted with weapons of warre.

18 And the other went into Michahs house and fet the grauen Image the Ephod, and the Theraphim, & the molten Image. Then sayd the Priest vnto them: What do ye?

19 And they answered him, holde thy peace: laye thyne hande vpon thy mouth, and come with vs to be our father and Priest. Whether is it better thou shouldest be a Priest vnto the house of one mā, or thou shouldest be a Priest vnto a tribe & to a familie in Israel?

20 And the Priestes hearte was glad, and he tooke the Ephod and the Theraphim, and the grauen Image, and went in the midst of the people.

21 And they turned and departed, and put the childezen and the cattell, and the substance before them.

The City of Laish is in the booke of Iosuah called Leshem. And they saw the people dwelling in security. This word people is in this place toynd with an adiectiue of the feminine gender. It is therefore the figure Enallage, because one gender is put for an other. They dwelled careles after the manner of the Zidonians.

The Zidonians
wer most strong
men.

Virgil.

Why the City
of Laish was se-
cure.

The Zidonians feared not the Hebrewes, because they were none of those seuen nations, whiche were deliuered to be possessed of them. Farther the Zidonians were men most mighty and of them came many Colonii, which were people dispersed, to seeke new scates and specially at Carthage. Wherefore Virgil calleth Dido a Sidonian, because she came fro thence. But why this City of Laish was in such security, there may be other causes geuen. First it had no molestious neyghbours, whereby there should haue ben any dainger at hand towarde the: farther there no was tyran, which vsurped vnto himselfe the dominion of the City. Wherefore for asmuch as they wer not feared, neither by any Tyranne, nor of enemies, they liued securely. These causes are gathered out of the texte, & also mentioned of the Hebrewes. But I thinke moreover, that the City had not seuerer Magistrates, whiche

which should haue kept the people in doing their duties; which thing ingeozed most great danger vnto Cities. Neither is there any vice in a maner moze hurt full, then the security of the flesh. Wherefore God wyll haue vs to be vigilant and attentue: because when all thinges come to vs to be safe and quiet, then is danger most of al at hand. Whylest the Sodomites liued most pleasantye and most securely, they were oz they were ware burnt with fire from heauen: and in the time of Noe, when men made banquets dally, married, and tooke wines, they wer a w^o sodain flood oppzessed. Wherefore it is rightly sayd: when they shal say, peace, peace, and al thinges are safe, sodaine destruction shal come. It is added, that they were farre from the Sidonians, for because by that meanes they mought the easelie be conquered. Peraduenture they had made some league wyth the Sidonians: but confederates which dwel farre a sunder, cannot but with difficul ty geue succoz and be at hand, when nede requirerh: which thing histories euery where doo teache vs. It is also added, that they had no busynes or trafficke wyth other men: which is therefore spoken, because cities are sometimes holpen, not by reason of a league, but because of communicating of busynes, namelpe, because they cannot be destroyed, without the misery of manpe men. These thinges the spies diligently marked: wherefore it appeareth that they wer wise & subtil mē.

Security of the flesh is a thing pernicious.

A league made with a people far distant, is little profitable.

Come, arise, the land is large and wyde, neither is there any thing wanting in it. They doo in few woordes finish their exhortacion appointed. When are we sit red vp to take in hand any thing, when it is easy & profitable. These two thinges are the principall pointes of thys exhortacion. They declare vnto their people, that that land is good and fertile, as wherein wanteth nothing that serueth for plentifulnes and aboundance. In placing our selues these thinges onely at wont to be considered. And the reasons thereof they conclude by security. When they adde spottes to picke them, when they say: God hath geuen it into your hands, which thing peraduenture they adde, because of the Leuite, which answered the, that their tourney was in the sight of the Lord: oz because that poztion of the land when it was deuided, fel to the tribe of Dan.

What are the chiefe pointes of this exhortacion.

There went out syxe hundreth men. It is not described after what maner, oz with what furniture they went soozth, onely it is said that they were armed. But by those thinges which follow, we vnderstande that they had their cartell, children and wines in their companie. And they pitched in Kiriath iearim. It seemeth that it was a iourney of thzee dayes: for they pitched twise befoze they came thither: vnles peraduenture they went a by way, and not by right way. Kiriath iearim is a Citie of woods oz forestes. Whereby is genen a reason why that place was called the tentes of Dan. And it lay on the backside of the cite of Kiriath iearim. They came to the house of Micha, and ther they pitched againe.

The fyue men answered. The verbe of answering in the Hebzue phrase signifieth as much as to begyn to talke, oz to begyn to speake. They made mention of the Ephod and grauen image, whylest that they perswaded the fellovs to thest oz rather sacriledge. Their counsell was that it was expedient, to haue wyth them those holy thinges.

With the Hebzues to answer is to begynne to speake.

They came to the house of the young man. It is an exposition of that which was befoze sayde, how that they came vnto the house of Micha, namelpe where the young man the Leuite ministred. They saluted him peaceably, and peraduenture they began to aske counsel of him, of the successe and euont of their expedition. The fyve hundzeth men stoode befoze the dooze, and helde the Leuite aboute the gate, whylest the fyue men spoiled the temple. For entring into it, they tooke away al wyth them. Afterwarde they intreate the young man to go wyth them. And he, for that he had no other guide but his belly, easely assented vnto them. With this argument of the Danites the Papists oftentimes assaile vs: we teach by cozners in one oz two cities oz prouinces. Why do ye not rather come to the catholike church: with vs are riches, honoys, and benefices. We are fooles: ye nei

An obiection of the Papistes.

ther prouide wel for your selues, no; yet for others.

By this kinde of perswasion the hart of this Sacrificer was won, who was not ready to cry out. And being perswaded, to the ende he might be the more in safety, he went in the myddest of the armed men, least peradventure Micha, requiring his thinges againe, shoulde haue pulled him backe againe to his house; or rather he went so with his Idole, that he might somewhat resemble the Arke of couenant. For we reade in the booke of Numb. that as often as they went forth, and remoued their host, the Arke of the conenant was caried about by the Leuites, in the myddest of the host, so that the one part of the host shoulde go before, and the other part should follow behinde. After this maner the Leuite wold set forth his Idole vnto the Soldiours.

How great the
blindnes of ido-
latrers is.
Augustine.

Virgil.

But this is to be maruailed at, that men were so blynde and mad, to make them their Gods, which wer subiect to theft and to sacriledge. Augustine in his. 1. Tome, and. xii. Treatise elegantly describeth such defendes of cities and houses. Which haue eyes and see not, feete and handes and can not moue themselves. Such saith he, were the gouernours and keepers of the Capitolum: who seying they could not defend themselves, how much lesse were they able to defend a city: Neither let any say: They were not Gods that were taken away out of the temple of Micha, but onely two images of Gods. But Augustine sayth: If they can not defende their owne images, what hope is there that they can defende Cities or houses: But this thing is so much ridiculous, that euen the Ethnike Poetes deride it. For Virgil hath soong of his Eneas: He caried Troy with hym into Italy, & their Gods being overcome. Undoubtedly miserable Gods, which could be overcome of men, and be caried into an other place. Some wyl obiect: That the Arke of the Lord was also taken once, and led away after a sorte captiue of the Philistians. I graunt that: But how was it caried away? To be kept as a prisoner: No vndoubtedly. For when it was put in the temple of the Philistians, it threwe Dagon their god to the ground. Farther, it strake the Philistians with so grieuous plagues and woundes, that at the last they were compelled to send it home againe with honour. And it was taken, not because God can either be overcome, or taken, but that the Hebrewes shoulde bee admonished of their synnes, who wythout repentaunce or sayth, byd put al their confidence in an outwarde thyng.

They placed their children, cattel, and substance before. Because they suspected that Micha wold with armed soldiours pursue them, to see if he could recover the thinges which they had taken away. Wherefore they woulde chieflie prouide for their children, cattel, and substance. This woord Supplex which we turne substance, is called in Hebrew Kechodah, either because it signifieth a burthen or a packe, or els a thing whereof men make their boast.

22 When they wer farre of from the house of Micha, the men that were in the houses neare to Michahs house, gathered together, and pursued after the children of Dan.

23 And cryed vnto the chyldren of Dan: who turned theyr faces, & sayd vnto Michah, what ayleth thee, that thou makest an outcry?

24 And he sayde: ye haue taken away my Gods, whych I made, and the Priest, and go your wayes: and what haue I more? Howe then say ye vnto me, what ayleth thee?

25 And the chyldren of Dan sayd vnto hym: Let not thy voyce bee heard among vs, least peradventure men of a bytter mynde runne vpon thee, and thou loose thy lyfe, wyth the liues of thine household.

26 So the chyldren of Dan went their wayes, and when Michah saw that they were to strong for hym, hee turned and went backe vnto

unto his house.

27 And they tooke the thynges whyche Micha had made, and the Priest which he had, and came vnto Laish, vnto a quiet people, and without mistrust, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and burnt the City with fyre.

28 And there was none to helpe, because Laish was farre from Zidon, and they had no busyness with other men: also it was in the valley that lyeth by Beth-rehob. After, they buylte the City, and dwelt therein.

29 And called the name of the City, Dan, after the name of Dan their father, whych was bozne vnto Israel: how be it the name of the City was Laish at the beginning.

30 Then the chyldren of Dan set them by the grauen image: and Jonathan the sonne of Gershom, the sonne of Manasseh and his sonnes were the Priestes in the Tribe of the Danites, vntyll the day of the captiuitie of the land.

31 So they set by the grauen image, whych Micha had made, all the while the house of God was in Shiloh.

In that it is said that they which dwelled nigh the house of Micha were gathered together, is declared that the number of the houses had increased, & that by reason of peregrinations, ther was in that place a village builded.

Vere gathered together. In Hebrue it is Noecu, by which verbe is signified, that they were raysed vp by an outcrye. For so are men gathered together when they heare an outcrye on euery syde.

The Danites made him ascarde, and threathened that men of a better mynde would inuade him, whom they so cal, either because they were angry (for choler is of his nature bitter) or els because they were desperate, as they in a maner are which seeke new dwelling places, and depart from home, because they can not there abide commodiously. It is agayne repeated that they of Laish wer far from Zidon: which declareth that they were in league with them.

But in that it is written that Jonathan and his sonnes were Priestes there, euen to the day of the captiuitie of the lande, wee must not (as farre as I iudge) vnderstand it of the captiuitie which the Hebrues suffered, either by the Assirians or by the Chaldeians: but of that whiche happened, when they were plagued by the Philistines: when also the Arke of the Testament was taken away. I know also that there are some of the Hebrues which saie that this Jonathan was the nephew of Moses by his sonne Gerson, and that his Graundfather is here called Menasseh, putting betwene this letter Nun, for to honour Moses with all. As though the holy scriptures doo not oftentimes make mention of moste wycked chyldren bozne of excellent Parentes. But this is to be marked, that that is not very firme, neither can it be certayne, in that it was befoze said, that this Leuite was a Gersonide, because Gerson was the sonne of Leui, and not of Menasseh. Wherefoze it must nedes be vncertayne of what samely of the Leuites this man was. But now let vs diligently weigh such thyngs as are in this chapter, worthy of peculiar noting.

Let vs chiefly consider how hurtful it is to want a Magistrate, For althoughe sometimes there happen an euyl or to fauourable a Magistrate, yet if the thing be wel weighed, there cometh from him more good vnto the publike wealth, then there would come euyl, if there were in it no Magistrate at al. The Sunne and Moone, although they haue sometimes aspectes not very fauorable, whereby now and then ensue pestilences, dearth of coyne, overflowing of waters, or exceeding

In euill Magistrate also was tch not some vntilte.

Cap.18. A Commentary vpon the

How this histo-
ry is touched in
the booke of Jo-
sua.

altar, to the ende that holy seruices shoulde bee done thereon, but onely they would haue it to be so: a monument, that they shoulde not bee counted straungers from their brethren, but be thought to pertaine to the same people, and the same God. Wherefore if at that time the Israelites so hated Idolatry, that they would so: that cause haue made warre agaynst the Rubenites and Gadites, it is not credible y they would haue suffered the impiety of Micha. How then could this history be mencioned of in that booke? One of these twoo thinges we must answer, either that there were two cities both of one name pertaining vnto the Danites, which they by force conquered, so that of the one is mencion made in the booke of Iosua, and of the other in this history. But this seemeth to be but a fayned tale. For those thinges which are wrytten in the booke of Iosua, do seme altogether to pertaine to this place. Farther, al the Hebrue Interpreters doe agree that it was the same city. Let vs therefore rather say, that when, as in the booke of Iosua there is described the distribution of the land, and that it cometh vnto this city, that which was done long time after, is there added by an interpretation, to expound after what sort the Danites shoulde in successe of tyme obtaine that city. And that particle was added, not of any meane man, but either of Samuel or els of Ezra, or of some other Prophet. And this is not to corrupt, or to confound the scriptures, but to put in something that is not from the purpose, whereby the whole matter may be the better vnderstand, so that it be done by the holy ghost. And I could bring forth a great many examples, whyche are found to be spoken in the scriptures, by the figure *προφητεία*, or anticipation. But those thinges ought to be sufficient, which are red in y beginning of this booke.

Of Security.

But because there is mencion made of security, I wyl speake somewhat largely of it in this place, how it is to be praysed or dispraysed. Security semeth to be a contempt of Gods iustice, whereby synnes are punished. If we speake of that, that can nener be but vicious. But there is founde an other also, which undoubtedly is to be allowed, and is laudable,

Hope is a mean
betwene securi-
ty & desperacion.

But to make the thing moze plaine, let vs consider thzee thinges, Security, Hope, and Desperacion. Hope is euer the meane, whiche ought alwayes to bee commended. Security is excesse: but Desperacion is want. For as in putting alway the mercy of God, we are made desperate, so in contemning his iustice we become secure. Wherefore we maye conclude that Security is a certaine immoderate hope.

Wherof securi-
ty springeth.

And it springeth hereof, either because we attribute to muche to our owne strength and wisdom, as though by our selues we thinke that wee are able to obtaine any thing: or els though we thinke that it lieth in the mercy of God, yet we suppose that he so: our worthynes ought to accomplish it. So do they which promise themselves remission of synnes, or eternal felicity, although they do no repentaunce, but lyue vnpurely and wickedly. Or els it springeth hereof, for that we doo not beleue that there is in God any execution of iustice. And this Security wherof we entreate, is not onely contrary vnto Desperacion, but also vnto the feare of God. For Desperacion springeth of to much feare of the iustice of God agaynst synnes: but Security thinketh of nothing at all of that iustice. Wherefore Bernardus hath rightly sayd: Euen as the feare of God is the beginning of wisdom, so is security the ground of al impiety, and the beginning of foolishnes. For the feare of the Lord (as the scriptures testifie of it) pertayneth chesely vnto piety and religion. Wherefore in the Actes the .x. chap. Cornelius is called a man religious, and fearing God. Wherefore iustly hath security impiety ioyned w it: & as it springeth of an euil beginning, so also bringeth it forth euil & noughty fruites, as sluggishnes, laskyness, & slothfulness. Wherefore they which trust vnto themselves, neither seke so: helpe at gods hand, nor yet so: ayd of men.

The feare of
God is contrari-
ety to despera-
cion.
Bernhardus.

These

These people of Laie lyued securelye, althoughe they were soynded in no league or fellowship with their next neighbours. They were also infected with Negligence, which is nothing els, then a p[er]uasion of that endenour whych we ought to apply for the gouerning of thinges. By it the wyll is weakened, and the chearefulnes of the body is diminished. This kinde of security hath alwaies a daunger soynded with it. For those thinges are not dyuen away whych maye be hurtfull. For how can that be done, when as they are secure or careles, thinking rightly neyther of theyr owne strengthes, nor yet of the mercy of God, yea they are bitterly vnknown vnto them selues: For if they knewe them selues, they woulde not lyue so securely. Augustine vpon the foure scoze and nyntene Psalme wyrteth: Where as is most security, there is most daunger. And he addeth, that a Shyppe when it is brought into the Hauen, thou thynkest it is in safety. But by the same waye that the Shyppe entred in, the wynde also entred in, and oftentimes tosseth it, and breaketh it vpon a rocke. Where then can there be securitye? Adam fell in Paradise, Iudas in the fellowship of Christ, Cain in the household of Noe, manye in the Lawe, and manye also in the Gospel. Where then shall wee lyue securely? Undoubtedly no where. Therefore Ecclesiasticus doth right wel admonish vs: Sonne stand in the feare of the Lord, and prepare thy soule to temptation. The Israelites sawe the Egyptians drowned in the red sea. Was it then meete for them to lyue in security? No surely. Yea within a whyle after they were tempted in the wyldernes. Christ was baptised of Iohn: was he therefore made secure? No. For he was straghtway tempted of the Deuill. Wherefore we ought then to be most of all carefull, when we are receaued into the fauour of God, for then the Deuill doth most of all watche for our destruction, and seeketh to make vs to fall. And therefore there is no place for securitye.

But are we so made of God, that we can in no place be secure? Not so undoubtedly. For there is an other good and laudable Securitye, whiche (as Augustine sayth) consisteth in the promises of God, and is taken holde of by fayth. This engendreth not luskynnes or sluggishnes, but chearefulnes and diligence. As it Dauid hath very well song in his foure scoze and eleyen Psalme: Hee which dwelleth in the helpe of the most highest, shall abide in the protection of the God of heauen. Where as it is wyrtten in the lattine Adiutorio, that is, in the helpe, the Heb[re]ue woord signifieth a couer or secreete place, whiche no man taketh hold of, but he which hath faith in the promises of God. By that buckler we are defended, with that shadowe we are couered agaynst all hurt: this is the Securitye of faith, and of the spirite, which cleaueth vnto the woord of God. And therefore it cannot be but commended. But the other Securitye is of the fleshe, and therefore it is execrable and detestable. Against it are set forth most many self commaundementes of Christ, namely that we should alwayes pray, knock, seeke, and watch: for the daye of the Lords wyll come lyke a theefe. If the good man of the house knewe what tyme the theefe woulde come, he woulde undoubtedly watche, neither woulde he suffer his house to be inuaded. We oughte alwayes to praye and watche, because although the spirite be ready, yet the fleshe is weake. Paul admonisheth vs to put on the armour of God, that wee maye resist in the euill day. Stande (sayth hee) with your loynes girded with the gyrdle of truth, putting on thee the brestplate of ryghteousnes, and hauing shooes on your feete, to be readye to the Gospel of peace, aboue all thinges taking vnto you the shield of fayth, whereby ye may quenche all fyre dartes of that euill one, and take vnto you the salet of health, and the swoorde of the spirite, whych is the woorde of God. So doth Peter also arme vs against securitye, in his fyrste Epistle, the fyrst chapter: The Deuill (sayth he) your enemye goeth aboute lyke a roaryng Lyon, seeking whom he may deuour: resist him being perfect in fayth.

What Securitye is good and laudable.

Securitye of the fleshe.

There is a cer-
tain fear which
is euill.

Plutarch.

Sores of the
mynde.

Seneca.

Remedyes as
gainst euill feare

Carefulnes is
not alwayes lau-
dable.

What is the
true and lauda-
ble Security.

But bycause I haue sayd that Security is contrarie vnto feare, I wyll not that any man should thinke that all maner of feare is to be praysed. Bycause there is also an euill feare. And that spryngeth of an euill iudgement of good and euill thynges. As if a man shoulde thynke that the aduersities of thys woꝝlde, and the crosses whych the elect suffer, are both altogether euill, and bet- terlye to be feared. Agaynst these thynges we must syng together wyth Dauid: I wyll not feare what man doth vnto me. There is also an other feare of the vngodly to be repproued, which feare an euill conscience engendzeth. For they whych lyue splythely and wyckedly, are alwayes afrayd, that the heauenly ven- geaunce hangeth ouer them. Suche feares Plutarche in his booke of Felicitye calleth sores of the mynde. There are (sayth hee) sores as well in the mynde, as in the body. And he addeth a trymme similitude. As they whych in a feuer either colde or whot, bycause in wardlye they are colde or whot, are moze griuouously sycke, then if there were heate or colde applyed outwardly to theyr bodies: So they whych are bered in the mynde, are much moze tormented, then they whych are afflicted in the body. After the same maner we may saye, that they alwayes tremble and are afrayd, whose consciences are troubled. Wherfoze Dauid said: They haue trembled for feare, where as no feare was. So Cain, and so Iudas also were wonderfully afrayd. Seneca vnto Lucillus, in hys hundzeth and syre Epistle sayth, that no place shall make a wycked man quiet. For thus he al- wayes thinketh: Though I be not yet taken now, yet I maye at the length bee taken. And that I haue not hitherto bene taken, it came rather of fortune, then of confidence. They also doo exceedingly feare, whych are them selues horrible and fearefull vnto other. For he must needes feare many, whom manye feare.

Agaynst suche feares Seneca hath inuented remedies, namely that we should lyue iustly, and commit nothing that is wycked. But by thys meanes, who can at any tyme be secure? For who is he whych synneth not? But we muche better rest our selues in the sayth of Christ, and put all our confidence and securitye in his mercy onely. After thys maner Paul teacheth vs: Being iustified (sayth hee) by faith, we haue peace with God. This medicine is of force against al diseases. Also Carefulnes, which seemeth to be contrary vnto Security, is not alwayes to be praysed: bycause in it are twoo vices to be taken heede of. The first is, that being moued with it, we seeke not by iust meanes to remedye an euill that cometh vnlooked for, as the Iewes dyd when they sayde: If wee suffer thys man to lyue, the Romanes wyll come, and ouerthrowe our place and pacion. Wherfoze they decreed to destroy hym.

Farthermoze we must beware, that we be not so moued for tempozall thin- ges, to cast awaye our hope and confidence of the goodnes and prouidence of God. Wherfoze the true Security is that whych is receaued by sayth, and con- sisteth of the promyses of God. Paule dyd put vs in mynde of thys, when hee wrote vnto the Romanes: If God haue geuen hys sonne for vs, how shall not he geue vs all thynges wyth hym? Who shall lay any faultes agaynst the electe of God? It is God whych iustifieth, who then shall condemne? It is Christ whych dyed, yea and whych rose agayne, who sytteth also at the right hande of God, and maketh intercession for vs. Who shall separte vs from the love of God? Shall affliction? Shall trouble? Shall persecution? Shall hunger? Shall nakednes? Shall daunger? Shall the wooꝝde? I am perswaded, that neyther death, nor lyfe, nor Angells, nor principalties, nor powers, nor thynges pre- sent, nor thynges to come, nor heygth, nor depth, nor anye other creature, can separte vs from the lone of God, whych is in Christ Iesus our Loꝝde. Howe it sufficiently appeareth (as I thynke) what maner of Security is allowed, and what maner is condemned.

The xix. Chapter.



1 Also in those dayes, when there was no king in Israel, a certayne Leuite dwelt as a straunger on the syde of mount Ephraim, and tooke a wyfe a Concubine, out of Bethlehem Juda.

2 And hys Concubine playde the whoore there, & went away from him vnto her fathers house to Bethlehem Juda, & ther continued a few dayes, namely foure monethes.

3 And her husband arose & went after her, to speake vnto her hart, and to bring her againe: he had also his seruant with him, & a couple of Asses, and she brought him in into her fathers house, & when the yong womans father saw him, he reioyced of his comming.

4 And hys father in law, the yong womans father retayned hym: and he abode wyth hym thre dayes. So they dyd eate and drynke, and lodged there.

5 And when the fourth daye came, they arose earelye in the morning, and he prepared to depart: then the yong womans father said vnto hys sonne in law: comfort thyne hart wyth a morsel of bread, and then go your way.

6 So they sat downe, and dyd eate and drinke both of them together. And the yong womans father sayd vnto the man: be content, I pray thee, and tary al night, and let thyne hart be mery.

7 And when the man tole vp to departe, hys father in lawe was earnest, therfore he returned and lodged there.

8 And he arose vp early the fyft day to depart, and the yong womans father sayd: Comfort thine hart, I pray thee: and they taried vntil after mydday, and they both dyd eate.

9 Afterward when the man arose to depart wyth hys Concubine and hys seruaunt, hys father in law, the yong womans father sayde vnto hym: Behold now, the day draweth toward euen. I pray you tary al nyght: Behold the sune goeth to rest: Lodge here that thine hart may be mery, and to morrow get you earlye vpon your waye, and go to thy tent.

10 But the man woulde not tarpe, but arose and departed, and came ouer agaynst Iebus, (whych is Ierusalem) and hys twoo Asses laden, and hys Concubine, were with hym.

By reason of sundry calamities and plagues wherewith the Philistines afflicted the people of their greuous synnes, the Israelites had now no lawfull Magistrates: wherby came to passe that many wycked actes were committed, the woozhipping of God violated, and ciuill warres arose, which must nedes happen, where synnes remayne unpunished. And that whych mought haue bene restrained by the punishment of one or twoo, brought the destruction of many thousands, both of the Israelites, and also of the Beniamites. We shal see in this hystory (whych the holye ghost referreth to the ende of this booke) fyfte a mosse haynous wycked acte of the Beniamites. Secondlye vengeance taken of that Tribe by the other Tribes, wherby the Beniamites were in a maner cleane destroyed. And lastly we shal heare the wonderful instauracion of that Tribe.

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The occasion of this warre was thus. A certaine man being a Leuite, had a wyfe, who committed adultery, and fearing the sharpenes of her husband, fled to her Parentes. Not long tyme after, her husbande went to seeke her, fyndeth her, and is reconciled vnto her. The woman as shee returned home together wyth her husband, was with most fylthy whozedom defiled of the Gabaonites, whereby she miserably perished, & so suffered punishment for her fyist aduourty. For God punisheth synnes by synnes. Neither suffered he aduourty being not punished by the Magistrates, to go unpunished.

As touching the hystorie, it is no marueilous or straunge thing, that the Leuite dwelt as a stranger. For althoughe that Tribe had certaine Cities and suburbs appointed it, yet very many of the Levites went to the townes and villages of the other Tribes, to serue them as touching doctrine & counsels: whereof I haue a litle before somewhat spoken.

This man dwelt as a stranger on the syde of mount Ephraim. The Hebrewe word signifieth a side, a hypp or thigh. And by translation it signifieth a region or coast. And this is a very elegant Metaphoze, when there is mencion made of a mountaine. He dwelled therfore on the side of mount Ephraim.

He tooke a wyfe a Concubine. By this place is manifestly gathered, that the Concubines of the Fathers were wiues. For the Jewes were not bound to the lawes of the Romanes, when as both at this tyme they were not made, and also they pertayned not to that nation. Whych I therfore speake because the Romanes had Concubines, which were not wiues. But the Hebrewes sometimes called their wyues Concubines, because they were not of the same honour and dignity that their wyues were, which had authoritie in the house. As the Master sometimes maried his handmayden, as Abraham maried Agar, Iacob Bilham and Zilpa. Peradventure in contracting of those matrimonies there wanted tables, or some outward ceremonies, wherewith they used to adorne the principal matrimonies. Neither yet was that a let, but that these were matrimonies. Of this thing I haue spoken largely before. Wherfore I will at this tyme cease to go any farther therein.

But in that the Leuite had a wyfe, whiche was of the tribe of Iuda, it is not to be maruelled at: because vnles maydens were inheritours, they mought marry in other tribes, which thing was not permitted to those that had inheritance, to the ende that possessions should not be confounded. Farther, soasmuche as the tribes of Iuda and Leui excelled the other in dignitie, they were the easelyer coupled together in matrimony. For the principality seemed wel to agree wth the Priesthood. It is called Bethlechem of Iuda, to put a difference from the other Bethlechem, as we haue before declared.

She committed aduourty by hym. We might also say against him. For there is great iniury done vnto the man, when the wife playeth the whooze. And this preposicion All signifieth either. But the plainer sense is by him. As though it should haue bene said that she committed aduourty, when she was yet together wth her husband, and had not departed from him.

She fled to her father. Being so asfearde of her husbande that shee durst not come in his sight, she got her to her fathers house. Adultery is committed, which is a grieuous crime, and yet is not punished by the punishment of the lawe, for that there was no Magistrate to erecute iudgements. And though in all persons aduourty is a grieuous wicked act, yet in the wyfe of a Leuite or Priest it is farre moze grieuous, for as muche as the holpe ministerpe ought to bee well spoken of. Wherfore if the daughter of a Priest had played the harlot in her Fathers house, she was not stoned as other were, but burnt with fyre, as it is expessedly wyrtten in Deuteromy. But why this aduultresse was not staine, the cause (as it is before sayde) was, for that there was no Magistrate in Israel.

And

The wyfe of a Minister if she be an aduultres, synneth more grieuously then other.

And this adulteresse might thinke to herselfe & she had escaped punishment, as touching men, but she could not escape the hand of God. For god shall iudge adulterers and whoremongers, as the Epistle to the Hebrewes teacheth, which thing he doth sometimes by magistrates: and sometimes when they cease, by himselfe. The woman was with her parents. 4. monthes, in which space of time, her husband being either moved with mercy, or wearied with solitarines, went to seeke his wyfe, and to speake to her harte. By this Hebrew phrase is signified that he would comfort her being in misery and afflicted, or geue her some profitable counsell, peradventure that she should repent her of the sinne which she had committed, promising her that if she would do so, he would receaue her into fauour agayne.

This adulterous woman escaped not the punishment of God.

Two manner of wayes of punishinge the guilty.

He ioined a couple of Asses. That he might haue one to cary his wyfe, and the other to lade with thinges necessary for his iourney. The wyfe as sone as she saw him, brought him into her fathers house. By which acte she declareth that she was not utterly alienated from her husbande. The father of the maiden, that is his father in lawe, mette him and ioyfully embrased him. Whereby we gather, that the old man also wished a reconcilement betwene them.

He abode there three dayes. He abode there in verge dede five dayes: but thre dayes willingly, the other two dayes he was in a manner compelled by his father in law. And they did eate and drinke. These thinges declare that they were reconciled, and that the matrimony was renewed betwene them. But when he would haue departed, the father in law sayd:

Thou shalt strengthen thy hart with a morsell of breade. And by this woorde breade he vnderstode all kinde of meate. The old man would not so sone let the go, because he desired to haue fauour and loue confirmed betwene them, so thend they should not afterward be easily seperated, the one from the other: This was his purpose. Behold the day is weakened, he vseth a Metaphore, and signifieth the passage of the Sunne to the west, & that there was a little of the day remaining. So also men when they come to age, or weakened in the body. The Leuit would tary no longer: which turned to his greate hurt.

Let vs by the way note in this place, that for him which shal make a iourney it is vnprofitable to tary long at banquetings. For commonly they are oppressed with night, before they can come to theyr lodgings.

Now it semeth that I should entreate of adulteries, wherby I might declare the nature and greivousnes of that sinne, and set forth the punishments of that crime, which are appointed both by the ciuill lawes & by the ecclesiastical, but these shalbe spoken of when wee are come vnto the history of David, who committed most filthy adultery with Bethsaba. Now I haue determined to entreate onely of the reconciliation of the husband and the wyfe, after the committing of adultery, and I will touch the whole matter briefly.

Of the reconciliation of the husband & the wyfe

after that adultery hath ben committed.

The ciuill lawes are utterly against the reconciliation of the husband and the wyfe, after the one hath committed adultery. For in the Code ad. l. Iuliam de adulteriis in the law Castitati nostrorum temporum it is ordeined, that if a man married agayne a wyfe condemned of adultery, he incurreth the crime of being a bawd. And in the same title in the law Crimē, it is had, that he which retaineth still in matrimonye a wyfe that hath played the adulteresse, can not accuse her of adultery. Although afterward by a new law it was otherwise prouided for. Neither was it a light thing to be condemned as a bawd: but it was euen as grei-

The ciuill lawes abhorre from reconciliation after adultery.

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uous as if a man had ben condēned of adultry. yea and if a man retayn her that is condēned of adultry, he may him self without an accuser be condēned of adultry. And if a man marie agayn her whom y he hath once repudiated, he cannot accuse her of the adultry befoze committed. But if she again commit adultry, he may. Bycause in marieng her againe he seemeth to haue allowed her acte. And if any woman be condemned of adultry, no man can take her to wife. Wherefoze y ciuill lawes do abhoze from reconciliacion after adultry, so that it be conuict and condemned. For if it be onely his suspicion, it is lawfull for the husband to retayne and accuse her whome hee suspecteth: Who if her afterwarde see that he was ledde by a vayne suspicion to accuse her, hee may cease from that which he hath begonne, so that he first obtaine a release of the Judge.

Ierome vpon the. 19. chapter of Mathew may appeare to agree with the ciuill lawes. For he writteth: she which hath deuised one flesh into one or two, ought not to be retained, least her husbāde be made subiect vnto the curse. For as it is written in the. 18. chapter of the proverbes: He which retaineth an adulteresse, is vngodly and a foole. In dede so haue the. 70. interpreters turned it, but the verity of the Hebrew hath it not. The same Ierome saith: If there happen any sin, it breaketh not matrimony. But if ther happen adoultery, then the wife is not lawfull. And in the. 32. question the first, ar rehearsed the wordes of Chrysostome. If a manne haue to doe with an adulterous wife, let him do penance. And the same Chrysostome vpon the. 26. chap. of Mathew: Euen as he is vnjuste whiche accuseth an innocent, so is he a foole which retayneth an adulteresse. The same thing is had in the decretals de Adult. in the chap. Si vir sciens: And it was decreed at the counsell of Orleance. The husband which retaineth an adulteresse is partaker of the crime. And if a woman repudiated, marie an other, her lasse husband being dead, she can not return vnto the first. For now she is vncleane vnto him, as it is written in the. 24. of Deut.

But now omitting these thinges, let vs see the reasons which serue for reconciliation. God himselfe which is onely good, would be the husbāde of the church, and that not onely in our time, but also in the times of the fathers. But the church, especially the old church, oftentimes turned aside to idolatry, and committed whozedome with the Gods of the Gentiles, as euery where appeareth in this booke, and also in the history of the kinges, and in the prophetes: Neuertheles yet Ieremy called it back againe in the name of God to return to her husband. Which selfe thinge Hoseah the prophet also did, & that with many wordes. And if god be redy to receaue his wife beyng an adulteresse, man ought also to returne into fauor agayne with his wife, especially if she repent, and beginne a new life. For as many as are christian men, professe the imitation of God. Ther is also an erample of Dauid, who toke agayne his wife Michol, although her father had placed her to an other man. Iustinian also in his Authentikes, when he commaundeth that an adulteresse should be beaten & be shut vp in a monastery, yet hee giveth libertye to the husbāde to take her againe, if he will, within the space of two yeares, & so he most manifestly alloweth reconciliation.

Iustinian

Augustine

Augustine in his. 2 booke to Pollencius is very much in this, y they should be reconciled. For many in his time would not receaue their wines which had committed adultery, as such, as which were now polluted & contaminated. Wherefoze he wrote: doest thou thinke her polluted, whom baptisme and repentance hath purged? Whom God hath censed? She ought not to seme to thee polluted. And if she be now recōdled vnto the kapes of the church, & admitted into y kingdome of heauen, by what right canst thou put her from thee? These thinges are had also in 32. question. 1. If she haue fallen, thou must know it came of humayne nature, & mercy muste be shewed her, if she arise. For we would be the same to be done vnto vs. And extreme right, is extreme wronge. In the decretals de adulteris & stupris, in the chap. Si vir sciens, it is had out of the counsel of Orleance.

An

An adulteresse if she repent, ought to be receaued. The glose in that place demaundeth, by what right or dewty she ought to be receiued. It answereth: Not by the lawe of necessity, for if a man will not, he cannot be compelled to receaue her, wherfoze he ought by the law of honesty to take her agayne. But I woulde demaund whether it ought not also to be done by a dewty of piety & by the strength of the commaundement of God, soasmuch as Paule to the Philip. saith, do these things, whatsoeuer ar honest and iust: Wherfoze it is also don by necessity of the commaundement. But the gloser in that place intreated of the outward iudgemente, wherein no man can be compelled to receaue an adulteresse. But in the Cannon now cited it is added: Not very often. For if she fall often into aduilty, she ought not to be receaued. The Glose in the same place objecteth vnto it selfe chylde, who whē he was demigred, how oft we shuld forgene our brother whē he offendeth against vs, answered not onely senē times, but senēty senē times. To this he sayth, that the wordes of the Cannon are to be vnderstād, that when a adulteresse so oftentimes falleth, the church shall not entreate for her reconciliacion, partely because there shoulde be opened a wyndowe to wyckednes, and partly because she might thinke that penance is but sayned and bellembled. There is also added an other aunswere, that that is spoken for a terrour, least men shoulde moze freely and carelesly commit sinne. Hereby is gathered that the church oughte to entreate for the reconciliacion of the repentant, that they may be reconciled. Wherfoze an adulteresse, either she weth signes of repentance, or els she weth not. If she shew signes, the church oughte to entreate for her, that there may be a reconciliacion made. But if she shew none, the church shall not entreate for her: otherwise it shoulde seme to maintain sinnes.

When the church ought to entreate for those that fall.

Now must we aunswere vnto the arguments which seemed to be agaynst reconciliation. As touching the ciuill lawes they are to be corrected by the word of God. Jerome and Chrysostome do speake of such an adulteresse whiche repenteth not, which selfe same thing is manifestly vnderstand by the counsell of Orleans. For that it is there had: He whiche retaineth an adulteresse, is partaker of the crime: but if she repent, let her be receaued. But why the lawe of Moyses suffered not, that a wife repudiated shoulde not after the death of her latter husbände retorne vnto her first, the cause may easely be assigned. For if he had permitted it, then diuorcements woulde easely haue bene had, in hope sometimes to reconer agayne theyr wife. God woulde that she that was repudiated, shoulde retorne no moze, to the ende that shee shoulde not easely be repudiated. There might also bee conspiracies made agaynst the latter husbände, whereby the wyfe myghte, when hee were dyspatched awaye, retorne agayne vnto her firste husbände. Wherfoze the lawe of God was mozte iuste, whiche pertayned not vnto adultrous women, which by the commaundement of God ought to be stoned. By these thinges now it is manifest that it is lawfull for the husbände to retorne into fauor with his wife being an adulteresse, so that she repent: who yet ought to accuse his wife of aduilty, if it be a publike crime, or if she persener in her wickednes, or els if she bring forth any chyldren by aduilty, least the lawfull heires shoulde be defrauded: for vnlesse she be accused, the husbände cannot depzyne the son bozne in aduilty, but that he shall inherite. Farther, let the church entreate and woꝝk with him, that he woulde receaue agayne the woman being repentant. Wherfoze our Leuite ought not to be reproued, because he receaued, again into fauor his wife being an adulteresse, so that she repented her of her aduilty. But now will I return to the interpretation.

Aunswere vnto the reasons on the contrary part. The counsell of Orleans. The cause why the law of Moyses prohibited the retorne of a wyfe repudiated vnto her first husbände.

11 When they were nere to Jebus, the day was sore spent and the seruant said vnto his master: come, I pray thee, and let vs turn into this city of the Jebusites, and lodge all night there.

12 And his maister answered him: we wil not turne into the city of straungers that are not of the chyldren of Israell, but we will go

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forth

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fozth to Gibaah.

13 And he said vnto his seruant: Come, and let vs draw nere to one of these places, that we may lodge in Gibaah or in Ramah.

14 So they wente forwarde vpon their waye, and the sunne wente downe vpon them nere to Gibaah, which is in Benjamin.

15 Then they turned thither to goe in and lodge in Gibaah: and when he came, he sate him down in a strete of the city: for there was no man that tooke them into his house to lodging.

16 And behold, there came an old man from his worke out of the field at even, and the man was of mounte Ephraim: but dwelte in Gibaah, and the men of the place wer the children of Jemini.

17 And when he had lift vp his eyes, he saw a wayfaringe man in the streetes of the city: then this old man sayd, whether goest thou, and whence comest thou?

18 And he answered him, we came from Beth-lehem Judah, vnto the side of mounte Ephraim: from thence am I: and I wente to Beth-lehem Judah, and go now to the house of the Lorde: and no man receaueth me into his house.

19 Although we haue straw and prouender for our Ases, and also breade and wyne for me and thine handmayd, and for the boy that is wyth thy seruant: we lacke nothing.

20 And the old man said: peace be with thee: al thy penury be vpon me: onely abide not in the strete al night.

Jerusalem was therfoze called Iebus, bicause the Iebusites in the old tyme inhabited it. The seruant counselled his master to take lodgyng before the sunne should set. But he would not. VVe will not turne in (sayth he) neither to this city nor to that, neither to any other city of straungers which ar Gentiles. But it may seme merueilous how Jerusalem is called straunge from the Israelites, when as in the beginning of this booke there is mencion made y the Debezewes toke it & named it Jerusalem. They which sayd that this history is to be referred vnto the fyrst tymes of the Judges, namely that it was done before Othoniell beganne to iudge, from the death I say of Iosua, to the gouernment of Othoniell, seme to be ledde by this argument. In that space of tyme they say these thinges happened. These mens coniecture hath in dede som shew of truth. But it is not very firm. For wee muste knowe that the Jewes often tymes behaued themselves ill in fallinge from the worshippinge of the true God. Wherefoze he left them destitute of his ayde, wherof they being beriued, they were again overcome of those, whome before they had overcome, whereby it came to passe that the Iebusites recovered agayne theyr city and dwelled in it. Wherefoze those thinges which are wrytten in the beginninge of this booke, are not agaynst those which are nowe declared. For the Iebusites hauing recovered theyr city, inhabited it as they did before, and it was called after the old name.

How it is sayd that Jerusalem was at this tyme a city of straungers.

The wife counsel of the seruant.

Aristotle.

The seruant did geue his maister wise counsell, if a man should loke vpon the euent. For it is dangerous to trauaile by night especially for a man that is a straunger and vnarmed, as this Leuite was, which had with him onely his wife and his seruant. Neyther is this any new or vnaccustomed thinge that seruantes ar sometimes wiser then their masters, although it oftentimes happeneth, that counsel hath authorite of the generall: as we vnderstand happened here, wher counsel although it were profitable, is despised, peradventure because it came from a seruāt. Aristotle in his Politikes saith, they which excel in mind & counsel ought to

to beare rule and they which are strong of body must obey. But that cometh not alwayes to passe: yea rather it oftentimes happeneth that masters which are not of the wisest, but yet strong in body, haue seruaunts far wiser then themselves, although they be not very strong in body. Farther we must not deny, but y^e prudence and counsels which are the giftes of God are not bounde vnto the conditions o^r estates of Lordshipp and seruitude, no^r also to the temperatures of bodies. God geueth them, to them whom he thinketh good, & that most freely, sometyms to seruaunts, and sometyms to Lordes, sometyms to poore men, and sometyms to riche men. **G**od ministred vnto a man being a seruaunt good counsell: which yet the Leuite would not sellowe to his great hurt. For if he had turned into the City of the Iebusites, peradventure he had not fallen into that calamity which followed.

The giftes of God are not bound vnto the estates o^r conditions of men.

These thinges are spoken concerning the counsell of the seruaunt if we consider y^e vtility thereof: but yet a thing is not to be iudged by y^e euent. Neither is the Leuite in this place rashely to be accused: because it seemeth that he had a sheewe of honesty & piety. For he thought, that if it were possible, he should not go vnto the vngodly & Idolaters, such as wer the Iebusites, and he had a great deale better opinion of the Hebzees, then of straungers. Yea and the seruaunt, so^r y^e he so earnestly desired to turne into y^e Iebusites, may be accused either of sluggishnes, so^r that he being weary of the waye, would take no paynes to go any further: o^r els he may be accused of vnadvisednes, because he considered not with himselfe y^e the Iebusites wer enemies vnto y^e Hebzees: o^r els of an vngodly mind, so^r that he litle passed to turne vnto Idolaters. Wherefoze it seemeth that the Leuite did rightly and wisely, if we looke vpon the ordinary way and law of piety, and not vpon the end. But all thynges happened contrarily. For in Gibaa (as we shall heare,) his wife was by violence oppressed, and so died: and civile warre stirred vp, wherein many thousandes of men died. Wherefoze we ought alwayes to suspect our counsels as touching the ende, but yet not as touching iustice, not that we should feare, least god shuld cast vs away, but least so^r our sinnes there might happē some miserable end. Wherefoze whē we haue determined to do any thing, we must with most seruent prayers pray vnto God to turne to good the counsell which we haue taken, and to direct our purpose. For vnles he build the house, they labour in vayne which build it. And except he prosper our enterprises, all thynges are in vayne taken in hand. And yet in the meane tyme we must vse a very great diligence. But now we rede not y^e the Leuite called vpon God, when as yet he was in some daunger. Jacob when he should sojney into Mesopotamia called vpon God with a great sayth.

The Leuite is excused.

What we ought in counsell to counte doubtful, and what certayne.

What is to be doone after we haue taken counsell.

The counsell o^r purpose of the Leuite was to turne into Cities which the Hebzees inhabited, especially either vnto Gibaa o^r vnto Rama. These Cities were not farre from Ierusalem. He entred into Gibaa, where no man had hym to his house. That City longed to the tribe of Benjamin. It may seeme that he would rather haue gone to Rama, but (as it is written) the sunne went downe vpon him nyghe vnto Gibaa, wherefoze he entred into a City of men vncourteous. For whē the man being a straunger stood in the streetes in the night tyme, no man receaued him into his house. But where as barbarous inhospitality reigneth, there also are moze grieuous wicked vices wont not to be wantyng. But why no man receaued him into his house, the cause was, so^r that in a great number of euill Citizens, there were very few good men, & if there were any, the same wer afrayed to receaue him into their house, least so^r his sake some euill should happen vnto them. For they knewe the wantōnes and the filthy lusses of those men. And so whilēt the straunger was despised, the law of God was in that City had in contempt. For it commaunded, that gentlenes should be shewed vnto straungers, yea and God called himselfe the tūto^r and reuenger of straungers, neither coulo those

Why no man had the Leuite to his house.

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those Citezins seeme any longer to be the people of God, sayng they had cast a-
waye hys lawe.

*A praise of hospi-
tality.*

*What is the
general worde
of hospitality.*

And euen as to contemne straungers is a most grieuous vice: so is Hospitallity a vertue most excellent. Wherefoze in the Epistle to the Hebzeues it is writte: Forget not liberality and Hospitality. Although (not to dissemble) in Greeke it be somewhat otherwise written *οὐκ οἴσας καὶ κοιτώντας*. But *κοιτώντας* is the general word of Hospitality. When it followeth: For with such sacrifices God is wel pleased. Out of which place the Papistes go about to defende merites, as though he whiche sheweth himselfe liberall towarde the pooze, shall deserue something at Gods hand. But in the Greke is rede *συναφίται*, whiche signifieth not, shalbe wonne by deserte, but receaueth with a glad and chearefull minde: which is to be referred vnto God, and not to those whiche shew liberality vnto the pooze. The sense therfoze is this, that god doth reioyse in such sacrifices, & doth accept them with a glad mynde, yea and Christ himselfe also shall say in the last iudgement: I was a straunger and ye lodged me, soz he that receaueth a straunger, receaueth Christ in him. So Abraham & Lot when they thought that they had had straungers in their house, receaued the sonne of God & aungels. The Gabaonites being boyde of this vertue, contemned the Leuite beyng a straunger walkyng in the freete. But there was in that City a certayne other straunger, whiche was bozne in mount Ephraim, who being moued with mercy, receaued the Leuite into hys house. And so in Gabaa a straunger was better then the Citezins. This man peradventure was a husband man, and in the euenyng returned out of the field fro his rusticall worke. The Leuite telleth him that he hath prouendze for his Asses, and also that he wanted not breap and wine, that he might the easeller and willinglier be receaued. As though he should haue sayd, we shall not be burdenous vnto any man, soz we haue all things that are necessary for our liuyng.

*We must fye
the fellowship
of wicked men.*

*How unprou-
table euill fel-
lowship is.*

D. Kimhi.

Peace be with thee: Thy pouerty be vpon me. Care not (sayth he) I wil furnishe that whiche wanteth. I nothing passe what thou hast with thee, or what thou hast not. The humanity of this man was great, whiche appeareth so muche the more excellent, bycause he dwelled among the inhumane and cruel Gabaonites. He was bozne & brought vp in an other place, where the feare of God was more regarded, then among the Gabaonites. Yet he seemeth not herein to be praysed, soz that he dwelt so longe among vngodly and wicked men. For we ought not to esteeme any thyng so much, that soz the cause therof we should haue a will to dwell among idolatrous & wicked men. Wherefoze if any greuous chaunce happen in that society vnto men which are otherwise good, they can not complayne that the same happeneth vnto them vnderferued. Lot sped yll bycause he dwelt among the Sodomites. He saw the countrey fertyll and plentifull, & hauing great plenty of hearde and flockes, he would abide there. But with that he escaped not unpunished. For once he was led away prisoner, and except Abraham had deliuered him with an army which he had assembled, he should al his lyfe tyme haue serued in most hard bondage. Afterward when these Cityes were burnt, he scarcely escaped fro burning. Whiche benefite he may ascribe rather vnto Abraham, then vnto himself: soz if he had perished together with them, he should haue had no cause to haue complained of God. Euill fellowship alwayes soz the most part, either hurteth or els engendzeth daunger.

The Gabaonites beyng of the tribe of Benjamin, are called also the children of Iemini, bycause that samely was noble in that tribe. Wherefoze this samely possessed y City, although Dauid Kimhi expoundeth the sonnes of Iemini, soz ströge and mighty men, soz Iemini in Hebzeu signifieth the right hand. Wherefoze the children of Iemini (as he thinketh) are they, whiche haue lawe and ryght in the right hand, and therfoze do not what is lawfull, but what they can. I do not deny but that the Gabaonites were such, but I rather allowe the first exposition as the truer and more simple. For it is manifest that it was a samely in Benjamin,

of

of whiche came Saul also.

Melapua signifieth in Hebrew whatsoeuer meate is geue vnto cattell, besides straw and chaffe, that is Tares, Otes, and Barley. The old man had compassion of the stranger, either peradventure because he was his contreyman, or els at the least for that he himselfe also dwelt there as a stranger. For common miseries do oftentimes ioyne men together. *Virgil.* Wherefore in Virgil Dido sayth: I not being ignorant of euil, do learne to succor the miserable. After the same maner the Lord sayth in his law: afflict not strangers, because ye were sometimes strangers your selues in Egypt. But the Gabaonites had utterly forgotten their olde estate. But this old man, because in time past he had ben a stranger, or rather because he was euen then also a stranger, was moued with mercy. For God doth sometimes somewhat afflict those that are his, that they should learne to haue compassion ouer other. For they whiche alwayes flourish in wealth and riches, are not greatly moued with the miseries of other men. And Paul to the Hebrewes sayth, that Christ was made lyke vnto his brethren in all thynges, that he myght haue compassion of other.

The Leuite maketh mention that he would go vnto the house of God, that is in Siloh where the arke of the Lord was. And Siloh was in mount Ephraim. He would therefore go thither, peradventure to geue thanks vnto god, because bringing home his wife agayne he had luckly finished his business. Other thinke that the young man added these things of the arke and house of God, to the end the old man should be the more gentle vnto him, when he should vnderstand that he was no common man, but a Leuite, which would go vnto the holy tabernacle of God.

21 So he brought hym into his house, & gaue foddre vnto his Asses: Afterward they washed their feete, and did eate and drinke.

22 And as they were making their hartes merue: Behold, the men of the City, wicked men, be set the house round about, and smote at the doore, and spake to this old man the master of the house, saying: Bynge sooth the manne that came into thyne house, that we maye knowe hym.

23 And this man the master of the house went out, and sayde vnto them: Nay my brethren do not so wickedly, I praye you: saying that this man is come into mine house, do not this villanie.

24 Beholde, here is my daughter, a virgine, and his concubine: the will I bring out now, and humble them, and do with them what seemeth you good: but to this man do not this detestable acte.

25 But the men would not harken to hym: therefore the man tooke his concubine and brought her out vnto them: and they knew her, and abused her all the night vntill the morning: and when the day began to spring, they let her go.

26 So the woman came in the dawning of the day, and fell doونه at the doore of the mans house, where her Lord was, till the light day.

27 And her Lord arose in the morning, and opened the doores of the house, and went out to go his way, and behold, the woman his concubine was dead at the doore of the house, and her handes laye vpon the threshold.

28 And he sayde vnto her, vp and let vs go: but she answered not. Then he tooke her vp vpon the Ass, and the man rose vp, and went vnto his place.

29 And when he was come to his house, he tooke a knife, and layde hande

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hand on his concubine, and deuided her in peces with her bones into twelue partes, and sent her throughtout al the quarters of Israel. 30 And all that sawe it (sayd:) There was no suche thyng doone or sene since the tyme that the children of Israel came by from the lande of Egypte vnto this daye: consider the matter, consulte, and geue sentence.

The maner of washing of fete very muche bled in Egypte. There as it is sayde, And he gaue his Asses foder. In Hebrew it is written Vaiahol which signifieth, he mingled, for this verbe Balal signifieth to myngle. For in those regions they vse to mingle chopped straw with barley, & so to geue them vnto their cattell. And washed their fete. In those places y are extreme hot, when men haue done their iorney, they vse to washe their feete, & to wipe away the dust, which office was sometymes shewed vnto Christ our sauour, and he againe executed the same vnto his Apostles. Paul also required this of good wil- dowes, namely to washe the feete of the Saintes.

Bring out the man that we may know him. By these words is described a thing most filthy & an horrible act. There was neuer heard of the like boldnes & filthy lust as was this of the Gabaonites; therfore they are called the children of Belial, that is, without an yoke, because they had shaken of good manners, the lawe of God and of nature, neither would they abyde to beare any yoke. Hereby also appeareth they exceeding cruelty, for they did not onely despise a straunger, but also would reprochefully haue doone him great injury.

But y good old man the host of y Leuite, had not onely receaued him into his house, but also afterward defended him with y daunger & injury of his house. He goeth forth vnto the, exhorteth the not to comit any such thing. First because the thing was filthy & horrible: farther, because y ma had entred into his house, & he counted it his part, by right of hospitality to defend him fro al injury. Lastli, when he perceaued y their lust was importunate & vnbrideled, he offered vnto the his own daughter & the wife of y Leuite, rather the they should do him so great a reproche.

Of the faith of Hospitality. Howbeit they as contemners both of god & me nothing care for these things. The right of hospitality was of no force with the, which the old ma objected vnto the. Undoubtedly faith is to be kept with an enemy, and much more with a guest or stranger. Therfore in the digestes de nautis & cauponis in y law. 1. there is a double actio allowed against the host, if any thing be take away out of y lodging fro the guest, how much more if there be violence done against his body. Among the elders y religio of strangers was great, because it semed a thing acceptable vnto god to defend & saue harmeles y stranger. Therfore Jupiter, as he was called Stator & Pheretrius, so also was he named Hospitalis, as it were a keeper and defender of strangers. But Busiris like a cruell & bloudy Tyrant slew his guesstes. But his cruelty escaped not unpunished, for Hercules slew him with his club.

Jupiter Hospitalis.

Busiris a cruell host.

Every manne ought to bee safe in his own house.

The Gabaonites wout al yoke ragged abode in the night tyme, beset the house, threaten to breake it open, & to slay them y are in it, when as otherwise every ma ought to be safe in his owne house. Which thing was also decreed afterward by the Romane lawes, as it is had in the title de in ius vocando, in the digestes in the lawe plerique: no man ought to haue his house inuaded. For the priuate house of every man seemeth to be a certayne holy sanctuary to his possessor. But with the Gabaonites there was nothyng safe or holy: so much had lacke of a gouernor brought to passe.

The vngodly are sometymes called brethren. The olde man when he dissuaded them from their wicked crime, called them brethren, to see if by pleasant and gentle speech he could haue asswaged the. For if he should haue dealt more sharply, he should more vehemently haue kindled them. And yet in calling them brethren he lyed not, for as they came of the tribe of Benjamin, and he descended of Ephraim, they were begotten all of one father, namely,

namely of Iacob. Lot also in the like cause called the Sodomites brethren. It was undoubtedly wisdom in most dangerous corrections, to use most gentle words. *Pea and Augustine* when he wrote to the Madaurenses, which other wise were Idolaters, called them brethren. *Augustine* Wherefore it is to be lamented and meruayled at, that the Ministers of the Churches of the Lutherians doo so abhorre from our men, that they will not in any case call them brethren, as though they denyed the sonne of G D D, and preached not his Gospel. But our Churches nothing regarde their importunity, but of Christian charity counte them for brethren, whether they will or no: and although they differ from them in the matter of the Sacrament, yet haue they not broken the bande of brotherly charity towards them. But whether of vs doo behaue our selues more sincerely and faithfully in the fildes of the Lord: Christ in the last day, & also in tyme hereafter shall declare.

But here cometh a question whether this olde man did well, in offering his daughter and the wife of the Leuite vnto the Gabaonites, to the ende they should not violate his guest. To this all men aunswere not after one manner. Some say that he considered the greatenes and horribleness of the wicked crime, and preferred the lesser euill before the greater, and would not breake his faith geue vnto his guest. And by these reasons they thinke to excuse hym. And after the same manner they iudge of Lot. And amonge other *Chrysostome* exceedingly praiseth Lot in that thyng: which selfe thyng both *Ambrose* also in his booke of Abraham the Patriarche, because he lesse esteemed the contumely of his house, then so great a wicked acte. But *Augustine* in his questions vpon Genesis, considereth these things, both more diligently & also more depely, and denyeth that to recompense one faulte by an other, is not in any case to be suffered. By his sentence it was not lawfull for hym to permitte his daughter to the lust of the Sodomites, to the ende they should not sinne more grievously. Neither is it lawfull for vs to committe the lyghter crime, to auoyde a more grievous. For the Apostle hath aperly taught: That euill thynges are not to be doone, that good should ensue. Wherefore when the matter cometh to sinne, although it seeme light, yet we must utterly abstayne from it. And if it should seeme that some greuouser sinne would followe, if we should refuse to sinne, that care is to be committed vnto G D D, but we vnder that pretence ought not to committe any sinne. This was *Augustines* opinion, which exceedingly well allowe. And not to goo from our history which we haue in hande, although this olde man ought sayth vnto his guest, yet ought he sayth and defence also vnto his daughter, and vnto the wife of the Leuite. Neither was it lawfull for him to performe more sayth vnto his guest, then the woorde of G D D would suffer. Wherefore he could not iustly humble vnto them his daughter, or the wife of his guest. For the father hath not the daughter so in his power, that he maye put her forth to other men to be abused. Neither ought the daughter to obey in any thyng that is sinne, though the father will and commande her.

But they say: The lesser euill is to be preferred before the greater. I knowe that men are wont so to say. But it must rightly be vnderstand, namely that it taketh place in outward afflictions and griefes of the body, and of the lyfe. By cause in such discommodities, as often as we must take deliberation what we ought to preferre, the lesser hurt is to be preferred before the greater: because it hath the nature and reason of goodnes. But in sinne there is no consideration of goodnes. And undoubtedly what soener is synne, the same muste straghtwaye be reiected, let followe what will. But *Augustine*, excuseth after a sorte Lot and this olde manne, because they fell with a heauy and troubled mynde. It oftentimes happeneth vnto wyse men, with a troubled mynde to doo those thynges, which afterwarde when they come to themselves, they allowe not.

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But this excuse doth not utterly absolue these menne from sinne, althoughe it somewhat release them. But if a manne will say, Paul preferred the lesser sinne befoze the greater, when he sayde, he woulde be accursed of Christ for his brethren, rather then they should persiste in that blyndnes and stubbernes, wherein they were holden. He whiche objecteth this vnto vs, must knowe that he doth not rightly vnderstand that place of Paul. For the Apostle desired to redeme the saluation of the Jewes with his daunger, not vndoubtedly with sinne, but with his losse or hurte, namely to be accursed of Christ, not certaynely to be made an Apostata, or to cease to beleue in Christ, but onely not to haue the fruition of the eternall and blessed lyfe. Augustine also hath many thynges agaynst this compensation of sinnes. And amonge other thynges: What (sayeth he) if a man require, either of a mayden fornication, or of a married woman adultery, and threatheneth to kill hymselfe, vnles he obteyne his request, ought the pure and chaste women to fulfill his desire? No vndoubtedly. Neither thoughte he afterwarde slay hymselfe, shall the chaste women be counted guilty of his death. They ought in deede to be sorry for hym, to deploze his acte, but not to thinke they haue done euill, bycause they graunted hym not vnlawfull thynges. The same Augustine vpon the. 146. Psalme writeth: If a man deny helpe beneuolence vnto his wyfe bycause he woulde lyue chastly, and the wyfe in the meane tyme fall into adultery, he sinneth, neither can his entent be allowed. For sinne is not to be admitted in the wyfe, for the exercising of continency. God (sayeth he) doth not recompense suche a hurte with suche a gayne. Wherefoze the sentence of Leo the first, in the dist. 46. chapter. Non suo) is to be allowed, wherein he sayth, that it is vncomefly that any should bestow theyr faultes vpon other mens commodities. Augustine in his booke De mendacio to Consentius sayeth: For the health of our neyghbours, we must doo whatsoeuer may be doone. And if it come to that point, that we can not helpe them without sinne, there remayneth nothyng els for vs to doo. And he addeth that no manne must be brought into heauen by a lyfe. The same Augustine in an other place sayeth: If pooze menne see a cruell and bitter riche manne, and woulde steale any thyng from hym, eyther to helpe themselves, or other pooze menne, they doo not diminishe sinne, but encrease it. And Gregory Byschoppe of Rome in his Epistle to Siagrius: To committe the lesse sinne, to the end to auoyde the greater, is to offer sacrifices vnto God of a wicked acte, as it is written in the. 21. of the Proverbes. But in that Christostome and Ambrose doo for this cause prayse Lot, they are thus to be vnderstande, namely that they allowed his charity and sayth towarde strangers, and had a respecte vnto the horriblenes of the sinne whiche the Citezins were ready to committe, not that they allowed their abandonyng of theyr women. And thus muche as touchyng this matter.

Augustine.

Augustine.

Leo

Augustine.

Gregory

To Christo-
stome and Am-
brose.

How much the
horrible synne
of the Sodomi-
tes is to be de-
tested.
Augustine.

But in that the olde manne calleth it a villany and a detestable thyng, whiche they went about to committe, he sayeth most truely. For seede was geuen vnto manne for procreations sake. But these pestiferous menne abuse the gifte geuen them of God, they resiste his law, and agaynst nature chaunge menne, in that after a sozte they turne the male into the female. Augustine to Pollentius: Adultery (sayeth he) is moze grievous then whooredome, and incest moze heynous then adultery, but that whiche is done agaynst nature, is of all most wicked and detestable. And he addeth: In thynges whiche God hath graunted, it is moze tollerable immoderately to transgresse, then lightly to sinne in those thynges whiche by no meanes are graunted. And in his. 3. booke of Confessions he sayeth, that the fellowship of humane kynde is violated with God, bycause nature whiche we haue of God, is polluted. This was the crye of the Sodomites and the Gomorhites which ascended into heauē, and the grievousnes of their

of their wickednes is moſte manifeſt by their diſtruction . For they were deſtroyed with fire and byrmeſtone from heauen, puniſhementes vndoubtedly agreable vnto ſo greate a heynous crime: by the fire was noted their burnyng filthy luſte, and by byrmeſtone they ſynkyng and vnpure wicked crime . Chriſtoſtome wryteth: Bycauſe they followed not fertility, but barrennes, therfore God made that ſo ill, baren, and infertyle whiche befoze was moſt fertile. But he demaundeth: Why are not they whiche are in the ſame faulte in theſe dayes puniſhed alſo after the ſame manner? He aunſwereth, whome that puniſhement moueth not, ſoz them abyderth the vnguentheable fyre. And they are not ſo puniſhed in this lyfe, bycauſe ſuche menne ſoz the moſte parte are conuerſaunt amonge good menne: and God promiſed Abraham, that he was ready to ſozgeue Sodome, if there mought haue bene founde there but onely tenne good menne . Wherefoze ſoz as muche as Cities at this daye are not altogether ſo corrupte, as Sodome was then, therfore God dealeth moze remiſſedly with them . It alſo oftentymes happeneth, that althoughe theſe men are moſte wicked, yet they had good predeceſſors. And God (as he hath teſtified) tarſeth, and differreth the puniſhement vnto the thyrde and fourth generation. Farther, we muſte marke that thys vice wherſoener it rangeth, it is not alone. With it are ioyned cruelty, inhumanity, pryde, robbery, and oppreſſing of the poore . And when it ſhall come to this point, that menne cruelly withdawe their dewtyes from their neyghbours, God both then on the other ſide withdawe his helpe and grace . Wherefoze they beyng left vnto themſelues, that is, vnto their owne corrupte and viciate ſtrengthes, doo degenerate into beaſtes . The lawe of God in Exodus and Deuteronomy made thys ſinne death. And Paul to the Romanes ſheweth that thys is the puniſhement of Idolaters . And in another place he numbryeth abuſers of nature with them, whom he excludeth from the kyngdome of God . Amonge the olde Grecians thys wicked crime was puniſhed with death, and that by the lawe of Laius, whereof Beſſarion maketh mention agaynſte Trapezuntius. Tertullian de Monogamia wryteth that among the Romanes there was a lawe called Lex Scantinia, whiche was of the ſame ſhapenes. For he would ſignify that the Byſhoppe of Vchincenſis was contaminated with thys kynde of wickednes: He feared not (ſayeth he) the lawe called Lex Scantinia. In the Code ad l. Iuliam de Adulteriis & ſtupris in the lawe Cum vir nubit. Conſtantius Auguſtus, comaundeth the lawes to ariſe, and the lawes to be armed with the auengyng ſwoorde, that ſuch as are infamed by this crime, ſhould be ſubiect to moſt cruell puniſhementes. Iuſtinian alſo in his Authentikes in the title vt no Luxurientur contra naturam, maketh thys crime death, and addeyth that ſoz ſuch a deteſtable crime, Cities are ouerthrowen, and plagued with peſtilences, hunger, and earthquakes. He mought alſo haue added ciuile warres, whiche (as this Hyſtory teſtifieth) doo fellowe, and thoſe moſte cruell. Extra de exceſſibus prelatorum in the chapter Clerici, it is ordeyned, that they whiche are taken in thys crime, ſhoulde be put out of theyr place and dignity. And the lay men alſo ſhoulde be excommunicated.

Chriſtoſtome.

Why god both in theſe dayes deferre the puniſhement of Sodomites.

The Sodomitical ſinne is to bee puniſhed with death.

Beſſarion. Tertullian.

Lex Scantinia.

But it is to be knowen that euen God bendeth hymſelfe to vengeance, and ſendeth fury and madnes vpon ſuche perſons, where the Magiſtrate neglecteth his dewty, and ſuffreth wicked menne to go vnpuniſhed . Wherefoze in Genesis it is wrytten that the aungelles ſmote the Sodomites with blyndnes, ſo that they could not finde the houſe.

We muſte alſo note that the Gabaonites came in a manner all of them vpon a heape vnto the dooze, that it myght appeare that they all conſpired into thys ſo deteſtable a crime.

But there ariſeth a doubt, whether ſinne may by any meanes be excuſed ſoz this

Some is not
excused there-
fore because it
is publique.

this cause, because it was common, and almost all men were infected with it. So undoubtedly, yea rather it was so much the more wicked and heynous, as it was committed of many, and that without punishment. For they dyd not onely conceale and committe wickednes, but also publishe and set it forth openly, and without shame ranne together to accomplishe it. Wherefore it is rightly witten, that the sinnes of the Sodomites cried and ascended by into heauen. Esay also writeth: They haue published abroad their sinne like Sodoma. And where we see that done, we must thinke that it is a certayne token, that that publique wealth shall in shorte tyme perishe. For menne when they are touched with some shamefastnes, althoughe they sinne, yet remayneth there some hope of a mendment and repentaunce. But when in a manner they openly professe wicked actes, and write booke of them, and wil haue theyr wicked crimes to be publique, there is nothing elles to be looked for, but the vengeance of God. With this wicked vice the Prelates and Papistricall Sacrificers in these dayes are chiefly infected, and also the Antechristes of Rome, vnto whom matrimony is very odious.

Let vs also consider the goodnes of God, whiche stirreth by this olde man, to admonishe, and reprove them, and to bring them agayne into the ryght waye. They were menne polluted and contaminated and utterly vnwoorthy of so great a benefite. But there are neuer men so euill, but that God doth by some meanes admonishe them of their synnes. The olde man dyd his dewty: but they contemne and deride him.

He brought forth hys concubine. Who? Not the olde manne, but the Leuite, who deliuered his wife, so; feare least he should hymselfe haue fallen into their power. But why did not the olde manne deliuer his daughter also? Paradu-
ture, because those Cities cared not for her beauty, who yet counted the wife of the Leuite to be very fayre and beautifull. They so afflicted her all the nyght, that in the morning she dyed. Theyr wicked crime turned at the length into murder. In this place the hande and vengeance of God sheweth forth it selfe. This woman hauing befoze committed adultery, and not for it iustly

The admi-
tence as she sin-
ned so is she pu-
nished.

punished, at the length dyeth euen in adultery, and suffreth the lawe of the lyke. But whether she repented at last or no, there is nothing witten of that mat-
ter. We onely see the outward thynges, it is God whiche searcheth the heartes. But if she dyd repent, and that with fayth, then escaped she eternall pu-
nishmentes. Yet God will haue discipline established in publique wealthes, and the malefactors punished, who if they repent, then are they fatherly chastis-
ynges, and not punishmentes. Neither is it lawfull for the Magistrate to ne-
glecte his office, althoughe they repent: for if they doo cease to punish, God (as
it is befoze sayd) will by hymselfe reuenge. Wherefore that whiche is witten to
the Hebrewes: Whoremongers and adulterers God will iudge, may be vn-
derstand two manner of wayes, because God sometymes punisheth by hymselfe,
and sometymes by the Magistrate.

Howe the Le-
uite distributed
the pieces.

The Leuite layd his concubine beyng dead vpon the Ass, went home and di-
uided her body into twelue partes, whereof he sent into euery tribe a parte. But it
may be demaunded, how he sent twelue parts into euery tribe, when as they wer
12. number. Some thinke it was, because he sent nothing vnto the tribe of Levi,
for that the Levites dwelled dispersedly among the other tribes. Other suppose that
he would send nothing vnto the tribe of Benjamin, because he thought that they
would be no equall reuengers, for as much as the Gabaonites pertayned vnto
them. But this sentence seemeth not probable, because it was the sinne onely of
one City, & therefore it pertayned not vnto the whole tribe: vnles peraduenture
we will say, that he supposed that the Beniamites were of such mindes, that they
would

shoulde not know and take vengeance of the offences of theyr owne betherne. Neither was he deceaued in his opiniō. For so happened it in very dede. Other say that he sent two partes to the tribe of Manasses, bycause the Manassites dwelled part beyond Iordane, and part on this side: therfore they say that in this bys distribution were omitted two tribes, Benjamin and Levi, for the causes befoze alledged. The entent of the Leuite was, that no tribe shoulde excuse themselves by ignorance.

What was the entent of the Leuite.

He was compelled so to do, because ther was then no Magistrate in Israel, neyther any certayn place of iudgement where he might plead his cause. Wherfore he stirreth vp al þ people to take away euill amōg thē. And it seemeth that he moze profited by this meanes, then he shoulde haue done if he had vsed letters or spech. For those things do very much moue, which are set forth befoze þ eyes. And yet in so doing he sought not reuengemēt, either by a wicked or by an vnlawful meanes, soasmuch as he did not tumultuously call souldiers together, neyther raised vp sedicions, or innaded the city, which did him the iniury. He brought the cause befoze them, to whom it pertained to knowe it: He complained not to Ammorhites or Jebusites, but to his owne people. Wherfore he ozdeth his accusation well and lawfully: neyther by accusing both he violate the law, yea rather he is an help vnto it, as on the contrary side, they which hold their peace and vtter not wicked acts, ar against the lawes. For eue as of our selues we ought not to wissh any mans death, so must we not suffer the lawes to be openly and villainously violated with out punishmēt. Wherfore let the bishops in the old time looke howe gobly they did, when they made intercession vnto magistrates for wicked men, and for such as wer appointed to dy. If thou wilt say ther straight way followed most ciuil warre, whiche thing seemeth may be imputed vnto the Leuite. But it is not so, it ought rather to be ascribed vnto the Beniamites, which would not punysh so greate a wicked crime.

By accusinge the law is not violated, but holpen.

This ciuil war is not to be imputed vnto the Leuite.

Iosephus.

In this history Iosephus somewhat varieth from the holy scriptures. First he denieth that this woman was an aduresser, and that she therfore departed from her husband. She was (sayth he) very beautifull, and when her husbande loved her exceedingly, and complained that she loved not him againe, she as one not able to abide his braylinges, fled vnto her parents. But the holy scriptures do manifestly teache, y she had played the harlot. In which sentence al the interpreters agree together. Farther he denieth that the Gabaonites thoughte this, namely to abuse the Leuit, he sayth that they being allured by the beauty of the wife, desired onely to haue to do with her. But y also is plainly against the holy scriptures, wherin it is by expresse words written: Bring forth the man, that we may know him. Farther he denieth that the Leuit deliuered his wife vnto them; but the Gabaonites (saith he) took her by violence. At the last also he adueth this (which I thinke also is very likely) that the Leuite when he sent the peeces of the body, did sende messengers also to declare what was done: other wise he shoulde not much haue profited, if he had sent but the peeces onely.

These euils did therfore happen, because ther was no magistrate or pynce to iudge the Israelites. The same thinge also happeneth when there is a magistrate or pynce, which doth not his office. And because the ecclesiastical men haue at this day shaken of the yoke of the politicall Magistrate, there is therfore no magistrate amonge them. Wherby the Christian publike welth suffreth great discommodities.

In the papist church ther is no magistrat

Of a Magistrate.

This place admonisheth me to entreat of a magistrate, whome I iudge may thus be described, namely to be a person elected by the institution of God, to kepe the lawes as touching outward discipline, in punishing trasgressors with punishment of the body, and to noozish and defend the good. There are vndoubt

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tedly many persons elected by the institution of God which are not Magistrates as the ministers of churches, which yet are keepers of the word of God, & of his law, but not as touching outward discipline onely. Because it is the office of ministers, by the word of God to pearce euē to the inward moōs of minds: for the holyghost adioyneth his power both to the right preachinges of his word & also to the sacraments which are distributed in the church. But the magistrat onely exerciseth outward discipline & punishment vpon transgressors. The minister bindeth the guilty & vnpenitent in the name of god, and in his name excludeth them from the kingdome of heauen, as long as they so remain. The magistrate punisheth withoutward punishments, & when need requireth bseth the sword. Either of them nourisheth the goodly, but after a diuers manner: the magistrate encreaseeth them with riches, honours and dignities: the minister comforteth them with the promises of god, and with the sacramentes. Wherefore the magistrate is instituted, to the end that the lawes should be most diligently kept, the guilty punished & the good holpen & nourished. And vndoubtedly the law is a dumme magistrate, & againe the magistrate is a liuing and speaking law, and so also is the minister of god (as Paule sayth) to theye prayse which do well: and contrarily he beareth the sword against the wicked, as gods reuenger & iudge, neyther tende these thinges to any other end, then to the health of men.

The end of a
magistrate.

Many formes
of magistrates.

An example of
the Jewes.

Magistrates
are called
fathers.

But the forme of magistrates is not one onely but manye, as Monarchia, Aristocratia, & Policia: or Tyrannis, Oligarchia, & Democratia. The descriptions and natures of which formes Plato, Aristotle, and other Philosophers haue elegantly taught. Of all those formes the best is to be desired, and all men to whome it pertayneth ought to prouide, that a good or tollerable estate degenerate not into an euill one. But if it happen that Tyrans or wicked princes obtaine the gouernment of thinges, that is to be suffered asmuch as is by the word of god lawfull. The Jewes were by violence oppressed of the Babilonians, in whome yet god admonished that they should obey, & to pray for the king, although he were a tyrant, & possessed the kingdome of the Hebrewes most wrongfully. Cesar also held Jewry by tyranny, and yet Christ sayd: Cense that which is Cesars vnto Cesar, & the thinges which are of god vnto god. The Apostles also haue taught that we must obey princes & pray for the. Nero was a most vnpure beast, who yet the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans declared that he ought to be obeyed, not onely for fear, but also for conscience sake. Phocas possessed the empire of Rome by euill arts, most cruelly slew Mauricius his prince, & also his children, whom yet the Romaines acknowledged as theye Emperors, & Gregory the. 1. red vnto the people his commaundements & writings. If the wilt demaund, what forme of a publike wealth the Jewes had, it may easily be known by those thinges which we haue in another place spoken. They had at the beginning this forme Aristocratia: for god allowed the counsell of Iethro, which was that they should be chose out wise men & strong & such as feared god, which should gouerne the publike welth, as it is writte in Exodus & Deut. 1. & god himself did so in his spiritte inspire these 70. men, who he had commaunded to be chose as helpers of Moses, & they also prophesied. So were the Israelites gouerned, although after ward they were gouerned by the power of a king.

But this is not to be omitted, that princes in the holy scriptures are not only called Deacons or ministers of god, but also pastors, of who Ezechiel complaineth for many causes: for they cruelly & peruersely fed the people of God. Homere also calleth Agamemnon the feder of the people. For they ought not to heare rule as thieues or hired men, to slea & to oppress, but to kepe, nourish & fede like pastors. They are also called fathers, in herfore the Senators among the Romaines were called Patres conscripti, & appointed fathers, neyther was there a greter or more auncient hono in the publike welth then to be called pater patris, & is the father of the country. And also a magistrate is contayned in the law of God vnder this commaundement: Honour thy father & thy mother. Wherefore princes owe vnto their subjects a fatherly loue. And they ought alwaies to remember, that they are not rulers

lers ouer beastes but ouer men, & that theselues also are men, who yet ought to be far better & moze excellēt the those whom they gouern, other wise they ar not apt to gouern the. For we make not a shepe a head ouer shepe, but the chief we ther & then the shepeheard. And euē as a shepeheard excelleth hē sheepe, so ought they to whome the office of a magistrate is committed, to excell the people. But now must we consider by whome Magistrates are ordeined. That sometimes is done by the cōsent of hē Senate, sometimes by hē voices of hē people, or by hē will of the souldiers, or els by successiō of inheritance. But these ar but instruments. But hē proper cause of Magistrates is god him self; which may be by many reasons p^{ro} ued. First there is by god a certain light kindled in hē hart of mā, whereby they vnderstand hē they can not liue together without a guide, & there hēre sponge hē office of a magistrate. The law of god also commandeth to obey Magistrates. And befoze the law geuen by Moses (as it is written in Gen.) god ordeined hē by which shedeth mans blood his blood, also should be shed, not vndoubtedly rashly & by every mā (so that were very absurd) wherefoze we may gather by those wordes, that a magistrate was not obscurely instituted by god, whiche should punish manuellers. Paule also writeth, that all powers whatsoeuer they be ar ordeined of god. And Christ answered vnto Pilate: Thou shouldest haue no power against me, except it had bene geuen ther frō aboue. By these testimonies and reasons it followeth that god is the true & proper cause of Magistrates.

By whome magistrates are ordeined. God is first ordeiner of magistrates.

But here some cauell, & saye that if all magistrates are of God, then must all things be rightly gouerned: but in gouerning publike welthes many things as we se, are done viciously & perversly. Vndoubtedly vnder Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla, & Heliogabalus good lawes were contēned, good men killed, & discipline of hē city was bitterly corrupted. But if Magistrates were of god, such thinges could neuer haue happened. This reason neither can no: oughte any thing to moue vs: because the office is to be seperated from the person: & vndoubtedly it is possible, that he which hath the office may be a wicked & naughty mā, when as yet neuerthelesse the power is good & very profitable. For there is nothing so good, but that men by theyr malice may vse it ill. Wherefoze it is no marvel if there haue bene kings & Emperors, which sometimes haue abused hē power geuen the, which yet they were not so able to corrupt, but that mē receiued by it many good things & cōfortes, as I haue befoze shewed. By the testimony of Daniell it is most manifest that Magistrates ar of God. For he (saith he) getteth & transsereth kingdōs as it pleaseth him. Farther we se that hē Monarche hath sometimes bene in hē East, sometimes in hē South, afterwarde in the West, & sometimes in hē North: also that there hath sometimes bene good p^{ri}nces, and sometimes euill: sometimes haue reigned noble men, & sometimes obscure men. And we vnderstand that it oftentimes happeneth that riches or power profite not to get or kepe a kingdome: and to thinke that these thinges are done by chaunce without the p^{ro}vidence of God, it is most absurd.

gouerning of the world.

The office is to be seperated from the person.

Some Astronomer will peradventure say that these chaunges or mutaciōs are imposed by hē starres: but Daniell the minister of hē truth, saith that it is God which chaigeth times. For euē as he hath in hē year appointed courses of times, so hath he as it pleaseth him sometimes ordeined & sometimes take away p^{ri}nces. He did cast down Saul, & he also promoted David. And he foze told that he would do: least it should seme to haue happened rashely or by chaunce. Wea and kingdomes & publike welthes may be called certayne worke houses or shops of the will of god: For that is done in them, which god himself hath decreed to be done, although p^{ri}nces oftentimes vnderstand it not. God called hē Medes and hē Assirians to afflict hē Israelites, & them (when it semed good vnto him) he repulset & toke a waie. He rayled by the Persians agaynst the Chaldeans, and the Grecians agaynst the Persians, and lastelye the Romaines agaynst all other nations. Who denided the kingdome of the Hebrewes into Iuda and Israel: Vndoubtedly by God. Abias the Silonite did foze tell that it should be so come to passe, and saide

of the changes of the wicked are not to be ascribed vnto the starres.

The changes of the wicked are not to be ascribed vnto the starres.

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that the word was come forth from the Lord, that it should be so. Who over-
threw Achab? Who caused Jehu to be appointed, but onely God? But there are
certaine Tyrannes which destroy publike welthes. I graunt that. But our wic-
ked actes deserue it. For there are oftentimes so greivous wicked actes and so
many, that they cannot be corrected by the ordinary magistrate, and by a gentle
and quiet gouernance of things, and therefore god doth then provide tyrannes
to afflict the people, and yet for the most part he tempteth and leueth his pun-
ishment in rapinge by good and godly princes. After the fall of Nero he set vp
Vespasian; after Domitian, he sent Neruan and Traian; after Commodus, Pertin-
ax and Seuerus; after Heliogabalus, Alexander. But they which say: The wic-
ked actes of Tyrannes are not of God, yet do they range and speade abroade in
kingdomes and Empires, therefore Empires and kingdomes are not of god: they
(I saie) make a false Syllogisme: secundum quid ad simpliciter that is, from that
which appeareth to that which is in dede, neither doth this rightly follow: Cer-
tainly things in a magistrate are not of God: therefore the magistrate is not of
God. Or rather they reason ill from accident: for vices and wicked acts chance
to publike powers, but are not inth into them (per se) that is of themselves, or by
their nature.

What draweth Tyrannes to pub. welthes.
God sendeth good Princes after tyrannies.
But some man will doubt: If the Magistrate be an Ethnike & also a tiran,
whiche it be lawfull for a godly man to vse his helpe and ayde? What els? Paul
appealeth vnto Cesar a most wicked tiran. But it may seme that he did against
his own preceptes. For in his first Epistle to the Corin. he reprehended those
Christians whiche pleaded causes at the iudgemente places of the Ethnikes. He
justly reproveth the Corinthians, because there were Christians amonge them,
which might in the church haue decided their causes. Neyther was it conuenient
that Christians should contend with Christians at the iudgemente places of the
ungodly. But Paul when he appealed vnto Cesar, had not to do with Christians, but
with Iewes, & president of Rome. Therefore so much as he had not a faith-
full magistrate, neither could it otherwise be done; & his life also was soughte, he
did not ill in imploing the sayth and ayde of the common magistrate, although he
were an Ethnike. For enen as we vse the Son & Spone, so also is it lawfull to vse
the publike and ordinary magistrate, what manner of man so euer he be.

The godly map vse Ethnike magistrates.
The Christian church did the same thing, when there were yet no Christiā Em-
perors. For Paulus Samosatenus was condemned as an heretike, & being a bishop
he was displaced. But because he would not render vp the house which longed
to his bishop, there was request made vnto Aurelianus, & Emperour, & ayde obtained
at his hands to compel him to deliuer his house vnto his new bishop. Who can say
if the church herein sinned, because it vsed a publike magistrate, though he were
an infidel? But let vs retorne thither fro whence we digressed, and constantly be-
leue that the magistrate is of god, although he oftentimes (our sins deseruing the
same) many things vnder him doth wickedly & vnjustly. Wholdest Hiseah the
prophet semeth yet to be against vs when he saith: they haue reigned, but not by
me. But we must know that Hiseah entreated of tyrans, which neither regarded
law, neither norished good, nor toke away good fro among his people, & ther-
fore they reigned not by god, but by their own lust: they regarded their own af-
fections & not the law of god. Further they invaded kingdomes, being stirred vp
by their own wicked desires, & moued by their own ambition, not as they which
felt the calling of god vnto the kingdom, neither toke they vpon them the power
to a will to obey god, but to satisfy their own ambition. This was not to reign by
god. But if they were not exalted to the kingdom by the will of god, it is contrary
in a manner to the whole scripture. For god calleth Nebucad. Nezar his seruāt, by
cause he would vse his ministry to afflict the Israelites, when as yet it might haue
bene said if he reigned not by god, so much as he fought against his Iewes by his
own lust & concetous desire of his mind, & not of a zeale to fulfil the will of god.

The church vsed an Ethnike Magistrate.
How it is said that tyrannes reign not by god.

Other.

Wherefore the sentence of Hosea the prophet is nothing against vs, but that we may beleue that the Magistrate is of God, and that we ought to obey him. Paule saith: Let euerye soule be subiect vnto the higher powers. The same thing is written to Titus. And in the first Epistle of Peter, the second chap. And Paule to Timothee addeth, that we should pray for them.

But the Papistes, and they which will be called Ecclesiastical men, will not heare these thinges. For they cry that they are exempted from publike and ordinary powers, when as yet the Apostle bled no exception when hee sayde: Let euerye soule be subiect vnto the higher powers. And: He which resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And Chrysostome also vpon that place saith, that the Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, and Poonkes, are comprehended vnder that lawe. And Chrysostome wrote these thinges of Ecclesiastical persons, when as yet he was Bishop of Constantinople, and there were then also Christian Emperours.

Ministers of the church are not exempted from the ordinary power.
Chrysostome.

But it is a spoote to heare the argumentes, which these false Ecclesiastical men vse. In Etrauag. de Maioritate et Obedientia, chap. Vnam sanctam, Bonifacius the. viii. (whom they say entred in as a fore, raigned like a Lion, and dyed like a Dog) saith that there are two swordes in the Church. And least he should seeme to speake it rashly, he citeth these swordes out of the. xxi. chap. of Luke: When I sent you without bag or scrip, did ye at any time want any thing? They said vnto him: No. Christ added: But now I saye vnto you, let euerye man take his scrippe and wallet, and he which hath none, let him sell his coate and bye a sword. They said vnto him: Behold here are two swordes. Christ answered, it is sufficient. Bonifacius saith: Two swordes are sufficient for the Church, namely the spiritual sword and the temporal. Wherefore they which say that Peter had not an outward sword, do seeme not to vnderstand the swordes of Christ, wherein he sayd: Put vp thy sword into the sheath. Why sword (sayth he) and not an other mans. For he had a sword of his owne, although he were bidden to put it vp.

What the false ecclesiastical miste of two swordes.

But there must needes be some order kept and obserued in these swordes. For what powers soener there be, they are ordained of God. For there should be a great confusion, if so that being two swordes in the Church, the one should not be gouerned by the other. Wherefore the temporal sword ought to be gouerned by the spiritual. And to make this argument moze plaine: The church (saith he) hath two swordes, but it vseth them not after one and the selfe same manner. For it exerciseth the spiritual sword, but the temporal sword ought to be drawen, onely at the becke and suffrance of the Church. This is so obscure, that it may in a maner seme to be a riddle. Howe be it this is his meaning, that the sword of the Emperour ought to be drawen onely at the will and pleasure of the Pope, that when he commaundeth, he must strike, and by sufferance, that is he must go forward in striking, so long as he listeth and will suffer it. Wherefore these thinges must be in order: and the order is that the temporal sword be reduced vnto God by the spiritual. For (as that Dionysius saith, who is thought to be an Areopagite, although he be farre an other) all inferiour thinges are referred vnto the chiefest thing, but yet by a meane. Wherefore, saith he, the temporal sword must be drawen at the becke of the Pope, that by that meanes it may be referred vnto God. So we see is now brought to passe. For so often onely as the most holy willet that warre be made against the Lutherians, he will that the Emperour straightway should obey. And if any Prince will not with much submission obey him, straightway are sent Legates hithe and thether, that al other kinges and princes should apply them selues vnto his becke, and make war and bere him, which will not obey him.

The Pope maketh subiect vnto him selfe the sword of the Emperour.
Dionysius.

Bonifacius addeth mozeoner that he himselfe is aboue al kinges and princes. For principallity is to be esteemed according to the dignity of the thinges which by it

The Pope preferreth himselfe before al kinges and princes, by it

by it are exercised. He (saith he) exercise spiritual things, and they temporall, wherfore their swoorde is inferiour to ours, and they themselves also vnto vs. He addeth also an other reason, they pay vnto vs tenthes, but tenthes are paid by the inferiour vnto the superiour. Wherfore seing kings & princes pay tenthes, they do testify y^e their lands & reuenues pertaine vnto the church, & that they are subiect vnto it. Moreover, he which blesteth, is greater then he which is blessed. But Bishops consecrate and anoint kings. The Glose addeth: That of kings onely the right shoulder is anointed, but the heades of Bishops are anointed. And vpon kings is poured oyle, but vpon Bishops Chrisme. Wherfore wee must needes confesse that kings are inferiour to Bishops. Farther, kings receaue the crowne and scepter of Bishops. For who saith hee, anointed Saul, and who anointed David, but onely Samuel: who anointed Iehu, but a Prophet sent by Helizeus? The matter also which is intreated of by bishops, is greater then that, about which kings are occupied. For Christ said vnto Peter: whatsoeuer thou shalt binde in earth, shall be bound in heauen. This power is greater then al humane power. And God saith vnto Ieremy: I wil set thee ouer nations and king domes, to roote out and destroy, to scatter and to plant. Therefore we are greater then al the power of kings, and are exempted from their right. Wherfore prophane and lay powers of Emperours and kings must be iudged by the Ecclesiastical men, & ought by vs to be appointed, and may by vs be ouerthrowen. For to whom it pertaineth to build, to the same it belongeth to destroy. Therefore the spiritual Magistrate ought to iudge of the ciuill Magistrate. But if the spiritual offende in any thing, of whom ought he to be iudged? The inferiour, saith he, ought to be iudged of the superiour. But the Pope, which is the highest of al, of whom shall he be iudged? Of no man saith he, but onely of God, because the spiritual is iudged of no man, but he iudgeth al things.

Oh how finely and trymly ordaineth he his tyrannye: He calleth hym selfe onely spiritual. The Glose, although he were otherwise grosse enough, yet hee could not be so much a blocke, but that he saue that these things were spoken very absurdly. How, saith he, is the Pope spiritual, if he be vnpure and wycked?

Two maner of He expoundeth himselfe by this distinction: There is one maner of spiritualtye of spiritualtye of saith he, of the person, and an other of the state. Wherfore if there be anye spiri- the Canonists. tual person, he may reprove al men by a brotherly admonicion: but he ought to be reprehended of no man. Bicause for that he is spirituall, hee committeth nothing filthely. But sometimes some person which is not spiritual in life and maners, ought yet to be called spiritual, bicause of his degree. As are many bishops and Popes: wherfore we must call the bishop of Rome whatsoener he be, spiritual and most holy. But what thing els is this, then to teache vs to lye, if they wil haue a filthy varlet called most holpe: Bonifacius at the last concludeth, that all Emperours and kings must be subiect vnto his power onely. And he addeth a reason: Unless we wil together with the Maniches appoint twoo begynnings: which thing we ought not to do, for Moses sayd not, in the begynnings, but in

The Pope pro- the beginning God created heauen & earth. Wherfore, saith he, we define, deter- nounceth that he mine, and pronounce, that all men oughte of necessitye of saluacion, to obey the of necessitye of Pope, as the chiefest power. And so he excellently I promise you concludeth that saluacion ought to be obeyed. al Ecclesiastical men are exempt from the ciuill Magistrate.

Of the two ma- Before I come to confute this their most shameles boasting, I thinke it ex- ner of powers, pedient bytely to speake of the two maner of powers: of the Ecclesiastical po- the ciuill and ec- wer I say, and ciuill. In that it is sayd that the Ecclesiastical power is preferred clesiastical. before al ciuill functions, it is somewhat that they say, if it be rightlye and aptlye vnderstand. All ecclesiastical power cleaueth vnto the woorde of God, so that without it is none: but the woord of the Lorde is a rule common, whereby all things ought both to be directed and be tempered. For it teacheth in what maner the outward swoord and publike wealth ought to be gouerned. And generally also it sheweth how al things ought to be done of al men. So Ambrose (whō Theo-

The Pope wil not bee iudged or gouerned of any.

Two maner of spiritualtye of the Canonists.

The Pope pro- nounceth that he of necessitye of saluacion ought to be obeyed. Of the two maner of powers, the ciuill and ecclesiastical.

Ambrose instructed Theodosius.

Theo-

Theodosius the Emperour raged to cruelly, and without al consideration against the Theſſalonians) perſwaded him, that in al puniſhmentes of death, ther ſhould be. xxx. daies ſpace after the ſentence geuen, leaſt the Magiſtrate ſhould do thoſe things in a rage and fury, wherof although he afterwarde repented him, yet they could not be amended. So many Biſhops, oftentimes in things moſt waighty, ſhewed ſooth their authoriety, and many times either put away cruell warres, or els pacified them, & out of the woꝝd of God preached among them. Wherefoꝛe the Eccleſiaſtical power after this maner comprehendeth al things, becauſe out of the woꝝd of God it findeth how to geue counſell in all things. Foꝛ there is nothing in the whole woꝝld, wherunto the woꝝd of God extendeth not it ſelfe. Wherefoꝛe they are farre deceaued, which vſe to cry: what hath a Preacher to do with the publike wealth, what hath he to doo with warres: what with Poticaries: what with Cookes? But let them tel me, when the Miniſter of the woꝝd perceiueth the law of God to be violated in theſe things, why ſhould he not reprehende them by the woꝝd of God? Why ſhould he not admoniſh them? Why ſhould he not exhort them to ceaſe from ſynner? Andoubtedlye it is his dutye to correct ſynners, not in dede with the ſwoꝝd, or puniſhing by the purſe, not by empryſonment, not by baniſhment, but after his owne manner, that is by the might and power of the woꝝd of God.

The preaching of the woꝝd of God hath al mẽ & al ſtates ſubiect vnto it.

The Miniſter of the Church worketh by the woꝝd, and not by the ſwoꝝd. How far cyuill power extendeth

Againe, the political power is extended to al thoſe things which pertaine to political power. But after what maner? ſhal ciuill power require good moꝝions of the minde, and inward repentance? It cannot cauſe theſe things: yet it muſt wiſh theſe things, and vſe thoſe meanes wherby they may be had. Foꝛ he ought to haue a care, that Biſhops, Paſtoꝛs and Teachers in the Church doo teache purely, reprehende ſatherly, and by the woꝝd of God adminiſter the ſacraments. This thing in dede the Magiſtrate doth not by himſelfe, but hee ought to haue a regarde, that they may be in a redynes, which ſhould do them wel. Wherefoꝛe either power extendeth moſt amply, and comprehendeth al things, but not after one and the ſelfe ſame maner. And the rule of either of them is to bee taken out of the woꝝd of God, which is plaine to be in the Church.

Againe, there are two ſubiections: One is political and ciuill, wherunto all men are ſubiect, who if they offend in any thing againſt the lawes, let them at the iuſt Magiſtrates hand looke foꝛ empryſonment, puniſhment by the purſe, baniſhment, death, and outward paines. But if they doo wel, let them looke foꝛ honours, rewarde, dignities, and prayſe. And after this maner the ciuill power is not ſubiect vnto the miniſtery of the woꝝde, becauſe by it it can not by theſe kindes of puniſhmentes be afflicted and conſtrained. The other ſubiection is ſpiritual, that is of faith, and of obedience. Foꝛ ſtraghtway, as ſone as men heare of their duty out of the woꝝd of God, and that either this thing or that is to be done, or this or that thing to be auoyded, they geue place, belene, and obey. By cauſe they perceauie, that that which is ſpoken, is the woꝝde of God. And theſe are the endes of eyther power. And ſo is to be vnderſtand that ſaying of Valentinian the Emperour, out of the booke called *Historia Tripartita*, which thing is had alſo in the diſtinction. 63. chap. Valentinianus: Chuse (ſaith he) ſuche a biſhop, vnto whom we which gouerne the Empire, may ſincerely ſubmyt our heades, and vſe his admonitions as medicines. &c. By which woꝝdes is vnderſtand that it longeth vnto the Eccleſiaſtical power, to admoniſh out of the woꝝde of God foꝛ ſaluacion. Although the ſame Emperour afterwarde erred. Foꝛ when he had appointed Ambroſe Biſhop of the City of Millane, the people did chuse him by ſhop. Which thing when the Emperour knew, he gaue thanks vnto God therfoꝛe after this maner: I had made hym ruler ouer the bodyes of men, but thou wouldeſt haue him ruler ouer the ſoules. &c. Valentinian did not rightlye put a diſtinction betwene offices. Foꝛ why? Dought biſhops to haue a care onely ouer ſoules, and not alſo ouer bodyes? What if they geue them ſelues to glotonye or

Two kinds of ſubiection.

A ſentence of Valentinian the Emperour.

An error of the ſame Valentinian.

A biſhop ought not to haue a care onely ouer ſoules, or onely ouer bodyes.

Cap. 19. A Commentarie vpon the

donkennes, or line licenciously touching outwarde thinges, shall they not re-
proue these thinges? Andoubtedly they must reprove them. Neither must prin-
ces haue a care onely ouer the bodies of men, and neglect their soules. For wee
do not imagine that a prince is a neateherd or a swineherd, to whom is commit-
ted onely the care of the belly, flesh and skinne of his subiects: yea he must pro-
uide that they may liue vertuously and godly. But what if Christian Princes
when they are by the woorde of God admonished of publike and most grievous
synnes, will not heare, neither amende that which they haue noughtely commit-
ted. What I say shal the bishop do herein? Ambrose excommunicated Theodo-
sius the Emperour, when he exercised so grievous tyranny against the Thessalonians.
Innocentius also excommunicated Arcadius, when he had exiled Iohn Chri-
sostome, who admonished him freely and trulye, as it is had in the dist. 96. chap.
Duo sunt, & in the dist. 18. in the chap. Quoniam quidam. And they are the wordes
of the syrt Synode, where it is decreed that ther should every yeare be had two
Synodes. And if princes would hinder them, let them be excommunicated.

Eusebius.

But what do I make mention of these latter thinges? Let vs reade Eusebius
in his. vi. booke, and. rrriii. chap. where he saith that Philip the Emperour, who
liued in the tyme of Origene, was the first Christian prince, and when he would
haue bene present together with the faithful on Easter euen, and haue commu-
nicated with them in prayers, the bishop, bicause he was a wicked and nough-
ty liuer, relected him among them that wer put to penance, that he should make
open confession befoze the Church, and acknowledge his synne, other wyse hee
could by no meanes be admitted vnto the Communion. This did the bishop at
that tyme against the Emperour & chiefe Monarche of the whole world. Where-
foze the ciuil power ought to be subiect vnto the woorde of God which is prea-
ched by the Ministers. But againe the Ecclesiasticall power is subiect vnto the
ciuil, when the Ministers beaue themselves yll, either in thinges humane or
Ecclesiasticall. For these powers are after a sorte conuertible and sundry wayes
are occupied about the selfe same thinges, and mutually helpe one another, euē
as Aristotle Theodectes calleth Rhetorike and Logike interchangeable artes,
bicause either of them are occupied in the selfe same thinges after a sundry ma-
ner. The Ecclesiasticall power is subiect vnto the Magistrate: not by a spiritual
subiection, but by a politike. For as touching the Sacramentes and sermons, it
is not subiect vnto it, bicause the Magistrate cannot bende the woord of God or
the Sacramentes, which the ministry bleseth, neither can he compel the pastors
and Teachers of the Church to teach otherwise, or in any other sorte to admini-
ster the Sacramentes, then is prescribed by the woorde of God. Howbeit mini-
sters in that they are men and Citizens, are without all doubt subiect vnto the
Magistrate, and also their lands, riches, and possessions. So Christ payd tribute,
so also did the Apostles, and the whole primatiue Church, when there were yet
most holpe men. Their manners also are subiect vnto the censures and iudge-
mentes of the Magistrates.

Aristotle.

Farthermoze, we must adde that Ministers are subiect vnto the Magistrate,
not onely as touching those thinges which I haue rehearsed, but also (as I be-
foze signified) concerning their function. Bicause if they teache not right, neither
administer the Sacramentes orderly, it is the office of the Magistrate to compel
them to an order, and to see that they teache not vnpurely, and that they myn-
gle not fables, or that they abuse not the Sacramentes, or delpue them other-
wise then the Lorde hath commaunded. Also if they liue noughtely and wic-
kedly, let them put them out of the holy ministry. This did Salomon, who de-
iected Abiathar, and substituted Sadok in his rourne, as it is written in the syrt
booke of Kinges, the second chap. And in the new Testament, Iustinian displaced
Siluerius & Vigilus, which thing I doubt not but other princes did sometimes.
But how iustly, I wil not presently declare: this one thing I will say, that that
thing

Princes may
put Ministers
oute of their
place, if they be
haue the seines
yll.

thing was lawfull for them in the causes now alledged. But some man will say, that I speake now of the fact, and not of the right. Yea but I speake also of the right. For the king ought to haue with him the law of God written, because he is ordained a keeper, not onely of the first table, but also of the latter. Wherefore he which offendeth in any of them both, falleth into his power. But althoughe a king may remoue an vnprofitable and hurtful bishop, yet can not a bishop on the other syde put downe a king, if he offend. Iohn in dede reprobated Herode, but he displaced him not of his kingdome. Ambrose and Innocent excommunicated Emperours: but they went no farther. Yea and Christ called Herode a wolfe, but he tooke not away from hym his kingdome, and he payed tribute vnto Tiberius, a most wicked Tyranne, neither was he at any time author to any man to shake of his yoke. Wherefore let Popes take heed by what right as they iust them selues, they put Kinges and Emperours out of their place. This thing did neither anye of the Prophetes, nor the Apostles, nor Christ.

The Popes boast that they haue great power: but if it be any that they haue, it consisteth wholly in the word of God. Let them teache, preach, and admonish, if they wil exercise their power: other wise the ciuil and temporal power, whome they so much craue of, is farre from the ecclesiastical Ministers. In summe, euen as there is found no king nor Emperour so great, which is not subiect vnto the power of the word of God, which is preached by the Ministers: so on the other syde is there no bishop, which when he hath offended, ought not to be reprobated by the ciuil Magistrate. What difference so euer there bee, the same (as I haue sayde) is wholy as touching the manner of reprobating. The Ministers of the Church doo that by the word, and Princes by outward punishments. But our false ecclesiastical men wil be princes and raigne. But Christ woulde be no king. And when he was sought for, to that ende to be made a king, he utterly refused it: yea he openly professed that his kingdome was not of this worlde. He said also vnto the Apostles: Princes of the nations do beare rule ouer them, but ye shal not do so. Peter also (whose successors they affirme them selues to be) admonisheth Ministers, not to exercise dominion ouer the Clergy. But these men wil haue prisons, soldours and swoordes, and styre by warres, as they lust them selues.

Wherevnto they wil obiect vnto vs the Ammonites, out of the olde Testament, whom it is certayne that they were both Kinges and Priestes, and confounded both the powers. That hystorie in dede is written in the booke of the Machabites, but we must see whether they dyd it rightly, or wickedly and ambitiously. Undoubtedly I thinke they did it not orderly: for God by his word had many tymes adiudged the kingdome vnto the Tribe of Iudah, euen to the tyme of Messias. And contrarily he commaunded the Levites, that they shoulde possesse no landes, and muche lesse to occupie a kingdome among they brethren. But if a man had rather saie, that they did this thing by a certayne secret reuelacion and hydden iudgement of God, hee shal not amende they cause. For that whiche is so done, ought not to bee drawn into an example. But I thinke rather that they offended in so doyng. They dyd well vndoubtedly, when they deliuered they Countrey from tyranny: but that thing being finished, they ought not to haue taken vpon them the kingdome. Neyther dyd God obscurely declare that that they were displeased hym. For (as wee gather out of Iosephus) that house after ward neuer wanted Tragedies. They farther obiecte vnto vs, that Peter slew Ananias and Saphira, and that Paule strake Elimas the Sozcerer with blindness. That is true in dede: but they dyd these thinges by the word of God, not by violence, not by the sword, neither by the labour of a hangman. Let these men doo the same thynges by the word, and wee wil regarde them. Why doo they not barken vnto Paule to Timothee?

It longeth not to the Ministers of the Church to put downe Princes.

Of the same nites of the Church.

Of the same nites of the Church.

How the Apostles sometimes vied outwards punishments.

Cap. 19. A Commentarie vpon the

The offices of
both the pow-
ers must not be
confounded.

Wherin either
power differeth
and agreeth.

To the argu-
mentes of Bo-
niface.

How the chur-
che maye haue
two swordes.

The Church
hath nowe al-
most al artes.

Let no man going on warfare for God, wrap hymselfe in cares of this lyfe. If they wil go on warfare for God, why doo they in such sorte hynder themselves with worldly busines: Haue they so much leasure from their own affaires, that they can haue a care ouer other mens thinges: Let them answer plainly: would they at this day abide, that any king should attempt to teache the Gospel, or administer the Sacramentes: They would not suffer it. Neyther did God hymselfe also suffer it: but he strake Ozeas with Leprosy, when he would haue burnt insence vnto God. Why therfore doo they invade other mens borders: These functions ought to be seperated, because either of them requireth a whole man a part by hym selfe: yea rather scarce hath beene founde anye one man at anye tyme, which coulde ryghtlye execute eyther of them, so hard a thyng is the execution of them both. Howbeit, both of them doo helpe one an other: for the politike Prince geneth iudgement, and the Ecclesiasticall doth not in deede geue iudgement, but he teacheth how iudgement ought to bee geuen. Haue no respect (sayth he) of persons in iudgement: afflict not the poore and straunger: re- ceave no bribes. &c. So on the other syde the political Magistrate preacheth not, neither administreth the Sacramentes. But vnto these thinges bee ryghtlye ordered, he ought to punish the Ministers.

And to be bylese, there are two thinges to be considered of vs in this collact- on. In the Ciuill Magistrate is to be considered both the power, and also the man which beareth and exerciseth the power. He in respect that he is a Christi- an man, is vndoubtedly subiect vnto the wooorde of God, and in respect that he beareth power, and gouerneth, he ought also to be subiect vnto the same wooord of God. For out of it ought he to seeke rules to gouerne and to administer. In the Minister of the Church also is to be considered both the ministerye it selfe, and also the person which executeth it. As touching the person, the minister is subiect vnto the Ciuill power: for he is both a Citizen, and payeth tribute as o- ther men doo, and is vnder the correction of manners. But as concerning the ministerye, he is also somewaye subiect vnto the Magistrate: For if he eyther teache or administer the Sacramentes agaynst the wooorde of God, he must bee reprobended by the Ciuill Magistrate. And yet must hee not seeke for rules and reasons of his function at the same Magistrates hand, but out of the wooorde of God. By this distinction we may easelye vnderstande the differences and agre- ment of eyther power.

Now resteth to come to that Thraso Bonifacio to confute his argumentes. First, he gathered out of that whych the Apostles answered: Beholde here are two swordes, and Christ added: It is sufficient, that the Church hath twoo powers, and both of them committed vnto hym. To that I aunswer, that it is possible, that sometymes there may be two swordes in the Church: but there were not so alwayes in it, neyther peradventure shall bee alwayes so. What outward sword had the Church in the tyme of Christ, and of the Apostles and Partyes: But yet now (they wyl say) it hath. I graunt that, because kynges and Emperours are Christians, whych in the olde tyme were Ethnikes. The Church hath also husbandrye, trade of marchaundise, the arte of Carpenters, and other suche lyke. For they whych exercise these thynges, are members of the Church. But that cometh to passe (as the Schoolemen speake) per accidens, that is by chaunce. For there might be a Church, though these thynges were not. So nowe, because there are Princes in the Church, it is sayde to haue an outward sword. But because Princes are in our tyme a part of the Church, it doth not therfore follow that the sword of Princes is the sword of ministers: euen as although there be in the Church husbandry and trade of marchaundise, and also the arte of Carpenters, it canot thereby be gathered that ministers are husband men, merchautes, and Carpenters.

Now

Now I come to the place of the Euangelist. The Apostles sayde, they wanted nothing, when they were sent without wallet and scrip, vnto whom Christ sayd: Let every one take vnto him his scrip and wallet, and he which hath none, let him sell his coate, and bye a sword. What woulde Christe signifie by these wordes? Nothing els vndoubtedly, but to shewe that the state and condicion of tymes hereafter should be far otherwise then they wer before. Hitherto (sayth he) whylest I was wyth you, ye felt no grieve, neyther wanted you any thyng. But now harder tymes are at hand: now shall ye haue neede of coates, scripps, and swordes. By these wordes hee declareth that hee shoulde depart from them, and that hee woulde sende them into the whole worlde to preache and teache the Gospel, in which ministry they should meete with so manye aduersities, that they should thinke themselves to haue neede of swordes. It is a figuratiue kinde of speeche, whereby is vnderstande one thing by an other, as is that in Genesis, when the Lorde sayde, that hee repented that he had made man. For God is not in very deepe touched with repentance, but he doth that, which men repenting vse to doo, that is, he chaungeth that which hee hath done. And vndoubtedly then he by the flood destroyed humane kinde which hee had created. So now he hath not instructed his Disciples, to fight with yron, but onely by a certayne paraphrasie describeth the condicion of the tyme to come. And euen as a golownoftentimes signifieth tranquillity and peace: so in this place a sword sheweth troublesome and vngquiet times.

After this maner Chrysostome interpreteth these wordes, expounding this place of Paule: Salute Prisca and Aquila. The Lorde (sayth he) hath not broken the lawe, which before he had made, saying: And hee which striketh thee on the one cheeke, turne vnto him the other. Blesse those that curse you, pray for them that persecute you. Now then doth he commaunde his Disciples to bye themselves swordes: He ment no such thing, saith Chrysostome: For it is a figuratiue kinde of speeche, whereby he signified that he should be taken away from them, and that they should be afflicted with many calamities. These wordes are not so to be taken as they appeare at the first syght. In an other place Christe sayth also: That which ye haue heard in the eare, preache on the house toppes. And yet wee neuer reade, that the Apostles stode on the house toppes, when they preached vnto the people. Neither assuredly was it decent to haue left the strete and temple, and to haue spoke from the house top. The sense was, that those thinges which they had hearde priuately, they shoulde speake openly and manifestly. The Lorde also sayd: Destroye this temple, and in thre dayes I will restore it: which is also spoken figuratiuely. For he commaunded not to overthrowe the temple of Salomon (as the Euangelist himselve interpreteth) but vnderstoode that which he spake, of the temple of his owne body: wherein (as Paule sayth) corporally dwelled all diuinity.

But to returne to the matter, that Luke so ment Chrysostome proueth by these thinges which follow: That in the sonne of man shoulde be fulfilled that which was spoken of him: And he was counted with the vngodly. But the Apostles vnderstoode not Christ: for they thought that hee had spoken simplye, and (as the wordes sounded) spoken of an outward sword. And so did Boniface bitterly interprete it. And in that Christ addeth: It is enough, he vnderstoode that two swordes are sufficient in the Church, so that ther ought to be no lawe neyther more nor lesse. But Chrysostome vnderstandeth it farre otherwise. For when Christ perceiued y the Apostles vnderstode him not, by that answer he declared that he would omit the thing. And in dede so is a scholemaster wont to say vnto a child which yet vnderstandeth not that which is taught him: It is enough. Otherwise vndoubtedly two swordes wer not sufficient against al the aduersaries of Christe. There shoulde moreouer haue needed coates of male and shieldes. Wherefore Chrysostome concludeth that y speeche was figuratiue & parabolical.

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In the times of **Farthermore**, if Bonifacius exposition bee receaued, wee muste thincke that the Church in the time of the Apostles ought to haue had two swordes, which is most farre from the truth.

But let vs come to that which Christ said vnto Peter: But by thy sword into thy sheath. Thy sword (saith Boniface) not an other mans sword. But what gathereth he by those wordes? Although Peter haue his sword, yet if he be commaunded to put it vp, how can he haue it drawen: or to what end hath he a sword, if he maye not vse it? But Boniface will peradventure aunswer: I haue in deede a sword, but I vse it not, but by an other mans hande. Or I vse not myne owne sword, but the sword of the Emperour, & other princes. For they ought to drawe the sword at the becke and sufferance of the Church. I would gladly demand, whether Christ, when he bad Peter to put vp his sword, ment this, that he should

Every man is
sayd to doo that
himselfe which
he doth by an o
ther man.

in deede vse it as he listeth and would himselfe, but yet by the labour of an other man: Assuredly that which a man doth by an other, he seemeth to do it himselfe. If a man by money or giftes get one to kill his enemy, although he do it not with his owne hand, yet neuertheles he should be an homicide: otherwise euen Princes doth not with their owne hand kill the guilty, but commaunde the hangmen to punish them. Ther is in this answer of Bonifacius a deceit of equiuocation. For we demand whether an ecclesiastical Minister may beare the office of a ciuill Magistrate, and vse a ciuill sword: and they remit vs vnto the sword of Peter, a man otherwise priuate.

Bernardus.

Holubest Bernardus in his 4. booke de Consider. ad Eugenium, seemeth to interpret the two swordes. I graunt that Bernard hath certaine thinges lyke vnto this, but yet not vtterly the same. But we must remember, in what tyme Bernardus liued. He liued at that time, wherein all thinges were corrupted in the Church, and if a man reade those his bookes de Consideratione, he shal se that he grieuouly complaineth of the corruption of his tyme. Eugenius was by the Romanes excluded the City, and peradventure he meditated by violence to restore himselfe. Wherefore Bernard exhorted them to preache the Gospell, to deale against the Romanes with the woorde and with Sermons, rather then wyth the sword. Eugenius said: what wilt thou haue? That I should feede Serpentes and Dragons and Beastes: yea rather assayle them saith Bernard with the woord, & not with iron. And in an other place he saith: If thou wilt haue both swordes, thou shalt leese both. Neither is it to be thought that Eugenius would by himselfe haue fought, but peradventure he assayed to moue warre by other, from whiche purpose Bernard dissuaded him. And thus much of him.

But in that Bonifacius addeth, that those swordes of the church ought to be in order (namely that the one should be subiect vnto the other, & that he proueth by this saying of Paule: Those powers that are, are ordeined of God) is manifestly declared how this man wresteth the scriptures. For this word ordinate, that is ordeined, is in Greeke written *ταγμα*: which is nothing els, then instituted or appointed. But be it so, as Bonifacius hath expounded it, what manner of order shal this be at the length? Undoubtedly, it shoulde be that the Minister shoulde teache, and the ciuill power shoulde heare and beleue. But this is nothing vnto the Pope which teacheth nothing.

The lowest thinges saith Dionisius are by meanes reduced vnto the hyghest. Wherefore Bonifacius concludeth that the outward sword ought to be referred vnto God by the spiritual. Undoubtedly I wil easely graunt that the sword of the spirit, that is the word of God, is the meane wherby the other sword, namely the outwarde, ought to be tempered and directed vnto God. But why doth not the Pope retaine this meane? Why vseth he not the word? Why teacheth he not? Why preacheth he not? Undoubtedly princes that stray, are not by him reuoked into the right way, yea rather contrariewise the Pope and bishops of the Church are sometimes rebuked and iustly repproued of princes.

The Pope do
seth not the
sword of the
woord.

Aaron

Aaron assuredly, being high priest, fel greuously in making the golden calse and obeing the foolishnes of the people. Moses accused him greivously, whom it is certayne that he was a ciuill magistrate. For toward the end of Deut. he is called a king. And when the priestes abused the mony which was offred for the mending of the couerings of the temple, who remedied that, but onely Ioas the king? I will not speake of Dauid and Salomon, and others which deuised the lottes of the priest, & orders of the Leuites. And I will not at this time proue these things by any moze examples. For they are manifest inough of them selues. Wherefore I graunte that the ciuill power maye be corrected of the ministers by preaching of the word. But the Pope vseth not this kind of gouernment, but rather an incredible tyrannye.

They boaste mozeouer that they themselues are greater in dignitie, for that they exercise spirituall & heauenly thinges, where as princes are occupied onely about earthly and ciuill thinges. Be it so: for we deny not but that ministers are occupied about thinges greater and moze deuine then magistrates are. But doth the Pope alone minister them? yea rather he neuer doth it at al. Wherefore if the dignitie of the ministry depend of those thinges, then will it follow that many bishops and priestes do in dignitie far excell the Pope, which neuer preacheth, & most rarely, and to very few, administred the Sacraments.

Let vs come to tenthes, by the payment wherof Bonifacius laboureth to proue the al princes as subject vnto him. This argument semeth to haue some shew, because at the first sight it agreeth with the .7. chap. of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, wher Paul proueth the dignitie of christ to be greater then the dignitie of the priesthode of the Leuits. For thus he gathereth: Abraham payd tenthes vnto Melchisedech, at which time Leui was not yet, but was at the time in the loins of Abraham, & so paid tenthes in him. And he which payeth tenths to an other, by the self same thing professeth himself to be inferior vnto him. Christ was priest accordinge to the order of Melchisedech. Wherefore the Apostle concludeth the priesthode of the Leuits was much inferior vnto the priesthode of Christ. I haue opened the springe from whence Bonifacius deriued his argument. The place is very dark, and needeth explication, and mozeouer Bonifacius doth not aptly apply it to his purpose. First we ought to vnderstand that tenthes in the old time pertayned vnto ceremonies, & that aswel in Melchisedech as in the Leuites. For in either priesthode they were referred vnto Christ. And either priesthode was in very dede a figure of Christ: for euen as the Leuiticall priest entered once every yeare into the Sancta Sanctorum, and that neuer without blood: so Christ by his blood entered once into the tabernacle, that is into heauen, and agayne Melchisedech for that he had neyther father nor mother, resembled Christ, which in respect that he was God, had no mother, and in respect that he was a man, wanted a father.

But what signified the tenthes in either priesthode? Undoubtedly they signified nothing els, then that the elders ought to referre all theyr thinges vnto christ. By that ceremony the people worshipped euen Christ. And if a man wil conferre Melchisedech and the priesthode of Leui together, although both of them seme to shadow Christ, yet shall he see that he is moze expessedly & manifestly signified by Melchisedech, as the Epistle to the Hebrewes testifieth. Bonifacius sayth: we receiue tenthes of all the lay men. We do take them indeede, but now that Christ is come, the paying of tenthes is no moze a ceremony, as it was before the coming of Christ, when by tenthes men worshipped Christ, which was to come in the flesh, and confessed that they ought vnto him both theselues, and al that they had. After which self same manner they payd the first frutes of al their thinges. But our men do in these dayes receiue tenthes. But by what law? Not vndoubtedly by the ceremoniall law, but by the mozaicall lawe. Forasmuche as it is mete that the minister shoulde bee nourished of the people. For the laborer is worthy of his rewarde: and hee whiche serueth the Gospel, it is mete

It longeth to
princes some-
times to admon-
ish and correct
ecclesiastical
men.

Of tenthes.

Both the priest-
hode of Leui &
also of Melchi-
sedech signified
Christ.

Christe was
moze playnely
signified by the
priesthode of
Melchisedech,
then by the Le-
uiticall priest-
hode.

Tenthes at this
daye are no moze
ceremonies but
rather rewards
and stipendes.

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that he liue of it. **W**herfoze whether stipends be payd vnto ministers out of lands or out of houses, either in ready money or in tenths, it skilleth not, so that they be not maintained filthily, but honestly. **I**ndede these rewardes in some places doo retain the olde name of tenths. But in many places they are not called tenths, but stipendes or wages. And assuredly they are in very deepe rather rewardes, whiche are deu vnto the labours of the ministers, then tenths.

Stipendes are paid both to superiours and also to inferiours.

The church which payeth the stipend vnto the minister is greater then he. Why in the church kinges are consecrated power is geuen vnto princes of god, and not of bishops.

Iustiniane.

All emperours were not consecrated of the Pope.

And as touching this foresayd argument, we must vnderstand that such rewardes and stipendes, are thinges indifferent: because they are sometimes payd vnto inferiours, and sometimes to superiours. For tributes whiche are geuen vnto kinges and princes, are they? stipendes whiche we geue vnto them, partly to nourish and susteine them, and partly to confesse that we are subiecte vnto them, and lastly y they may haue wherewithal to deserd the publike welth and vs. And sometimes inferiours also do receaue stipendes. For princes pay them vnto souldiers, and yet cannot we therfoze saye that the souldiours are greater then kinges and princes. And notwithstandinge I woulde not haue anye thynke, that I speake these thinges, to dimynish the dygnitie of the Ecclesiasticall ministerie, but that men myghte vnderstande that they argumentes are very trifling. Neither doubt I to affirme, that the church it self whiche payeth the stipend vnto the minister, is greater then the minister. **W**herfoze if we speake of tenths, as they are at this day geuen vnto ministers, they are no cause that they should be greater then those that pay them. But in that kinges and Emperours are consecrated and annointed of byshops, and in that they receiue the crowne and sword of them, it nothings helpeth their cause. For if we speake of the ciuill power, that is not geuen of the bishop, but of God. But this thing is ther done, that after the king or Emperour is chosen of god, in such manner as is agreable, prayers should be made for him in the assembly of the church; that god may confirm and strengthen his hart, that he may encrease piety in him, and instill in him a feare of his name, prosper his counsels, and so make fortunate his actions, that they may proue profitable vnto the church, and vnto the publike welth. And the bishop whilist these thinges are in doing, is the mouth of the church, & goeth before it, in expressing the prayer. And this function was deriued of an olde ceremony and custome of the Iewes. And y the king receaueth not his power of the bishop, but of God, euen their owne decrees also do testifie. In the dist. 96. chap. Si Imperatur, Gelasius saith, that the Emperour hath the priueleges of his power at gods hand. **W**hy then doth Bonifacius arrogantly claim it vnto himself: namely that which longeth to God onely. For as Paule sayth: All power is of god. In the Code de Iure veteri enucleando in the lawe firste, Iustinian declareth that his power was geuen him of the deuine maiesty. And the Glose (in Extrauag. de maioritate & obediencia in the chapter vnam sanctam toward the end, saith, that power is geuen vnto kinges of God onely, and that therfoze they do indede receiue the crowne of the byshop, and the sword from the altar.

But let vs moze narrowly examine Bonifacius argument: I (sayth he) do geue power vnto Emperours. Therfoze I am greater then Emperours. Let this most blessed Thraso aunswere me, who consecrated him when hee was chosen Pope? **U**ndoubtedly the bishop Hostiensis. Let vs conclude therfoze that the bishop Hostiensis is greater then the Pope. And if that follow not, the is the argument also of Bonifacius of no force, because (as I haue now shewed) it cleaueth vnto a broken foundation. For they are not bishops whiche geue power vnto kinges. Farther, wer there not many Emperours whiche were neuer consecrated of bishops, and yet were neuertheles for al that Emperours? Neither were the old Grecian Emperours so annointed. **W**herfoze that is a new innuention. But what if I proue that the head bishop was sometimes consecrated of the ciuill magistrat? **U**ndoubtedly Moses consecrated Aaron, whē as yet (as it is sayd) Moses was a ciuill prince. **W**herfoze Bonifacius laboureth in vayne about his consecration, because he canne gather

gather nothing thereby.

He boasted moreouer of the keyes. **W**he (sayth he) haue the power of binding and losing. But the power of the keyes consisteth herein, that ye should preach the word of god truly. For he which beleueth the gospel, is loosed: & he which beleueth not, is bound. But when ye neither preach, nor teach, neither can ye binde, nor lose. And farther this subiection which we haue graunted is spiritual, namely of fayth and of obedience: and not ciuill, and with dominion.

Afterward was Jeremy objected, vnto whom the Lord sayde: I haue appointed thee ouer nations and kingdoms, &c. First here I demaund what kings Jeremy delected, or whom he abrogated of theyr Empire, and what new kinges he instituted: They can shew of none. What therefore signify these wordes: I set thee ouer nations and kingedomes? Undoubtedly nothing els, then that by the spryte of prophery & word of god he should sojetell what kingdomes god would ouerthrow for sinnes, and what new ones he would institute. Why doe not the Popes so exercise theyr power: Let them sette befoze kinges and princes of the earth the threathninges of god, and let them be in this manner ouer nations and kingdomes. Could Jeremy be called the cause of the ouerthrowe of kingdomes: He was not properly the efficient cause, but onely a certayn occasion. For when he had admonished the king of Iudah, and he beleued him not, the prophet by his preaching was some occasion that he shoulde be condemned and ouerthrowne. So Paule sayth: To some we are the sauour of life to life, and to other the sauour of death to death: When as yet the Apostle properly killed no man, but his preaching after a sorte brought death vnto those which would not beleue. It is god of himselfe therefore that seperateth, ouerthroweth, scattereth & planteth. Neither disdained he someti mes to call vs bys fellowe workers.

Bonifacius goeth on, the lay power ought to be iudged of the Ecclesiasticall, but by what kind of iudgement: Undoubtedly by this, that in the church he set forth the anger of God against sinners, & that they be admonished and corrected by the holy scriptures. But y bishops may expel kinges and put them out of their kingdome, wher is y permitted: Fro whence haue they that: what writings will they bring for it: But that is most intolerable y the Pope sayth that he can be iudged of no man. And yet Iohn. 23. was in the counsel of Constance put downe, and not onely by god, but also by men. So these men plant and replant Canons, and the same they allow and disallow, as often as they think good. Wea and Emperours haue sometimes thrust out and put down Popes, as it is befoze said. Paul to the Gal. sayth: If an Angell from heauen preach any other gospel, let him be accursed. If the Pope (which may come to passe, and hath already long since come to passe) obtrude wicked opinions, who shall pronounce him accursed: Shall he be utterly iudged of no man: The church undoubtedly shal geue sentence vpon him: and the magistrate (for that he is the chiefest part of the church) shal not onely iudge together with it, but also shal execute the sentence. Farther it longeth vnto the magistrate to prouide that the riches of the church be not geuen vnto y enemies of godlines. Wherefoze if bishoppes become enemies of the church, a saythfull magistrate ought not to suffer the goods of the church to be consumed by them. The Canonists haue this oftentimes in theyr mouth: What for the office sake is geuen the benefice. When therfoze they do not their office, ought the magistrate to suffer them to enjoy their benefices?

But let vs heare howe Bonifacius proueth that he can be iudged of no man. Bycause he that is spiritual (sayth he) iudgeth all thinges, but he himselfe is iudged of no man. A godly and wel applied argument I promise you. But let vs se what kind of iudgement Paul writeth of in that place. He speaketh not undoubtedly of the common kind of iudgement, wherby men are either put to death or put oute of theyr roome. He entreateth there onely of the vnderstandinge of thinges deuine, and which auaille vnto saluation. These thinges I say properlye

Wbb. liii.

belong

Wher in the
keyes of the
church consist.

Prophetes are
not the efficient
causes of the ouerthrow
of kingdomes.
Ministers and
prophetes are
an occasion, but
not a iust cause
of ruines.

The Pope
ought to be iudged
of the
church.

It is the deuote
ty of the magis-
trate to execute
the sentence of
the church as
gainst the pope

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belong vnto the iudgement of the spiritual man: but concerning common iudgements, and knowledge of ciuill causes, Paule neuer thoughte of them in that place. Which is easely perceaued by his wordes, we haue not receiued (saith he) the spirit of this world: but a spirit, which is of God. If thou wilt demanda for what vse y spirit is geuen vs: He answereth, that we should know those things y are geuen vs of God. And because y spirit of this worlde cannot geue iudgements of thinges deuine, it is added: The carnall man vnderstandeth not those thinges which ar of y spirit of god. The spiritual man iudgeth al thinges. What doth he iudge also ciuill and common causes? No vndoubtedly: but he iudgeth those thinges whiche pertayne vnto the saluation of men: he himselfe is iudged of no man. Without doubt both Peter and Paul were iudged by the ciuil power, wherunto Paul appealed to be iudged there, and yet were they both spirituall.

Peter & Paule
were iudged by
the ciuil power.

But that place is thus to be vnderstanded. He y is spirituall, in that he is such a one, cannot in thinges deuine and such as pertayne vnto saluation, bee rightly iudged of any mā, which is not endewd w the same spirit that he is. The wicked and worldly ones count him oftentimes for a sedicious, vnpure, & infamous fellow: but only God and his spirit looketh vpon the hartes.

Note.

We put this
one onely be-
ginninge, and
not many.

Lastly Bonifacius concludeth, that there is one onely chiefe power which longeth vnto the pope, least we should seme with the Maniches to make many beginnings. And he addeth: That god in the beginning, and not in the beginnings, created the world. We also abhorre from the Maniches, and do put one onely beginning, and pronounce one onely fountayne and offspring of all powers, namely, god and his word, without which can be no power, either ciuil or Ecclesiasticall. For the foundation of either of them dependeth of the word of god, & so we make but one beginning & not two. Further, if Bonifacius wil vrge these wordes of Genesis: In the beginning god created. &c. there oughte to be in the world but one onely king. For when Paul sayde: One Lord, one faith, one baptisme, he added not one Pope.

A Schisme of
thre Popes.

At the length our Thraso commeth so farre, that hee excludeth them from the hope of saluation, which acknowledge not the Pope for the chief prince & head of the church. But when ther were two or thre Popes al at one time (which thing both happened, and also endured the space of .60. yeares full) it muste needes be that those were at that time Maniches, and did put two beginnings, which were of Bonifacius opinion. Moreover, what thinke they of the Gretians, of the Persians, and Christians which dwell in the East part, for as much as they acknowledge not the Pope, who yet neuerthelesse reade the scriptures, beleue in our Lord Jesus Christ, and both are, & also ar called christians? Al them Bonifacius excludeth from the hope of saluation. This is the ambition and vnspeakeable tyrannye of the Popes.

When we obiecte vnto the papistes these wordes of Paule: let every soule be subiect vnto the superiour powers, they aunswere: that every soul ought to be subiect vnto the superiour power, but yet to theyrs, not to other mens power, otherwise the frenchemen ought to be subiect vnto the Spaniards, the Spaniards to the Germanes, which thing, for that it is absurd, it is concluded, that every man ought to obey his own Magistrate. But now the clergy acknowledge the bishops for theyr power, and ought to be subiect vnto the: and the bishops acknowledge the Archbishops and Primates, and they lastly acknowledge the Pope. After this manner say they, we obey the power, and satisfie Paule. What haue we to do with kings or ciuil magistrates? But this is nothing els, then most filthily to

The Papistes
do ret into two
partes both the
kingdomes and
the people.

abuse the wordes of Paule. Doo they not see that they deuide the publike wealth into two bodies, which oughte to be one body onely? For when they deuide the kyngdome of the Clergye, from the kyngdome of the laitye, they make in one kyngdome twoo peoples, and doo sette ouer eyther people a Magistrate.

And

And thereby commeth to passe, that the Clergy whiche are Frenchemen, seeme not to be Frenchemen: and the Germanes seeme not to be Germanes. And this maketh not confusyon, but diuision.

Farther, of what power I praye you speaketh Paul? Not vndoubtedly of Bishops or Archebishops, but of that power whiche beareth the swoorde. He doth not without a cause (sayth he) beare the swoorde. He speaketh of that power to whom tribute is payd. For so this cause (sayth he) ye pay tribute. But Bishops neither beare swoorde, nor exacte tributes of the people. Wherefore Paul speaketh not of them. And though the German Bishops beare the swoorde, and do gather tributes and customes, they doo not that in respect that they are Bishops, but in respect that by accidens they haue the ciuile power adioyned vnto the: how rightly, let them see to it. But it is manifest that Paul spake of the Ciuile power, vnto whiche he commaunded that euery soule should obey. Neither is the interpretation of Origene probable, wherein he affirmeth, that Paul sayd: Euery soule, and not euery spirite. Bycause (sayth he) the spirituall man is moued with no affections, neither possesseth he any thyng in the world. Wherefore he is not subiect at all vnto the outward power. Wherefore Paul commaundeth euery soule, that is, euery carnall man to obey the ciuile power. But what? Was not Christ spirituall? who was moze spirituall? And yet he acknowledged the superiour power, and payd tribute. What say you to the Apostles, were not they spirituall? And yet they neuer exempted themselves from the ciuile power: yea rather they obeyed and taught others to obey them.

But let vs heare what our Bonifacians aunswere farther. They say that they haue not this power ordinarily, and by the right of their fructiō, but graunted them by priuiledges and giftes of princes. And why say they is it not lawfull for vs to enioye the priuiledges and liberality of princes? But we ought here to haue a regard, not what princes haue doone, but what they ought to haue done. God without all doubt hath made subiect euery soule vnto the hygher power. It was neuer lawfull for any prince to breake that law. For humane reason seeth not better then the prouidence of God, what should become of the affaires of humane kynd. And the euent it selfe also sufficiently hath declared how much that remission of princes hath profited. For after that Bishops and false Ecclesiastical men got themselves once fro the subiection of the ciuile power, they straight way became farre worse then they were before, and made the people which were committed to they charge, nothyng the better. Wherefore let them cease to say that Emperours and kynges haue geuen them these thynges, let them rather beare the woord of god, wherein they are comaunded to obey princes. But they haue not onely withdrawen themselves from obedience towarde princes, but also haue claymed vnto themselves an immunity or franchises. And an immunity is a liberty from doyng of homages, & bearyng of ciuile burthens. And among burthens are numbred tributes, & customes. Tributes are those which are payd of landes and possessions. Customes are those whiche are payd of marchandises, & of those thynges whiche are either caried out or brought in. These thynges Vlpiane calleth franchises of the publique wealth, as without which it ca not either consist, or be gouerned. By what ryght therfore and reason haue these men withdrawen themselves from the publique commoditie? With what face do they boast of such liberality of princes, whiche neither Christ, neither the Apostles, nor the Prophetes blessed? And althoughe they haue this thing as they say, by the gift of kings and Emperours, yet must they take heede, that it be not hurtfull vnto the Cite, the Church and least whilest they are listed vp, other be aboue measure burdened. And yet ar they not by priuiledges and lawes of princes exempted from all burthens. In dede they are franchised from personall burthens: & that not without great reason, whiche euen the Ethnike princes sawe also. In the digestes de Vacione & excusatione munerum, in the law Prætor: Vlpianus saith: If a man haue gotten

Origene.

Whether it
wer lawfull for
princes to ex-
empt Ecclesi-
astical men from
their subiectio.

What immu-
nity is.
What tribute
is.
What custome
is.
Vlpiane.

Ministers of
the Church ar
exempted from
personall bur-
thens and from
such as are fil-
thy.
Vlpianus.

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What personal
burthens are.
Filthy bur-
thens.

gotten a benefice, neither can hurt of conscience be absent from it, he is acquitted. And Constantine the Emperour, in the Code de Episcopis & Clericis in the law. 1. and. 2. exempteth them from personall and filthy burthens. Personall burthens are those whiche are accomplished by the industry of the mynde and labour of the body. Filthy burthens are those, as to burne lyne, to digge sand, to kepe the cundite, to heate the bath, and such other of like sorts. From these burthens they are woorthily exempted, because the ministry by such filthy exercises should come in contempt. And they are made free from personall burthens, because whē they should geue theyr mindes to holy thyngs, they ought not to be withdrawē to other thynges. Wherefore princes haue rightly graunted these thynges vnto Ecclesiasticall men, that they should not be absent from the study of religion, and that they should not be contemned of the common people.

In Iustiniane.

But what if a man clayme hymselfe to be a Minister onely by hys apparell or garmentes, and doth nothyng in the Church, is this freedome also graunted vnto hym? No vndoubtedly. Iustyniane in the Code de Episcopis & Clericis in the lawe generaliter sancimus, sayth that he meaneth onely of those, whiche diligently geue themselves to holy thynges, and not of vagaboundes and idle persons, which bragge onely in the name of the Ministry. Wherefore Ministers are not loosed from ordinary charges, although they are exempted from extra-

Ordinary charges.
Extraordinary charges.

ordinary charges. Ordinary charges are those, whiche are imposed alwayes by the commaundement of the lawes. Extraordinary charges, whiche are exacted onely for some present necessity, and after ward doo cease. Wherefore if Ecclesi-

Why they are
acquitted from
extraordinary
charges.

fical men haue manors & landes, as other Citezens haue, for them they ought to pay. For the Church when it taketh landes, taketh them wth their burthens. But they are free from extraordinary tributes, because in the olde tyme Ecclesiasticall men were poore, & besides necessary foode and apparell had nothyng remanyng, or if peraduenture there remayned any thyng, all the same, whatsoeuer it were, was bestowed vpon the poore. But nowe it is cleane contrary: for both they a-

They are not
exempted from
all extraordina-
ry charges.

bounde in riches, and they bestow very little vpon the poore. And yet if any great necessity happened, they were compelled to pay also extraordinary charges. As if there were any highe wayes to bee mended, any any bridges to be made, any shippes to be edified, for to transpote an hoste, as it appeareth in the Code, by the lawes of the Emperour. Neither vndoubtedly doth brotherly charity suffer, that when other are burdened, they should lye still aboundyng in wealth and riches. Neither is it to bee suffered, that they should lye at ease, and other in payne.

Yet the Pope in his Decretalles (de Immunitate Ecclesie in the chapter. Non minus, where the woordes of the Counsell holden at Lateranum are cited. And in the chapter aduersus Consules) will haue the Ecclesiasticall men utterly exempted. And Bonifacius the. 8. in hys. 6. de Immunitate Ecclesiarum, in the chapter Clericis laicos, permitteth them not to pay any thyng. Iea and he excommunicateth the prince, which taketh tribute of a Minister of the Church, and also the Minister hymself which payeth it. This law as to cruel, Benedictus the. 11. after a sort mitigateth, in Extrauag. de Immunitate Ecclesie in the chap. Quod olim, yet he permitteth not y^e prince to do any thyng without askyng counsel of y^e Bishop of Rome. For he in deede doth not excommunicate those princes which doreceauē tribute of Ecclesiasticall men, but onely those that exacte it of them. For he permitteth not, that princes should exacte any thyng by their owne right, whiche thing yet sometymes he permitteth, namely in an extreme necessity, as in daunger of religion and lyfe, so that firste there be had the consent of the Bishop and clergy, and afterwarde also the agreement of the Pope. So longe therefore hath he decreed that they must tary. So these men do exempt themselves fro the obedience and tributes of princes and kyngs, which (as I haue besore sayd out of Vlpiane) are

are the establisshementes and sinewes of the publique wealth. When I thinke vpon these thinges, I call to remembrance a profitable saying of Diocletian: of whō when a Philosopher desired an immunitie: This request (sayd he) disagreeeth with thy profession. Thou professest (sayd he) that thou wilt overcome thy affections, but thou shewest that thou art overcome of avarice. So these men professe themselves to be spirituall. But in a spirituall mā is nothing more required the charity, whiche counsellēth vs not to lye franchised and securely, when other are oppressed with cares and burthens. Thomas Aquinas bringeth a place of Genesis to shewe that Priests are exempted from tributes, not in deede by the law of God, but by a lawe made by princes, and yet neuertheles agreeing with the law of nature. For Pharaο kyng of Egypt provided, that the Priests should not paye the fift parte of their frutes for tribute, when as yet so muche was exacted of all the other Egyptians. Wherefore he concludeth that Priests are exempted. This place is diligently to be considered. First let vs note, that the Priests of the Egyptians had theyr dayly lyving out of the treasore of the kyng. They had meate and drinke and money geuen them to lye by. Afterward it came to passe, that when the hunger waxed great, all the Egyptians solde their landes vnto the kyng, therewith to buy corne to dyne away the hunger. But when that famine was past, the kyng rendred the landes vnto the olde possessors, but yet vpon this condition, that every yere they should paye him the fift parte, but of the landes of the Priests there was no fift part payd. And no meruayle: because they sold not their landes vnto the kyng when they were kept of the common cost. Yet it is to bee thought that they payd so muche tribute of their landes as they were wont to pay before the famine. Neither vndoubtedly can any other thyng be gathered out of that place, but that Priests ought to be nourished of the common cost: but in that they payed not the fift part, that happened for an other cause, as we haue nowe declared.

They bring forth also the 8. chapter of Esdras, where Artaxerxes provided that when he had layd a tribute vpon the Jewes, there should be nothing leued of the Leuites in the name of a tribute. But this is not to be meruayled at, seying the Leuites had no landes to pay tribute of. For vnto them pertayned onely oblations, first frutes, and tenthes. For whiche cause they were released of tributes. Also Iulius Cesar de bello Gallico sayth, that the Druides whiche were Priests in Gallia payd no tributes. But Plini in his 16. booke and 44. chapter, writeth that the Druides had no landes. And yet are not these thinges spoken to this end, that I should thinke that it is not lawfull for the Magistrate to deale somewhat more gently with them, and somewhat to beare with the: Because they must alwayes apply themselves to holy thinges, and study for nothing els. Whereby it cometh to passe, that they can not increase their substance, yea rather very oftentimes they suffer great losse, neither haue they their stipendes, but during theyr lyfe. This thyng onely I dissallowe, that they clayme vnto themselves immunity, both real and personall, they utterly refuse both ordinary and extraordinary charges, and that by tyranny or against the worde of God, and for that the Pope will not suffer princes to exacte tributes of Bishops and Ecclesiasticall men, when they will themselves: and because they will not geue them, if they be required. The word of God hath otherwise commaunded, when it sayth, let euery soule be subiect vnto the higher power. And therefore (sayeth he) ye pay tributes. None is excepted: neither would Christ himselfe be exempted. Chrysostome vpon that place of Paul: It may (sayth he) seeme greuous vnto Christians, for that they being the children of God and appoynted for the kyngdome of heauen, are subiect vnto princes of this world. But he answereth: Whylest we are in this lyfe, our dignity is hidde. For it appeareth not what we shalbe. Wherefore whylest we lye here, let it not be greuous vnto vs to rise vp to the Magistrate, to geue them the way, and to honour them. These thynges are full of comelynes and are decently done

A sayinge of
Diocletian.

Thomas Aquinas.

The Druides
payd no tribu-
tes.
Plini.

It is honest
that the Magi-
strate deale
somewhat more
gently with
Ministers.

Chrysostome.

Anabaptistes &
Libertines.

Some commit
ted two maner
of wayes a-
gainst the Ma-
gistrate.

A sentence of
Diocletian.

Eusebius.

An example of
Constantinus an
Emperour.

Constantinus
the second an
Arrian.

Julianus Apo-
stata.

done of the saintes. So we that we are regenerate by the worde and the spirite, it might seeme that we neede no Magistrate. Wherefore the Jewes, because they were the people of God, tooke it very grieuously that sometyme the Babilonians raigned ouer them, sometymes the Persians, sometymes the Grecians, sometymes the Romanes, and other nations whiche knewe not God. The Anabaptistes also and Libertines cry that it is a thing vnworthy for a Christian to suffer a Magistrate ouer hym. The Clergy of the Pope also haue shaken of this yoke from themselves. But the Apostles which foresawe that this thing would come to passe, did very often inculcate, that the Ciuile power should be obeyed, whiche precept is two wayes transgressed: one way is, when men say they will not obey the Magistrate, and sediciously make warre agaynst hym. The other way is, when they circumuent hym by subtilty and guile, that he can not execute his office. For there are in courtes, whiche flatter in the eares of princes, dispraise & praise whom they lust, complayne of the good, as euill, and commend the euill, as good. So according as they will, some are preferred to prouinces, and other some are displaced. Wherefore Diocletian sayde: A good, wise, & wary Emperour is oftentimes sold of his subiectes. The prince is at home in his palace, they that are familiar with him accuse & defende befoze him whom they will. Yea and among the Romanes & fathers whiche were called Conscripti, & is appoynted, were sometymes called Circumscripti, that is deceaued or abused. The course of Justice is by many deceates hindred. Neither skilleth it much whether it be done by violence or by guile, because both wayes the publique wealth is hurte, and the institution of God contemned.

Neither is this to be passed over in this place (whiche hath also ben often spoken of) that the Magistrate is not to be obeyed, if he commaund any thing against the worde of God. For when he so doth, he is no Magistrate. Because (as Paul sayth) he is the Minister of God to good. Wherefore if he commaund thinges contrary vnto the worde of God, he is not in that parte his Minister. But thou wilt say: Sometymes greuous, molestous, and harde thinges are commaunded: whiche yet are not agaynst the worde of God. What is to be done in those cases? We must obey: for we are commaunded to obeye our Lordes, though they be hard, so that they commaunde nothing agaynst the worde of God: whiche thing if they do, we must aunswere them with this sentence of Peter, whiche sayth: we must rather obey God then men. Nabucad-Nezar would haue had his Image worshipped, the saythfull Hebrewes aunswered: Thy Image I kye we will not worship. Antiochus commaunded the Hebrew woman to eate swines fleshe: but she chused to dye with together her seuen childre, rather then to comit any thing agaynst the lawe of God. Also the Martirs, as well in the old tyme as also in our tyme, suffered most extreme punishmentes, and most cruell deathes, for that they would not sinne agaynst the lawe of God.

Eusebius Casariensis writeth that Constantius the father of Constantine sayned vpon a tyme, that he would put out all the Christians whiche would abyde in theyr religion, from their honours and offices. But they whiche were in very dede godly, of theyr own free will gaue ouer their dignity, and chused rather to geue place vnto dignities, then to depart fro Christ. But this turned to good vnto the, for the Emperour embraced the: and those whiche had denyed Christ for to keepe their dignities, he vtterly remoued from hymself, saying: that they also would not be saythful vnto him, whiche had broken thier sayth vnto God. Constantinus afterwarde the sonne of Constantine, beyng an Arrian, went aboute to drawe the faithfull Bishops into his heresy: but they chused rather to be banished, then to follow that wicked purpose of the Emperour. Afterward Julianus Apostata opened the temples of Idoles, and labored to drawe the Christians to the Ethnike religion & worshipping, but such as wer in dede godly had greater lous

ter loue and regarde to Religion of Christ then to their lyfe. Pea and Achilles *Achilles.*
in Homere sayth: I will obey the princes, but yet when they commaund things
honest and iust.

And these thynges pertayne not onely to subiectes, but also to inferioz Magi-
strates. For what, if the superioz prince commaunde the inferioz Magi-
strates, to receaue the Masse in their Cyties? Undoubtedly they ought not obey. *Of inferioz powers.*
If a manne will saye: It is the superioz power, therefore it muste bee obeyed: I
will answer: In thynges ciuile and humane let them obeye as muche as they
ought, but not byng agaynst God. We muste alwayes runne vnto that
principle: Every thyng is suche a thyng by reason of an other, wherefore that o-
ther shall more bee suche. Wherefore if we obeye the Magistrate for goddes sake,
muche moze is God hymselfe to be obeyed. Wherefore the inferioz Magi-
strates ought not in suche thynges to haue a regarde what the superioz power
commaundeth, but what God hymselfe hath commaunded.

But there are some whiche saye: that befoze we departe from the obe-
dience of the Magistrates as touchyng Religion, we must tary for the consent *Whether the*
of the Church. They whiche say these thynges, must marke that Christ neuer *consent of the*
is commaunded: Every manne for hymselfe is wholly bounde vnto the lawe of *Church is to*
God, whether other consent or dissent. If the good man of a house haue ma- *be tarped for in*
ny seruantes, to whome he commaundeth to doo his woozke in the countrey, but *reforming of*
some of them, when their master is absent wil be idle, ought the rest therfoze to *religion.*
be idle, bycause some consent not to theyr common busines: Did Paul when he *Similitude.*
was called to preache Christ, tary for the consent of his other bzerthen, No vn-
doubtedly: but as he writteth vnto the Galathians, when it pleased God to
reuele vnto me his sonne, that I should preache hym amonge the Gentiles, I
dyd not straghtwaye aske counsell of fleshe and bloude, neyther went I vnto
the Apostles whiche were befoze me, but I went into Arabia. Wherefoze he ta-
ried not for the consent of other, but straightwaye obeyed his vocation. So al-
so ought we to doo: after that God hath opened vnto vs his truth, we muste
not tary. We muste in deede tary for the consent if the thyng be doubtfull and *Whf we must*
darke. But our cause is manifest and without all obscurenes, whiche if we will *tary for consent.*
omitte tyll consent be had, the thyng it selfe is lost, and good occasions taken *An acte of Cl-*
awaye. Tiberius woulde haue bzought Christe into the number of the goddes, *berius.*
but he thought to haue the consent of the Senate: but the Senate woulde not: and
by that meanes it came to passe, that whylest the consent was tarped for, Christ
coude not bee numbred amonge the goddes, wher as Tiberius was able to haue
bzought it to passe by himselfe. But I pray you let them tel vs: For whose consent
they will tary: For the Bishops consent: But they (no doubt) wil neuer consent:
for they are twozue enemyes vnto the truth.

But let vs retorne vnto the inferioz Magistrate, of whom we spake be-
foze. We must remember what God hath commaunded chylzen concernyng
theyr parentes: Honour thy father and thy mother. By whiche woozdes vn-
doubtedlye is also commaunded honour and obeysaunce towarde superioz
powers. For they haue the place of parentes towarde the inferioz Magistrates.
But let vs see what Christe hath pronounced as touchyng this matter. He
whiche loueth father (sayeth he) or mother moze then me, is not woozthy of me.
The same thyng without doubt muste we thynke of the Magistrate whiche is
the father of the countrey. We muste obeye hym, but yet not aboue the Lord.
Pea if he commaunde any thyng agaynst hym, he is both to be hated, and also to
be denyed. Neither is it lawfull for any manne to professe hymselfe to be a Chri-
stian, whiche will not departe from the superioz Magistrate in these thynges,
whiche are agaynst the woozde of God. Thys were to haue a wyll to serue
two Lordes, and to balte in two partes. If God be God, let vs follow hym:
and that not by halues, but wholly.

Cap. 19. A Commentary vpon the

In answer of Demades. But it is to be feared (saye they) least whilst we are agaynste the superiour power, we engender daunger to the publique wealth. To this will I answer contrary to that which Demades in the old tyme answered vnto the Athenienses, Cassander the Macedonian, which succeeded Alexander the greete, entreated with the Athenienses, to worshippinge Alexander for a G D D. They stayed at it, but Cassander, vnles they would consent, seemed that he would inuade them with battaile. Wherefore Demades spake thus vnto the people: That it was to be feared, least whilst they retayned heauen, they lost not earth. So doo I answer these menne, but chaunging the wordes: That it is to be feared, least whilst they to muche regarde and defende an earthely publique wealth, they lose heauen. For althoughe the superiour power doo sume and threaten, we must stande valiantly to a good cause. For we must worshippinge G D D holpely and godly, though all Magistrates and the whole worlde were agaynste vs. And therefore if that superiour power commaunde any thyng agaynste the lawe of God, it is not to be obeyed.

An example of Naboth. So dyd Naboth behaue hymself, he would not graunt vnto Achab hys bynegarde which was his inheritaunce. Neither had he in that thing a respect vnto any thing elles, then that the lawe of G D D should remayne vnbroken, wherein it was commaunded that the tribes and families of the Israelites as touching possessions should remayne distincte and separated. Wherefore by it, it was not lawfull for Naboth to alienate hys inheritaunce for ever. Yet a manne beinge farre endetted might haue solde his inheritaunce, till the yeare of Iubily. But after that yeare it returned vnto the olde possessor agayne. G D D would by this meanes, that the inheritaunces of the Israelites should not be confounded. Wherefore Naboth would not sell hys ancient inheritaunce, that the lawe of G D D should not be broken, whome Magistrates also ought to followe, and not to geue place in theyr Cities and Dominions vnto moke vnpure Passes and Papistlicall Idolatrye. The Jewes, when they were oppressed vnder the Mecedonians, chused to suffer any thyng, rather then that the Image of Iupiter Olympicus should abyde in the Temple of G D D. And when the Romanes bare rule ouer them, howe greate sedition and tumult stirred they vp, rather then they would suffer the Siluer Eagle, or the Image of Caligula to be set vp in the holy place. Yea & Valentinian the Emperour beinge an Arrian (as both Eusebius writeth and also Ambrose in hys Epistles) would haue had the Church of Millan deliuered vnto him, there with hys heretikes to haue celebrated prayers and holy seruices. But Ambrose would not geue place, but rather abode daye and nyght in the Temple together with the people, that the Emperour should not fynd it empty and so possesse it. If the Hebryues would not haue the Temple of G D D polluted with Idoles, and Ambrose suffered not the Church to be contaminated by heretikes, why doo saythfull Magistrates permitte theyr Temples to Idolaters, and vnpure worshippinges of Papistes?

Ambrose.

They saye that these thynges pertaine not vnto them, and that these Temples are not in theyr power. What then? If murder should be committed in those Temples, or any should there conspire agaynste the publique wealth, would they leaue murderers and conspirators unpunished there? And would they saye these wycked crimes pertaine nothinge vnto them? Would they willingly & wittingly suffer these thyngs? I thinke not, if they were wise, & if they would keepe and defend the publique wealth. If a man should obiect vnto them, this Temple is not yours, neither maketh it any matter vnto you what is here done: yea but they would then answer, for as muche as it is in our City, in that it sufficiently pertaineth vnto vs. But wicked actes, farre moze grievous then murders and conspiracies, are there committed, Idolatrye I say, sacrilege,

and blasphemye. And shall a Magistrate whiche will be called a Christian, thinke that these thynges pertayne not vnto hym? But, say they, the superior power hath commaunded these thynges to be done. To this I haue already largely answered. Nowe this thyng I will adde, if the same power shoulde go aboute to destroye the Citty, or to take awaye or diminish the priuiledges, they woulde neuer suffer that, they woulde rather runne to weapons: but these thynges whiche are farre moze grievous and cruell, are openly and manifestly done and suffered. And whiche is muche moze grievous of all, those thynges are there suffered, where many yeares the Gospell of Christe hath bene receaued.

Nowe resteth (bycause oftentimes the Magistrate excuseth hymselfe, saying y^e Ecclesiastical causes pertayne not vnto him) to declare y^e to be untrue. Although it be sufficiently declared by those things which I haue already spoken, yet for y^e moze easie vnderstandyng I thinke it good to adde those thynges. First I say y^e Magistrate is the keper of the law of God, which conteyneth not onely the latter table, but also the first. Wherefore y^e Magistrate is a keper as well of the one, as of the other. I adde that also whiche Augustine sayth, that not onely priuate men, but also kynges ought to serue the Lorde. For in the Psalme it is written: In gathering together peoples into one, and kynges to serue the Lorde. And in another place. And nowe O kynges vnderstand, be wise ye that iudge the earth. Serue the Lord in feare, &c. A priuate man (sayth Augustine) serueth the Lorde if he confesse his name, and lyue by sightly. But this is not sufficient for a kyng and Magistrate. For he by his authority and power ought so to serue the Lorde, that he must punish those that are agaynst hym: whiche thyng vnto he doo, he seemeth to assent vnto blasphemers and heretikes. For the king, when he seeth these menne, and suffereth them, is as much in faulte, as if he shoulde ioyne hymselfe with them, and mainteyne theyr wicked actes. Nebuchad-Nezar as soone as euer he knewe G O D, made a decree that whosoever spake blasphemye agaynst the G O D of Daniel, shoulde dye. The lyke decree made Darius afterwards. Wherefore our Magistrates also ought bitterly to take awaye all Idolatryes, blasphemyes, and superstitions, as soone as euer they find them out.

The Ethnike princes neuer thought that the care ouer Religion pertayned not vnto their power. Why was Socrates condemned at Athens? I do not now demaunde how holily or iustly: (for as all men in a manner beleue, Anitus and Melitus lyed agaynst hym) this I speake, for that he was for no other cause condemned, but onely for religion, as though he taught newe gods, and led away the youth from the olde, and receaued woorthyping of the gods: and he was by a prophane Magistrate condemned. Wherefore the Athenienses thought that the obseruance and care of religion pertayned vnto their Magistrate. The law of God commaunded that the blasphemer shoulde be put to death, not I thinke by euery priuate man, or by the Priestes, but by the Magistrates. The Ethnike Emperors also in those first tymes did for no other cause rage agaynst the Christians, but bycause they thought that matters of religion pertayned vnto their iudgement seat. And assuredly as touching this opinion, they wer not deceaued: for none (as Chrysostome sayth) either Apostle or Prophet reproveth the people, either Jewes or Ethnikes, bycause they had a care ouer Religion, but they were deceaued in the knowledge of Religion: bycause they defended theyr owne religion as true, and condemned the Christian religion, as vngodly and blasphemous.

Constantine and Theodosius are praysed, and very many other holy princes, bycause they tooke awaye Idoles, and either closed vp, or elles ouerthrew theyr Temples. But they dyd not these thynges, but for that they thought that the charge of Religion pertayned vnto them: otherwise they shoulde haue bene busy fellowes, and shoulde haue put theyr sicke into an other mannes hand. The Donatistes tooke this in very ill parte, and grievously complayned

Augustine.

Howe kynges ought peculiarly to serue the Lorde.

The Ethnike princes had a regard vnto religion.

Socrates was for religion sake condemned of a prophane Magistrate.

Chrysostome.

Cap. 19. A Commentarie vpon the

Augustine.

thereof in Augustines tyme, bycause the Catholique Bishoppes required ayde of the Ciuile Magistrate agaynst them. But Augustine confuteth them with the selfe same argumentes, whiche I haue a litle before rehearsed, and addeth this mozeouer: Why did ye accuse Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage before Constantine, if it be wicked for the Emperour to determine concerning Religion.

Constantine decideth a matter of religion.

Farther, there is gathered by those thynges whiche the same father wrote agaynst Petilianus, and agaynst Parmenianus, and also in many other his Epistles, howe that the Donatistes accused Cecilianus (as it is sayde) before Constantine the Emperour, who first sent the cause to Melchiades Bishop of Rome. And when by hym they were overcome, they appealed agayne vnto the Emperour, neyther reiected he their appealation from him, but committed the matter vnto the Bishop of Orleance: by whom they were agayne condemned. Neither rested they so, but again appealed vnto the Emperour, who heard the, decided their cause, condemned them, and by his sentence absolved Cecilianus. Where are they now whiche so often and so impudently cry, that there is no appealing from the Pope, and that the causes of Religion pertayne not vnto the ciuile Magistrate?

Counsels were called by Emperours.

To whom in the olde tyme pertayned the ryght of calling generall counsels? Pertayned it not vnto the Emperours? As for the counsell of Nice, the counsell of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedonia, Emperours called them. Leo. 1. of his name, prayed the Emperour to call a counsell in Italy, bycause he suspected the Gretians of the error of Eutiches: yet could he not obteyne it, and the Bishops were called together to Chalcedonia, where at the Emperour also was present, as was Constantine at the counsell of Nice. Neither doo I thinke they were there present, to sitte idle and to do nothing, but rather to put forth vnto the Bishops what they should doo, and to urge them to define rightly. Theodoretus telleth, that Constantine admonished the fathers to determine all thinges by the scriptures of the Euangelistes, Apostles, Prophetes, and Canonickall scriptures. Iustinian also in the Code, wrote many Ecclesiasticall lawes of Bishoppes and Priestes, and other such lyke. Irea and Augustine hath taught, that the Magistrate ought after the same manner to punish Idolaters & heretikes, as he punisheth adulterers, for as much as they committe whozedome against God in mynde: which is much moze heynous then to committe whozedome in body. And looke by what lawe murtherers are put to death, by the same also Idolaters and heretikes ought to be punished, for that by them are killed not the bodies, but the soules: although the common people be stirred by onely agaynst homicides, bycause they see the blood of the bodies killed, but see not the death of the soules. Undoubtedly it is profitable for the Magistrate to take vpon hym this care, and by his authoritie to compell menne to come to holy sermons, and to heare the worde of God: for by that meanes it cometh to passe, that by often hearyng those thynges, begyn to please, whiche before displeased. As Hystories teach, that God hath oftentimes with most noble victories illustrate godly prynces, which haue had a care vnto these thinges.

God hath prospered princes whiche had a care vnto Religion.

Farther, it can not be denied, but that it is the dewty of the Magistrates to defend those Cities and publique wealthes ouer whiche they are gouerners, and to prouide that no hurt happen vnto them: wherfore for asmuch as Idolatry is the cause of captiuitie, pestilence, famine, & ouerthrowing of publique wealthes, shal it not pertaine vnto the Magistrate to repress it, and to kepe the true sound religion? Lastly Paul teacheth fathers to instruct their children in discipline, & in the feare of God: but a good Magistrate is a father of the countrey, wherfore by the rule of the Apostle he ought to prouide that subiectes be instructed as common children. But kynges and prynces, whiche say that these thynges pertayne not vnto the, do in the meane tyme let, geue, and sell Bishoprikes, Abbacies and benefices, to who they thinke good, neither thinke they that to be none of their offices:

the: onely religion they thinke they haue nothing to doo with, and they neglect to prouide that they, whom they exalte to most ample dignities, should execute thei office rightly. Wherefore this thyng onely remaineth for them, euen that **G D** hymselfe at the length will looke vpon these thynges, and with most grieuous punishment take vengeance of their negligence. These thynges haue I spokē the more at large by occasion of our hystory, which maketh mention twise of this that euilles happened in Israel, because they had not a kyng or lawfull Magistrate.

The .xx. Chapter.



I When all the children of Israel went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan euen to Beerseba, and from the lande of Gilead, vnto the Lord in Mizpa.

2 And the corners of all the people, and all the tribes of Israel, assembled in the Church of the people of God, foure hundred thousand footemen that drew sword.

3 And the children of Benjamin heard that the children of Israel were gone vnto Mizpa. Then the children of Israel sayde: Howe is this wickednes committed?

4 And the man the Leuite, the womans husband that was slayne, answered and sayde: I came vnto Gibeon whiche is in Benjamin, with my concubine to lodge.

5 And the men of Gibeon arose agaynst me, and beset the house round aboute vpon me by nyght, thynking to haue slayne mee. And haue forced my concubine that she is dead.

6 Then I tooke my concubine, and cut her in pieces, and sent her thorough out all the countrey of the inheritance of Israel. For they haue committed abomination and vilany in Israel.

7 Beholde all ye children of Israel, geue your aduise and Counsell herein.

The congregation of the Israelites was assembled together to iudge of the crime. This Hebrew word Edah signifieth a Church or an assembly, being deriued of this verbe Adah, whiche is to testify: because that it is the vse and ende of such assemblies, that the godly should faithfully testify before God of those thynges whiche are put forth to be consulted of.

From Dan euen vnto Beerseba. In this kinde of Paraphrasis is comprehended the whole people of Israel. For these are the endes of that kyngdome: Dan is the ende toward the North, wherby the Iewes are neighbours vnto the Zidonians, and Beerseba toward the South.

Euen vnto Gilead. That land is beyond Iordane, where the two tribes Ruben and Gad together, with halfe the tribe of Manasses dwelled. This was the third end toward the East. And ouer agaynst that toward the West lay the sea called mare Mediterraneum. Within these termes and lymites was conteyned the region of the Hebrewes, whiche they possessed in the land of Chanaan.

They came into Mizpa vnto the LORDE. Mizpa was a place most apte to haue assemblies in, it was not farre frome Ierusalem in the Tribe of Iudah. In the fyfthe booke of the Machabites the thyrde Chapter,

it is thus written: When the people by reason of þe tyranny of the Macedonians fled out of Ierusalem; they assembled together in Mizpa vnto Iudas Machabeus. And it is added that þe place was a house of prayer of auncient tyme, & laye situate ouer agaynst the City of Ierusalem. And in this booke we haue befoze heard, how that when Iiphtah should be ordeyned Judge over the people, the people assembled together in Mizpa. In Samuels tyme also þe people assembled together thise vnto that place: once when they should leade an army agaynst the Philistines, & an other tyme when Saul should be created kyng. Farther, when all the Citye was ouerthowen by Nebuchad-Nezar, all the people fled to Godolia in Mizpa. Moreover besides the opportunity of the place, was added a notable benefite of God: by cause, as we rede in the 10. chapter of Iosuah, there assembled thether agaynst the people of Israel a very great nuber of kynges, for there were not stue or fire, but very many kinges which were neyghbours, entending bitterly to destroye the name of the Iewes. Yet God commaunded them to be of a good & valiant courage, by cause he would geue vnto his people the victorie ouer them all. And when that thyng happened, contrary to all mans hope, the Iebzues for a monument of so great a benefite, built in that place an alter vnto God. Wherefore it is probable (as the Rabbines affirme) that in Mizpa began to bee a house of prayer. For the people went not to the tabernacle or to Ierusalem, so often as they had occasion to pray, but had in Cityes and Villages certayne Synagoges, wherein they prayed together vnto God. But to doo sacrifices it was not after that manner lawfull but onely at the tabernacle of Moses, or at Ierusalem, after Salomon had built the Temple: althoughe byghe places were sometymes vsed. Wherefore the people assembled thether as well for the opportunity of the place, as also by reason of the auncient Religion: neither thought they it lawfull to begyn any thyng without prayers. Whiche institution, for that the Papistes woulde somewhat resemble, they firste prouide to haue a Masse of the holy Ghost, longe befoze they make any leagues, or rather conspiracies agaynst Christe.

Every Citye
had Synago-
ges.

D. Kimhi.

It is sayde that they assembled together vnto the Lorde, to praye together vnto the Lorde. Although David Kimhi thinketh that this was added: by cause wheresoener is a multitude of the godly, there is God also present. And to confirme that sentence, he bringeth a place put of the Psalme: God stode in the Synagoge of Goddes. For Judges whiche in thys place are called Goddes, when they geue iudgement, ought not to thinke that they haue theyr owne cause in hande, but Goddes cause, as Iosaphat the godly kyng shewed them. I doo not disallowe this sentence: for it is both godly, and also it maketh menne to vnderstande, that when assemblies are godly had, then doo menne assemble vnto God: whiche thyng if menne in these dayes woulde consider, greate menne woulde handle publique causes with moze feare of God. Notwith this is for certayne that the Israelites assembled not in Silo, as some thinke.

And the corners of all the people assembled. The Iebzewe woode is Penoth, whiche properly signifyeth corners: but in this place it is taken for Capitaines, heades ouer ten, Centurions, Tribunes, and gouernours of warlike affaires. For they after a sort are corners, strengthes and stayes of an army. Wherefore the villages of the Holuetians in the Italian toungue are called Cantones. Wherefore the Iebzues come and assemble in Mizpa, not rashly, but in their orders. They had not in deede a kyng, or myghty Magistrates, or Senadrim, as it is thought, for they wer soze decayed and weakened by the Philistines. Yet they retayned among themselves some order and discipline.

Four hundred thousande footemen. When they went out of Epypte, they were 666000. men. It seemeth that the number was nowe diminished. And no meruaile, by cause they had ben afflicted with many & greuous calamities. Also the

The number of
the Israelites
diminisheth.

the tribe of Benjamin was away, which peradventure had thirtie thousande soldiers. For that tribe was both ample and also mighty.

And the chyldren of Benjamin heard. The Beniamites would not be present, they onely heard what should be done. Kimhi admonisheth that these wordes are put in by a parenthesis: for there is no cause shewed why they would be among them. *David Kimhi*

And the children of Israel sayd: Tel how this wycked act was committed. Kimhi thinketh that these things are to be red in þ vocative case, as though it should haue bene sayd: O ye chyldren of Israel, declare the whole matter in order as it was done: in the meane time it seemeth that the Beniamites are noted, bycause they would not come vnto the assembly, neyther take away euill from among them. The people assembled together to vnderstand the cause, that for as much as ther was no Magistrate, the people might publikey geue iudgement of so heinous a wycked crime.

The Leuite answered. This is in deede a shortt accusacion, but yet it comprehendeth al. In the meane time, this is to be noted, that this Leuite is called the husband of the womā that was slaine, which yet is called his Concubine. *It is proued that Concubines were wines* Ther by is proued the sentence which we haue befoze affirmed, namelye that lawfull wyues also are called Concubines.

They entended to kyl me. He speaketh modestly and shamefastly, and declareth the wycked act of the Gabaonites. Leui ben Gerson saith, that he so spake, because he was ready to dye, rather then he would suffer so great a villany.

Behold al ye chyldren of Israel. When hee had finished his tale, he byddeth them to take counsell, what was to be done in this matter. Then followeth the deliberation.

8 Then al the people arose as one man, saying: There shall not a man of vs go to his tent, neyther shal any turne into hys house.

9 But now thys is the thyng whych we wil doo to Gibeā, against it by lot.

10 And we wyl take ten men of the hundzeth throughe out all the tribes of Israel, and an hundzeth of the thousand, and a thousande of ten thousand, to byng vittayle vnto the people, that they maye doo (when they come to Gibeā of Benjamin) accoꝝding vnto all the villany, that it hath done in Israel.

11 So all the men of Israel were gathered agaynst the City, knit together as one man.

12 And the tribes of Israel sent men throughe all the Tribe of the chyldren of Benjamin, saying: What wyckednesse is thys that is committed among you?

13 Now therefore deliuer vs those wycked men which are in Gibeā, that we may slay them, and take away euill from Israel. But the chyldren of Benjamin woulde not obey the voyce of theyꝝ brethren the chyldren of Israel.

They al euen to one determined, that so great a villany should be auenged, if the Beniamites would not punish the guilty, as it was meete they should. The summe is: They wil not suffer the wicked act to escape unpunished. But howe these thinges mought be rightly and orderly done and ordered, was first to be considered. For there was a great number of men, namelye. 4. hundzeth thousand. Therfoze out of that number they chused some to byng vittayles: & other some to assaile the enemies. But befoze all thinges, they sent a message vnto the Beniamites, that if they would deliuer the wicked men, they would cease

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from warre. But some man wil say, was it sufficient to deliberate to fight, and onely to heare the accusacion of the Leuite? Un doubtedlye it seemeth that hee ought to haue proued that fact, both by reasons, and also by witnesses. But it is probable, y he had his seruant to witnes, which was present when those things were done, and peradventure that old man, to whom he had turned in. For it is to be thought that he was departed from the Gabaonites, so; as much as he could not abide their wickednes. But howsoeuer the matter was, the people before they go to hand strokes, decreed to send messengers vnto the Beniamites, that by them they might excuse their fact, and defende them selues. And by that meanes the other part, namely the guilty, was heard.

What witness
was the Leuite
mought haue.

In the meane time they chuse those by lots which shoulde be appointed to certayne offices. This was the peoples doing; and therfore it was done by choise, that they might know, who should cary vittailles vnto the campe, & who shoulde fight. And to cast lot seemeth to be the most meetest way for the state of the people; for the people loueth equality of lawes, and equability, which seemeth then to be chiefest, when choise is permitted vnto lots.

To cast lots at
most apt for the
popular state.

Wherfore wher as the people govern, Magistrates are oftentimes chosen by lots. So is it also in hostes, y whē soldours wil, they doo many thinges betwene themselves by lots. This therfore was the maner therof, that the tenth man of the whole people shoulde bee had, so that one of ten shoulde by lot be taken, ten of a hundred, one hundred of a thousand, and a thousand also of ten thousand. This seemeth to be a very profitable and commodious way. For now oftentimes in hostes a man shal see more rascals and bitlers, then soldours. But by this meanes or decree, one tended vpon nine soldours, and ten vpon ninetie. And their charge was to prouide vittailles, bicause they knew not how long that expedition shoulde endure. So in

Titus Livius. Titus Liuius Quintius Cincinnatus, being created Dictator in a perilous time of the publik wealth, and hauing a forney to make by night, straightway commanded, that the youth shoulde gather together stakes and make ready weapons: but the old men and such as were not apt for warre, shoulde dressē vittailles for the rest, as much as shoulde serue them for fyue daies. Here we see that the Dictator had his choise of them al. But among the Israelites ther was no Dictator: wherfore the matter was put to lots. In the booke of Iosua also in the first chapter, it is writtē that Iosua commanded the tribunes to gather an armie, and that al of them shoulde haue meate ready drest to their handes, when they shoulde passe ouer Iordane. For they wer ignorant what shoulde happen vnto them.

As it were one man. They were agreed together, and also of one mynde: and nothing is more profitable prosperously to make warre, then the con corde of soldours.

Warre whē it
is not proclay-
med, seemeth
theft.

How euil is ta-
ken away.

The tribes of Israel sent messengers. The Israelites do appoint nothing rashly or headlong. This reason was most iust, that before they made any inuasion by warre, they shoulde proclaime warre. For where that is not done, it may seme to bee rather theft, then warre. Farther, they woulde that if anye had beene innocent amonge them, they shoulde not haue wapped them selues together with those wicked men. Delyuer vnto vs (say they) those which haue committed so great wickednes. That al the people may punish them, if ye will not. And they bring forth the law of God: That euil may be taken away from among the people. By euil is vnderstand sinne and wickednes: that semeth to be taken away, when it is punished. But if it remayne unpunished, then remaineth that God wil take vengeance therof. Other do thus expound it: That we maye take away euil, that is, that we may turne away from Israel the calamities, whiche for that sinne seemed to hang ouer it. So Iesus in the Gospel healed al diseases and griefes in the people: when as yet he came not for diseases sake, but for sins. But diseases are inflicted bicause of synnes. Therfore seing he tooke awaye the cause, namely synne, he tooke away also the effectes of synne. They sent messengers,

gers, not onely to one famely of the tribe of Benjamin, but to all. Schebat in Hebrew is a tribe, but here it is taken for a famely. And in very dede tribes wer nothing els then famelles, coming of the Patriarches, namely the chyldren of Iacob. But the tribe of Benjamin had ten famelles, who toke their names of their first Parentes. And those ten famelles were so notable and abundant, that R. Selomoh saith, that Rachel after a soyt brought forth twelue tribes, that is, ther came out of Benjamin ten famelles, which myght bee likened vnto ten tribes: Farther, of Ioseph were bozne Ephraim and Manasses. Wherefore the Tribe of Benjamin was very populous and mighty. Whereby also it came to passe that they trusted to much in their own strength, and thought that they were able to resist al Israell. Wherefore they would neither deliuer the guiltie, nor yet punish them. For they thought it ignominious vnto them, if they should haue don either of them. They would not geue place to sound counsels, wherefore they could not deny, but that warre was iustlye made against them, which by honest meanes they might haue auoided. But the rest of the people are to bee praysed, because they with so great moderacion tooke in hande so great a matter. First, they would know the cause, then sende messengers, to require that the guiltie might be put to death: lastly they would assaye althinges, rather then they would make war against their brethren. On the contrarie syde, the Beniamites doo al thinges perverselye, they take no counsel, they neither deny nor excuse their act, they wyl not deliuer the guiltie, but prepare them selues to defende. And so for the wickednes of a few, they contaminate them selues all. And as Paul sayth to the Romanes, they do not onelye euill them selues, but also consent to them that doo euill. Neither could they excuse themselves by ignorance of the law, which they had so often heard. They acknowledge that the wycked act was most grienous, which yet they allow in defending the guiltie.

Benjamin had
ten famelles.
R. Selomoh.

A comparyson
betwene h people
and the Beniamites.

14 But the chyldren of Benjamin gathered them selues together out of the Cities into Gibeā, to go out and fyght agaynst the chyldren of Israell.

15 And the chyldren of Benjamin were numbred at that tyme. 26. thousand men that drew swoorde, besides the inhabiteurs of Gibeā, which were numbred. vi. hundzeth chosen men.

16 Of al this people there were. 7. hundzeth chosen men, that were shut in their ryght hande: all these coude sling stones at an heare breadth, and not fayle.

17 Also the men of Israell beside Benjamin, were numbred. 400. thousand men that drew swoord. All these wer men of warre.

18 And they arose vp, and went vp to Bethel, and asked of God, & the chyldren of Israell sayd: which of vs shal go vp firste to fyght agaynst the chyldren of Benjamin? And the Lord sayde: Iuda shal be first.

19 Then the chyldren of Israell rose vp earelye, and camped agaynst Gibeā.

20 The men of Israell I say went out to battaile agaynst Benjamin, and the men of Israell put them selues in aray, to fight against them besyde Gibeā.

21 And the chyldren of Benjamin came oute of Gibeā, and fletwe Downe to the ground of the Israelites that day. xxi. thousand me.

22 And the people the men of Israell plucked vp their hartes, and set their battaile agayne in aray, in the place where they put them in a ray the first day.

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23 And the children of Israel went vp, and asked the Lord saying: Shal I go agayne to battayle agaynst the chyldren of Benjamin my bzyethzen? And the Lord sayd: Go vp against them.

24 Then the chyldren of Israel came neare the chyldren of Benjamin the second day.

25 And the second day Benjamin came forth to meete them out of Gibeā, and slew downe to the grunde of the chyldren of Israel agayne. xlviii. thousand men. All they could handle the swoord.

The Beniamites assembled together to Gibeā, because they saw al the hyne of the battail bent thitherwarde. They tooke out the choyce of their soldours, wherein were not comprehended the inhabitants of Gibeā, which were in number sixe hundred men of warre, and men picked out. And it is added for a thyng wonderful, that there were of the Beniamites seven hundred, which had an impediment in their right handes, but used synghes, & leuened so nye, & they missed not euen an heare bzedyth. It is saide that they had their handes closed, because the synghes wer bound, neither could the spirites haue their movings frely. For which cause they were vnapt to draw swoordes. The latin translation hath ambidexteros, because they could vse both handes, as though either hand were the right hand. And they which excuse this translation, do say that they so used the least hand, as if they had had no right hand. I thinke rather that they were least handed. But in that it is added that they leueled so rightly, that they missed not a heare bzedyth, I thinke it be spoken by this figure Hyperbole, whereby their cunning and industry might the moze be commended.

In the Hebrew it is read that the Beniamites had. xlviii. thousande soldours. But in the latin interpretation are put onely. xlv. thousand, for this cause as I suppose, because in that last conflict wherein the Beniamites were overthowen, we reade onely of. xlv. thousand that were slaine. Wherefore if a man compare the first number with the latter, there are a thousand ouer, whom other thinke that when their host was discomfited, and thynges past all hope, they turned backe & fled into Europe. But Kimhi thinketh moze rightly, that they were myssing, when the Beniamites got the vpper hand in those two first conflicts. For it is not credible that they so overcame, that they lost none of their soldours. Wherefore if thou adde them vnto the. xlv. thousand, which fel in the third battail, then is the whole number of. xlviii. thousande explete. These thynges I knowe are of smal waight: which yet I thought good to note, because the Rabbines haue written many thynges of them, and the translations do differ.

When the soldours were chosen out, and al thynges set in an order, the Israelites send to Bethel, and aske counsel of God. The Arke of the Lord was at that time in Siloh, and from thence wer geuen answers. And Bethel in this place is not the name of a City, but is take for the house of God, and signifieth a place where the Arke of the covenant remained. Farther, Siloh was not farre from Gibeā, wherefore it was no hard matter for the Israelites to send thether to aske counsel of God. They asked the Lord, which tribe should haue the fyrst place in the battayle, for some one tribe must nedes be the first. Answer was made, that this should be geuen vnto the tribe of Iuda. That was of al the tribes most populous and noble, vnto which after ward came the kingdome. They enquired not who should be the captaine of the warre, but which tribe shoulde begyn the battaile first against the enemies.

They nothing doubt of the victory: neither demaund they any thyng concerning it. They saw that their quarrell was iust. They sawe also that they were moze in number and multitude, and that it would be easy to overcome so fewe: wherefore they pray not vnto God to geue them the victory, which was a grieuous

What hande is said to be closed

Least handed.

Hyperbole.

D. Kimhi.

Bethel is not alwaies the proper name of a place.

Why they doubted not of the victory. wherein the Israelites spinned.

uous synne, as R. Levi ben Gerson affirmeth. Wherefore God being offended, suffered them twise to fall before their enemies, and that wonderfullie. For God hateth nothing more then pride, and to much trust in our owne strengthes. He wil also haue men knowe, that victorie is both to be required, and also to be hoped for at his handes onely. But Kimhi sayeth, that other thinks that this is a great misfortune of warre happened, because of the idolatry of Micha the Israelite. As though God should in this maner haue dealt with them: We will auenge the iniury done vnto a man, being a Leuite, but ye neglect and wyncke at the contumely which I suffer at the Danites handes, who publikely worship Idoles. Either of these sentences is very likelie, althoughe neither of them is gathered out of the text. Howbeit this we may affirme, that there were some certain causes, whereby God was exceedingly provoked of the Israelites. But what those causes were, though we know not, it is no meruaile. For the counsels of God are hidden and obscure. Order at the length required this, that the Israelites should first auenge the contumely of God himself, and afterward of the Leuite. But this is sufficiently declared in the text, that they at those two first tymes came not vnto God earnestly enough. They came in deede: but they neither fasted, nor killed sacrifices, nor made any prayers, as far as the holy history declareth. But at the last, hauing already two ouerthrowes, all of them with a lowly and humble minde come vnto God, al pray together and fast. These thinges seeme sufficiently to declare, that they were not before in the house of the Lord in suche maner as they ought to haue bene. For if they had had true faith, they would haue before also proclaimed both common prayers, and also fasting. Mourning, fasting, and prayers are the effectes of faith and true repentaunce. These thinges for that they had not, it is probable that therefore they receaued so great losse at the first and second confliat. This thing also might bee a cause, for that they made warre to much securely and contemptuously, as they which oyd put their confidence in the number and strength of their owne men. Wherefore they contemned the enemy, then the which nothing is more vnprofitable to those that fight. For contempt of the enemies engendreth negligence in the hostes.

D. Kimhi.

What thynges the Israelites had omitted.

The contempt of enemies hurteth very much

26 Then all the children of Israel ascended, and all the people, and they came into the house of God, and wept, and abode there before the Lord. They fasted also that day vnto the evening, and offered burnt offerings, and peace offerings before the Lord.

27 And the children of Israel asked the Lord (for there was the Arke of the Lord in those dayes).

28 And Pinhas the sonne of Eleazar, the sonne of Aaron stood before it in those dayes) saying: Shall I yet go any more to battayle against the children of Benjamin my brethren, or shall I cease? The Lord answered: Go vp, for to morrow I will deliuer them into your hand.

29 And Israel set men to lye in wayte round about Gibeā.

30 And the children of Israel went vp against the children of Benjamin the thirde day, and put them selues in aray against Gibeā, as at other tymes.

31 Then the children of Benjamin comming out to meete the people, were drabwen from their City, and they beganne to smite and to kyl of the people as at other times, euen by the wayes (whereof one goeth vp to the house of God, and the other to Gibeā) in the fieldes, vpon a thirty men of Israel.

32 And the children of Benjamin sayd: They are fallen before vs as at

as at the first. But the children of Israel said: Let vs rise, and pluck them away from the city, euen to the high wayes.

33 And when al the men of Israel rose vp oute of their place, and put them selues in aray in Baal-Thamar: in the meane while, the men of Israel that lay in wayte, came forth of their place, euen out of the medowes of Gibeā.

34 And they came ouer agaynst Gibeā, ten thousande chosen men of all Israel, and the battayle was sore: for they knewe not that the euill was neare them.

35 And the Lord smote Benjamin befoze Israel, and the chyldren of Israel destroyed of the Beniamites the same day. xxv. thousand and one hundred men. All they coude handle the sword.

36 So the chyldren of Benjamin saw that they wer smitten down, for the chyldren of Israel gaue place vnto the Beniamites, bycause they trusted to the men that lay in wayte, whych they had layde besydes Gibeā.

37 And they that lay in wayte hasted, and brake forth toward Gibeā, and the embushment drew themselves along, and smote al the City woth the edge of the sword.

38 Also the men of Israel had appointed a certayne tyme with the embushmentes, that with great speede they shoulde make a great flame and smoke ryse out of the City.

39 And the men of Israel retired in the battayle, and Benjamin began to smyte and kyll the men of Israel, about. xxx. persons, for they sayd: Surely they are striken downe befoze vs, as in the fyrste battayle.

40 But when the flame began to aryse out of the City, as a pyller of smoke, the Beniamites looked backe, and beholde, the flame of the City began to ascend vp to heauen.

41 Then the men of Israel turned agayne, and the chyldren of Benjamin were astoynd, for they saw their destruction at hand.

42 Therefore they fled befoze the men of Israel vnto the waye of the wyldernes, but the battayle oertooke them, also they whych came out of the Cities, slew them among them.

43 Thus they compassed the Beniamites about, and chaled them at ease, and ouerran them, eue ouer agaynst Gibeā on the East side.

44 And there fel of Benjamin. xviii. thousand men, which were all men of warre.

45 And they turned and fled vnto the wyldernes, vnto the rocke Rimmon, and the Israelites glayned of them by the way. v. thousand men, and purloed after them vnto Gideon, & slew two thousand men of them.

46 So that al that were slayne that day of the Beniamites were 25 thousand men that drew sword, which were all men of warre.

47 But. vi. hundred men turned and fled to the wyldernes, vnto the rocke of Rimmon, and abode in the rocke Rimmon. 4. monethes.

48 Then the men of Israel returned vnto the chyldren of Benjamin, and smote them with the edge of the sword, from the men of the

the City vnto the beastes, and al that came to hand, also they set on fyre all the Cities that they could come by.

After that the children of Israel had had the ouerthrowe, they went by vnto the house of God, and wept there. And assuredly somewhat they dyd that belongeth vnto pietie, but yet not so muche as they ought: for they fasted not, neither offered they Sacrifices, whiche are tokens of a full sayth and conuersion. Howbeit the Lorde byddeth them to ascende, because he woulde not feare them away from the battaile, which they had in a iust cause taken in hande. He dyd not straghtway geue the victorie, but still permitted them to be afflicted of their euempes, whereby they might vnderstande their faultes, and moze earnestly beseege pardon. Where perished againe. xliii. thousand of them, after which slaughter it is sayde that they came all of them humbly vnto God. Where they wept, not counterfeytely or lightely, but bytterly and earnestly, and that all the whole daye. They fasted, they offered burnt offerynges and peace offeringes. Burnt offeringes were they which were all whole burnt, but of peace offeringes a certayne part was offered, an other part was geuen vnto the Priest, and an other part returned vnto him whych offered it, to eate it with his frendes in the sight of the Lorde. The Hebzees being now oppressed with troubles, doo not onely pray vnto God, and bewaile their synnes, but also fast, and after fasting institute a communion among themselves. In that it is said that the Arke of the Lorde was there, we must vnderstande that of Siloh: for there it continually abode. It is said that the priest stood before the Lorde: and that is nothing els, then that he exercised the holy ministry.

Why God had the ascende whē they shoulde be ouerthrowen.

They asked: Shal we ascende, or shal we cease? This is a moze ful interrogaciō then the first was: for at the first time they onely demaunded, which tribe should first assaile the enemies. At the second time, whither God wold that they should ascende against their enemies. But now they demaund whither they shal go by, or whither they shal cease: As though they vtterly referred the matter vnto the will of God. God answereth them moze gently & saith: Go vp, to morow I wil deliuer them into thine hand. The thinges that are now done and set forth, serue to our comoditie. We ought to attempt nothing, whereof we are not before certain, whither it be iust or vniust. For the true knowledge wherof, we must seeke for the answer of God out of the holy scriptures. The Israelites wold not wray the innocents with the gilt, & therfore they sent messengers at the beginning, which thing at this day is not obserued in making of wars. Our Capitains and Emperours do althinges without respect, & do no les rage against children, olde men, maydens, and widowes, then against those which haue chiefly offended. The Beniamites are woorthely to be condemned, because they defended an vniust cause, & thought that it would be ignominious vnto the, if they should deliuer any of theirs to be punished, which thing we see happeneth very often tymes in these dayes. For maisters defend their seruantes, they care not by what right or wrong. For if their seruant, although he be gilt, be cast into prison, they thinke that thereby cometh a great ignominy vnto themselves, their famely, and to their court. But they ought to haue iustice before their eyes, & not to haue a regard to any thing els, then that the lawes should be kept. The Beniamites did put their confidences in their own strength, & the Israelites in their great number, and also in the iustnes of their cause. But both of them sinned, for confidence is not to be put either in the strength of soldours, or in the number, or in the iustnesse of the cause, but onely in the mercy of God.

This is a moze ful interrogaciō on then the first were.

Although the cause be good, yet doth not the thing alwaies succede prosperously. The Beniamites in a most wicked cause got the victorie the first time, the second tyme, yea and the thirde tyme, yet at the last they suffered punishment, and were ouerthrowen and slayne. For God, howsoeuer he do for a time winke

Do. 1.

at the

at the wicked actes of men, yet he suffereth them not alwayes to escape unpunished. For the vngodly, as the holy prophetes admonish vs, sleepe for a shorte time: but if thou a litle while passe by and returne, he shall be no where. That the Israelites were so often overcome, it was the worke & counsel of God, not because he would help the wicked men, but to allure his to true & iust repentance.

Why god would haue the Israelites overcome.

Three things required in the thing that we take in hand.

We may also hereby learne, that in all matters that wee take in hande, three things are chiefly to be required: first that the cause be iust which we will defend. Farther, that we put not the abillity of performing the same in our owne strength, but in God: lastly, that we put to our endeuor & diligence. Otherwise to despise the meanes, whereby we may attain to our purpose, is nothing els the to tempt God. It is not inough to say: I haue a good cause, I will commit y^e residue vnto god. We must also stretch out our strengthes, & ad to our diligence: Wherefore we may not put our affiance in any cause, although it be neuer so iust.

There is great difference betwene, to haue a good cause, & to haue an euill.

The successe maketh not the cause either good or euill.

Some man will say: what difference then is there betwene a iust cause, and an vniust? Much undoubtedly. For in an vniust cause thou canst not cal vpon God, or trust that he wil be an helper vnto thee. For an vniust cause is vnder y^e curse of God, and to cal vpon God to helpe, it is euen like as if I should desire help of a man, to fight against my selfe. But if the cause be good, euery man maye put his confidence in God, & cal vpon him, but yet not in such maner to put hope in the equity of the cause, but that thou mayest hope, that God for his mercies sake will bee an ayde vnto thee. If the successe bee euill, the cause is not therefore straightwaie euill. Neyther if the successe bee good, is the cause therefore straightwaie good. Nebuchad-Nezar destroyed Ieruzyme, and ledde alwaye the nations that were adioyning captiues into Babilon, and yet was not his cause therefore good. Gods cause in deede was iust: for hee woulde by that meanes take vengeance of a rebellious people. But Nebuchad-Nezar thought nothing els but to exercise his tyranny. Ioseph, because he would auoide adoultery, was cast into prison, and yet was not his cause therefore euery a whyt the worse. Dauid was sieged of Absolon, and yet was not Absolons cause therefore anye whyt the better. In our time Princes that are Protestantes haue had y^e succes in war, and yet is therfore not the cause of the Gospel to be thought the worse. The Beniamites now got the victorie moze then once or twise, in a cause most wicked. The holy Partirs in our times are most miserably slayne of Tyrannes, and that with most cruel kinds of torments, and yet we nothing doubt but that their cause is most excellent. England had of late, as touching the word of God and truth, a Church most rightly instituted, which was afterwarde miserablye disiected and seperated: neither followed it thereby that the cause of religion was euill. But now thanks be geuen vnto God which hath restored it.

From the cause to the effectes is a firme argument, wher the effect followeth of necessity the cause.

There may in deede be drawn an argument of the euentes, but not of necessity, yea scarce probable. For the passage from the effectes to the cause, is not firme, vnlesse the effectes and causes be necessary. Wherefore this argument is of no force: The Israelites haue a good cause, therfore they shall not fall in battayle: for it may be, that God wil illustrate his glory, yea euen with the slaughter of them. And this argument also is no stronger then that: The Beniamites overcame, wherefore they had the better cause. These things I haue spoken the moze at large, to the end we should not wauer in mynde, or doubt of the goodness of our cause, if peraduenture the thinges go not prosperously wyth vs.

The godli wher they haue receaued the ouerthrow, see vnto God.

The vngodlye gaue not thanks vnto God for the victorie.

Farther, in this place is to bee noted the nature of godlye men: when they haue receaued the ouerthrow, they see vnto God. But the vngodly, euen when they get the victorie, doo not geue thanks vnto God, as now we rede not that the Beniamites gaue thanks vnto God for their good successe, we haue heard of none of their prayers, nor of any confidence they put in God: yea rather there arose so great security and insolencye of some of their successe, that they brake out of the Citie, and pursued the enemies, farther then was meete or conuenient,

nient. But at the last they receaved the iust fruite of their pride. Contrariwise the Israelites being afflicted with miseries, got themselves unto God. Unto whom god answered, y he would the next day deliuer the Beniamites into their hands.

In the two first interrogacions, the Israelites seemed to doubt nothing of the victorie: because they had yet a confidence in their own strengthes and number, but after the second overthrowe, they shewed in verie deepe a lowlye and humble mynde. Shal we go vp (say they) or shal we cease? As though they shoulde haue said: O Lord Ichouah, al the victorie lieth in thine hand, therfore we wholly comitt our selues to thy mercy: shew thou vnto vs, what we ought to do. If thou commaunde vs, we are ready to leaue of from our enterpryse. This is a perfect interrogacion, after the opinion of Levi ben Gerson. Kimhi hath noted manye thinges in this place, not a litle profitable for the vnderstanding of other scriptures, concerning interrogacions and oracles. This saith he, was the maner of asking of God. He which would enquire concerning anye publike affaire, or otherwise of anye waigthy matter, came vnto the priest, and he putting on an Ephod, stood before the Arke of the Lord. In the Ephod, or in the best plate were twelue pzeious stones, wherin were witten the names of the twelue tribes, and ther were also set the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, & in those stones were al the letters of the Alphabete. The asker ought to turne his face vnto the priest, and to aske, not in deepe so apertely that his voice shoulde be hearde, neyther yet so softly, that he shoulde onely thinke in minde the thinges whych he desired, but in such sorte, as we reade that Hanna prayed in the firste booke of Samuel, wher it is sayd that she moued her lips onely, neither spake she any thing that could be heard. Then was the oracle in this maner geuen vnto the Priest. By the power of the holy ghost certaine letters appeared aboue the other in the best plate, and that either in place or in brightnes, wherin the Priest red the oracle and wil of God. And these thinges are those Vrim and Thumim, which the Priest bare in his best plate. This is Kimhis opinion. Vnto whom, what saith is to be geuen, I cannot tel. For it might be, that the spirit of god did wout letters geue oracles by the voice of the high Priest, whose hart he inspired w prophecy.

Levi ben Gerson.
David Kimhi

The maner of asking of God.

This Pinhas which is witten to haue stand now before the Lord, is not called by his proper name onely, but also by the names of his father and grandfather, are added withal, that is, the names of Eleazar and Aaron: which is don so much the moze diligently, because no man otherwise would beleue that he could haue lyued so long. Therfore the Readers woulde haue thought that thys had bene some other, rather then the sonne of Eleazar. For if thou wilt count the yeares, thou shalt finde that ther wer no les then. 300. yeres passed, from the time of that noble act of Pinhas, vnto this age wherof we now speake. Therfore it mought seme incredible that it shoulde be the same man. Howbeit for as much as the holy scriptures do testify this thing, we ought so to beleue. Neither vndoubtedly is it any maruaile, though God prolonged his life so long. For when he had slaine the barlot of Midian, and the Prince of the Tribe of Simeon, euen in that their wicked act, God iudged that he had employed his labour excellently well, & that he had done a most notable act. Therfore my covenant (said he) shal be with him life and peace. By which wordes was promised vnto him long life & honozable, which he shoulde execute in his priesthood. Ther are some which produce his life farther, and say that he was Elias. But that hath no groundes of the holye scriptures. Yea rather some thinke that Elias came of the tribe of Benjamin, and not of the tribe of Levi, wherof Pinhas came.

Pinhas,

Pinhas lyued long.

Of what tribe Elias was.

Of Merites.

VVhere as it is said that the Israelites went vp, wept, fasted, & did sacrifice, we must not think that by those actions they satisfied the anger of god: for we haue no merites, for as much as we cannot perfectly obey the law of God.

Against merites

Do. ii.

Farther,

Cap. 20. A Commentarie vpon the

Farther, if there were any merites of ours, they should consist of such woorkes which we are not of duty bound to do vnto God: otherwise if we owe vnto God whatsoeuer we do, what thing can our merite then be? But both we our selues and al ours, doinges I say, sayinges, thoughtes, and counsels are due vnto god. Wherefore our merites do utterly perish. Forouer those woorkes whereby we should merite, ought to be of our selues: which cannot be affirmed, for as muche as it is god which woorketh in vs both to wil & to performe, & that not as we wil, but according to his good wil. Wherefore Augustine was accustomed very wel to say, y God which crowne his giftes in vs. And in his. 100. Epistle ad Sixtū Presbiterum, Paul (saith he) when he had sayd: The rewarde of synne is death, dyd not straightway adde contrarily: The rewarde of righteousness is euertlasting lyfe. But Grace sayth he, is eternal life, for that is not rendred to our merites, but is geuen freely. He might in deede haue wyrtten after the same manner if he would. For the holye Scripture sometimes so speaketh. But for that he was a defender of grace, hee would not geue occasion vnto his enemyes to impugne it. Farther, our woorkes, how holpe so euer they appeare, are neuer thelesse vnpure and imperfect. Wherefore they are woorthye rather of punishment, then that they should deserue any good. And wythout doubt they should be punished, were not the redemption and iustification whiche wee haue by Christ our Lorde.

Augustine.

There ought also to be some analogy or proportion betwene merites and rewardes, whereof there is none betwene our woorkes and eternall lyfe. For as Paul saith: The sufferinges of this time, are not woorthye of the glozy to come, which shalbe reuealed in vs. This is to be added, that in the holye scriptures is no where found the name of merite. Some in deede are wont to bring the. xvi. chap. of Ecclesiasticus, and there they say it is wyrtten: All mercy shal make place vnto euery one, according to the merites of his woorkes. But they which obiect this thing, let him looke vpon the Greeke text, wherein it is thus wyrtten: *πᾶσι ἐλεημοσύνη τόπον ποιήσει, πᾶσι κατὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὑμνήσια*, which is in latine: Deus omni misericordiz faciet locum, & quisq; iuxta opera sua inueniet. Which in englyshe signifieth: God wil make place vnto al mercy, and euery man shall finde according vnto his woorkes. But in these woordes there is no mencion made of merite, onely this is wyrtten, that whose woorkes are good, they shall be in good case, but yet their woorkes are not sayde to bee merites or causes of rewarde. I wyll not speake howe that booke is not in the Canon: bycause Paule and the Gospels vse the same forme of speaking. But of that whiche is wyrtten vnto the Hebrewes, by suche Sacrifices God is well pleased, I haue besoze spoken: nowe wyth one worde onely will I briefly touche the thing. This worde of deseruing is not founde in the Greeke. In Greeke is read *ευαριστία*, by whiche worde is onely signified, that the good woorkes of the saythfull are gratefull and acceptable vnto God.

*Of the woordes
reward.*

*Whether eter-
nal lyfe may be
called a reward*

But as touching this worde rewarde, which some, because they do not well vnderstand it, do take for merite, we must deuise it two maner of wayes. For that is sometymes called a rewarde, whiche is geuen freelye, but yet is promysed, by adding of some worke, whereby men should be styxed vp to doo well. So eternal life may be called a rewarde, not y we deserue the same by our woorkes, but because by a certain order appointed of God, it followeth our good woorkes. But somtimes a rewarde is that which is due vnto good dedes, & is rendred vnto them of duty. After this maner eternal life cannot be called the rewarde of our woorkes. Wherefore Paul to the Romanes saith: Abraham beleued God, & it was imputed vnto him for righteousness. But vnto him which woorketh rewarde, is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt. Wherefore eternal lyfe, for as muche as it is not of ryght dewe, cannot be a rewarde, if the worde be taken in that signification. But when they thus reason: there is a rewarde geuen,
ergo

ergo there is a merite. The argument is not firme, because in affirming we may not descend from the general woordes to the species. Neyther doth he rightly conclude whych sayth: It is a liuing creature, ergo it is a man. This generall word reward hath two species: therfore this argument is not firme, if we saye: It is a reward, Ergo it is plaine that it must be geuen of deuty.

This saying also of Ieremy is to be added: Cursed be euery one that putterh his hope in man, and calleth flesh his strength. But all our thinges, whatsoener they be, are not without flesh. Wherfore it is not lawfull for vs to put confidence in them. And Ierome writing vpon that place hath very well brought in manye thinges, whereby may be vnderstanded that in our woordes there is no regard of merite. Wea and the Papists also themselves, which are the patrones of merites, are sometimes compelled to confesse that our merites are nothing at all. For on the 2. Sunday in the Aduēt, thus they pray: We pacified God with the prayers of our humillity, and wher helpe of merites do want, succor vs with the aydes of thy mercy. The fathers, whē in theyr writings they oftentimes inculcate this word of meriting, do by it signify nothinge els, then to get, to obtaine, and to atteine to. And as manye of them as haue written purelye, the same haue detested the consideration of merites, whereof the papistes so much boast. Wherfore the Israelites were not heard thozoughe the merite of their teares or prayers, but by cause by fayth in Christ to come they obtayned forgiveness of sins, and so by his merite onely they returned into fauor againe with god.

They offered sacrifice. Although I haue before largely spoken of the sacrifices in the olde time, yet I thinke it good here also briefly to touch what profite was of them in the old law. When men are viced with calamities, they beginne to thinke vpon theyr sin, they loke vpon the law: wher whē they behold the wrath of god kindled for sinne, they are in hart dejected: in which perturbation there remaineth no remedy, but to get them vnto Christ, which is the summe and end of all sacrifices. Him did the fathers, which were godly, embrace by faith: but in the sacrifices, as often as the sacrifice was slaine, so often the death of Christ was after a sorte set before the eyes of those that stood by, by whose death the synnes of the world should be taken away. Wherfore they had after this manner a communion amonge themselves in Christ, which by sundry notes and signes dayly signified to the people in the old time, wherby they by fayth receaued vnto their salvation both his death and the fruite thereof as we do. Wherfore Paule sayth trulye vnto the Corinthians: All did eate of one, and the self same spirituall meate, and all dronke of one, and the selfe same spirituall drinke. And they dronke of the spirituall rocke following them. And that rocke was Christ. Wherfore the elders had theyr misteries and sacraments, whereby they also embraced Christ. And vndoubtedly as touching the thing, they had the same that we haue, the difference was onely in the simboles.

But Augustine noteth in the certaine other differences, which here to rehearse shal not be vnprofitable. Firſt they hadde manye sacramentes, and wee but few: the simboles of our sacraments are water, bread, and wine: they had oren calues, shepe, gotes, dones, turtle dones, bread, wine, oyle & such other like. Farther, the condicion of our sacramentes is diuerse from the equality of theirs: for theyr were more greuous, but oures are by Christ made both easier and also lighter. Moreouer those simboles that were geuen vnto them, were contained in one country onely, but ours are common to the whole world. Farther in them Christ was set forth, as he which should come: but to vs, as he which is now already come. But as touching salvation there is no difference. For the same salvation and the same Christ was offered vnto them, which is settes forth vnto vs.

Do. iii.

This

A genere ad species.

Ierome.

What profite the sacrifices of the law had.

The sacraments of the elders & ours are at one, but differ in outward simboles & signes.

Augustine. Differences betwene the sacraments of the elders and ours.

This is also to be added, that our Sacraments are moze manifest and excellent, for asmuch as they haue moze manifest woordes of Christ and his redemption, which make sayth moze ful. And therfore the spise is now had moze aboundantly, then it was in that time, if we speake of the comon state of men. For I speake not of persons singularely, neither do I thinke that Abraham had lesse faith and spise then christian men now haue. But now let vs returne vnto the history.

What the purifications of the Elders signified.

The hebrewes when they were afflicted, fled vnto God by Christ, who was set before them in their sacrifices, and was there apprehended by sayth. Where hence was all the vtility of their sacrifices, to the offering or receiuinge wherof it was not lawfull to come rashly, other wise they should haue beene to their hurt, and should haue kindled the wrath of God against them, which thinge Paul hath very well admonished vs of saying: He whiche eateth or drinketh vnto thely, eateth and drinketh vnto himselfe damnation. Wherefore in the law there were many purifications, sprinklings, and washinges, before they came vnto the holy seruices. And these men now repent, and throwe themselves downe vnto the ground wepinge before the Lord: for they were touched with the bitterness and greuousnes of their sinnes.

The counsels of the Beniamites and of the Israelites are diuerse. The like policy like deuise in the booke of Iosuah.

When god had heard the prayers of the Israelites, and had promised to deliuer the Beniamites into their handes, he ministred also vnto them secrete and sound counsels, namely that they should in a conuenient place lay an embusment, and making as though they would flee, draw away their enemies from the cities, that afterwarde they mighte oppresse them, both before and behinde. They had among them contrary counsels. The Beniamites sayd: They flee, let vs follow them and oppresse them as they are fleeing. The Israelites contrariwise said: Let vs gene place vnto the Beniamites, hat they may follow vs moze insolently and securely. For we will stoppe them of their returne into the city. The reade of the like policy of warre in the booke of Iosuah, when the city of Hais was assailed. It is now writte that god himselfe smote them. For it is said, And god made Benjamin to fall before the Israelites, least the victory should seme to be attributed, either vnto the strengthes of the Israelites, or to their polittique deuise. The whole summe of those which were slayn, were. 25. thousand. The order of this history might seme somewhat troublesome, which yet if it be apart considered particularly, shalbe the better vnderstanded. For at the first conflict were slaine of the Beniamites 18000. then when they fled into the desert 5000. lastly when they fled to Gibeon. 2000. all whiche summes added together, doo make the full number of. 25000.

The city ascended vp to heauen. Here is the figure Hiperbole, whereby is signified either that the smoke of the city ascended vp into heauen, or that els all the riches thereof which were now on fire and turned into smoke, ascended vp into heauen. The Beniamites being in extreme daunger, looke backe vnto the city, as though there they should haue found succor and ayde. They recule, but they fall into the handes of the Embusments, and are slaine. From thence they get themselves and flee vnto the woods, but in the flight they are miserably killed. A few whiche escaped in those ouerthrowes, got them to the rock Rimmon, as in to a high castel and wel fenced, both by nature and situation. And ther a few wer saued, as is afterwarde declared. Whereby we gather that no mighte or power can help vs, when god wil strike. Whatsoeuer can be deuised or inuented of vs, it not bring profiteth agaynst the Lord.

In the hebrewe tongue a place of fence is called a rocke.

So great and so populous a tribe, as soone as ever god would, perished in a manner wholly. Ther remained only 600. men, whiche got themselves into the castel of Rimmon. It is called a rock, because in the holy scriptures places of fence are so called, for that they are in a manner situate vpon stony rockes and high places

places. But why the 600. men were left on lyne, there is shewed a cause, namely least any one whole tribe should want in Israel. God would not for they deserts, but for his names sake have a certain few remaining, that the public wealth of the Israelites should be preserved. And those same he left not whole, but in a manner maimed: for they had no wives, neither were there any women left of that whole tribe, for them to marry: therefore they were compelled to desire wives of other tribes. Wherefore the tribe of Benjamin, although otherwise it remained but small, yet howsoever it was, halfe the part thereof consisted of other tribes. For the Israelites had slayne all their wyues and children and cattayle. This severity of the Israelites was great, or rather it may seme to be cruelty, and also against the law of God, wherein it was forbidden, that the child should be slaine for the sinnes of the parents. But it is very likely (which thing the Hebrew interpreters also affirme) that the Israelites when they fasted and prayed before the Lord, bowed Cherim, that is the bow of a curse, whereby it was not lawfull to reserve any thing, which thing they used to do in battaile of perill, and in great danger. Yea and in Deut. the 13. chapter: God commaunded, that if any cite of the Israelites fell vnto idolatry, all the tribes should go by and loyne they powers together and conquer it, so that they should with sword and fire destroye all thinges that they found in it. But the Beniamites defended a manifest wicked act, which differed not much from idolatry, and it is possible that the cite of Gibeah was idolatrous. Wherefore nothing ought to be reserved in it. In the booke of Iosuah it is written, that when Acham had hidden for himself a certain small thing of the curse of Iericho, the whole host was afflicted for that cause, which decree being after ward found out, not onely he himselfe was killed, but also his sonnes and daughters, with his oren, his asses, his sheepe, and his tente also and all his stuffe. Which thing yet we must not thinke that it was done by the precept of the law, but by a certaine singular counsell of God. But whither Israel exceeded measure in this auengement or no, wee shal after ward see. We may learne also by this history, what sharpnesse there is in ciuill wars: for they haue farre more cruell endes, then outward warres.

Why the 600. men were laued

The tribe of Benjamin that remained, consisted also of other tribes. Whither it was lawfull for the Israelites to kill the children.

Ciuill warres more cruel then outward wars

Of fasting.

Now that we are come to the end of the chapter: Forasmuche as it is sayde that the Israelites fasted and afflicted themselves before the Lord, I haue occasion geuen me, somewhat to speake of fasting. And to beginne from the Etimology of the word, this Hebrew word *Tsum* signifieth to afflict. Wherefore Aben Ezra sayth, that whersoever in the holy scripture is founde affliction of the soule, there is vnderstand fasting. There is another word namely *Tsama* verpe ny vnto this word, and it signifieth to thirst: for they which fast much, as word to thyrt, because the humors of the body are with hunger and fasting dried by. The Grecians call it *νηστεια*, of this participle *νηστω*, which is to be strong and firme, because by fasting the strength of the body is diminished. But because this participle is rather extensiuo, it seemeth to signify very firm and very strong, because a man that is fasting, is verpe firme and constante, so that he had rather suffer grief, then to go from his purpose. Also the Grecians call fasting by another word *δωριαν*, because they which faste, doo berine themselves of foode. For *δωρον* signifieth both coyne and meate.

Aben Ezra

But before I define what fasting is, I thinke it good first to vse a distinction. Forasmuche as there are sundry kindes of fastings, they serue not all to our purpose. For there is a certaine fast that is naturall, whereby pertayneth eyther to the recouering or to the defending of the health of the body. Wherefore Hipoc

A distinction of fastes. Naturall fast

Ciwill fast.**A fast familiar
vnto christians.****The commodi-
ties of christiā
sobriety.****Miraculous
faste.****A fast compelled.****Religious fast.**

crates sayth, that they which are of a full and perfect age, or also are old, can verie well abide to fast: in which place old men are to be vnderstande as touching the first part and beginning of age. For they which are very old can no better abide fasting, then young men or childre. There is an other fast which is ciuil, & is the taken in hand, when men are so bent to their things, that by no meanes they will intermitte the affaires which they haue begonne. So Saule when he pursued the Philistians, and had the victorie now in his handes, commaunded that no man shoulde taste of any meat before euening. So also certain Hebrewes vowed that they would neither eate any thinge or drinke, before they had killed Saul, as it is written in the actes of the Apostles. This manner also of fasting pertaineth not to this present matter. There is an other kinde of fasting, which ought to be familiar vnto all Christians, namely to take meate soberly and temperatly: which thing they shal do, if they neither eate to often in one day, nor when they do eate, doo gorge themselves with to much meate, or seeke for delicates and fine banquetes.

This manner of liuing is very muche profitable to diminish the lustes, neyther suffereth it the minde to bee troubled with affections. It maketh the minde more chearfull and redy both to prayers, and also to the actions of the life. Wherefore Christ sayd: let not your hartes be oppressed with surfeting or drunkenes. Peter also hath written: Be ye sober, for your enemy the deuill goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may deuour. Paul also wrote of himselfe: I chasten my body, and bring it into bondage, least I preaching to other, should be made a reprobate. Farther there is an other commodity of this fast, that thereby expenses are spared, not to lay them by couetously, but that that which is ouerplus vnto vs, we may geue vnto the poore.

There is an other fast which is aboue mans strength, and is sometimes geue of god meruelously vnto some of the saints, to commend theyr doctrine. Moses in the mountayn fasted 40. dayes, for God would by a notable example shew, that that law which he set forth, came from himself, and was not inuented of men. Neither went Moses therfore vnto the mountayne to fast, but to receiue the lawe of God, and to talk with him. Elias also receiued bread and water of the Angel, and in the strength of that meate walked 40. dayes, euen vnto the mount of god Horeb, that hee by this miracle shoulde bee declared to bee the true reuenger of the lawe. By this kinde of fasting our Sauoure commended the preachinge of the Gospell, that it should not seeme to bee a thinge vulgare, but shoulde be proued a thinge begonne by God. But these wer miracles, neyther pertaine they anye thinge vnto vs, but onely that wee shoulde haue them in admiration, and by suche examples bee stirred vpp with reuerence to receaue the word of God.

There is also an other fast, which lieth not in our power. As when we beinge destitute of meate, haue not wherof to eat. Here is nede of patience, and we must pray vnto god, that he would strengthen and encourage vs. So the saints when they wandred about, and preached the Gospell, wer compelled sometimes to hunger. And the disciples when they followed the Lord, were diuened by hunger to plucke the eares of corne, and to rubbe oute the corne. Elias also desired meate of the widow, and wayted at the doore for such meate as the Raven shoulde bringe him. This kind of fasting men do not take vpon them of their owne free wil, but it is layd vpon them by God.

But omitting all those, as which nothing pertaine vnto our disputation, let

vs come to our fast which we may call religious. And this fast is an abstinence, not onely from meate and drinke, but also from all other thynges whiche may delite and nooyshe the body, contrary to the accustomed manner, as much as strength will suffer, and it is done of a repentant mynd and of a true sayth, by prayers to desire the clemency of God, for miseries, eyther already oppressing vs, or very nigh at hand. The forme of this definition is abstinence, and that about the accustomed manner, whiche yet exceedeth not strengthes of the body. The matter is not onely meate and drinke, but also all thynges whiche may reioyse the body. The efficient cause is sayth and repentance for sinnes committed agaynst God. The end is, by prayers to craue the mercy of God, and to turne away or to diminishe calamities. Therfore they whiche fast, ought to geue themselves to prayers, almes, visitynges of the sicke, and to the holy supper.

Definition.

An exposition of the causes of true fasting.

Exercises of those that fast truly.

When we feruently pray vnto the Lord, and do from the heart truly repent vs of the sinnes which we haue committed, & for their causes are earnestly afflicted, we can not easely thinke vpon meate, drinke, & fine delicates. For whō such a grieue grievously vseth, it is moze pleasant to the to absteyne, the is any other delectation. So David in his. 35. psalme sayth of his enemies: When they were sicke, I laughed not, but put on sacke clothe, and afflicted my soule with fasting, and earnestly prayed for them. They whiche delect and humble themselves (because they in a manner dispaire of their thynges) are wont to contemne and loth meate and drinke, and other delighes and pleasures. Herby we may vnderstand, how it cometh to passe, that our fastes doo please God, not assuredly that the emptines of the belly please God. So Ierome derideth certayne, which fasting to hardly, were made to all purposes all their lyfe long vnprofitable. This pleaseth God, that we delect the mynde, that we returne vnto him with prayers, and casting away other pleasures, do put all our delectation in him onely.

Why fastings please God.

Ierome.

But the fastes wherof we now intreate, are sometymes publike and sometymes priuate. Priuate fastes we take in hand, when we are afflicted with proper and domesticall miseries: for there is none whiche is not vered sometymes either in himselfe, or in his samely. And if it happē that peradventure he be not greued with any calamity of his owne or any of his: yet sometymes he must mourne for other. For if we be the members of one & the self same body, we must thinke of the discōmodities of our brethē pertayn vnto vs our selues. So David prayed for them which after ward became his enemies, & which reioysed in his euils. So Iobs frindes, whē they saw hym vered w most grievous plagues, lay senē dayes full, in dust and ashes, befoze they spake any thyng vnto him: so much wer those men moued with his misery. Therfore befoze they comuned with hym, they would by fasting and prayers desire God to allwage his so great misery. So David when Abner was slayne, did not onely mourne at his buriall, but also sware that he would 7 day taste of no meate befoze the sunne were set. The same thing did he when he was rejoyced of Nathan the prophet, and when he had receaued tydings of the death of the childe. Andoubtedly all the whole tyme that he was sicke, he neuer toke meate. Nehemias in the. 1. chap. whē he heard of the afflictions of the Iewes whiche remayned in Ierusalem, afflicted himselfe with fasting, and prayed vnto the Lord. Daniel also when he had red those thyngs which Ieremy wrote of his captivity of. 70. yeares, confessed both his owne sinnes, and the sinnes of the people, wept also and fasted. Therfore priuate fasting ought to be taken in hand, not onely for our selues, but also for others.

Fastes publike and priuate.

We must faste sometymes for other mennes sakes.

But publike fasting is two maner of wayes commaunded: Either of God himself by the law, or of his Magistrate, or of the Bishop, or els of a prophet. And this is to sanctify a fast, which sometymes is red in the holy scriptures. Of this kind there are many examples, & especially that fast which the Israelites in this place imposed vpon themselves. In the. 1. booke of Samuel, when the Philistines

How publike fastes are denounced.

What it is to sanctify a fast.

grie-

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griuously afflicted the Iewes, the whole people at the exhortation of Samuel assembled in Mizpa, wept, fasted, and threw away their shooles. David also with all his, fasted, when he heard of the overthrow of the people and death of Saul. The men also of Iabes Gilead took the carcases of Saul and Ionathas, and wept, and also fasted. That also was a publique fast whiche Iosaphat commaunded in the 2. booke of Paralip. the. 20. chap. Esther the queene beyng in extreme daunger, commaunded by Mardocheus a publique fast to be denounced. The Israelites in their captiuitie (as it is written in the. 7. chap. of Zachary) had a fast both in the. 5. moneth, & the. 7. moneth, because in the. 5. moneth the spoiling of the City & desolation of the temple happened, and in the. 7. moneth Godolias was slayne: whereby so many miseries afterward ensued. That was also a publique fast whiche Iezabel proclaimed, a woman otherwise wicked and an Hypocrite. Her acte declareth that it was the manner, that when any great wicked crime was committed, the whole Church should fast, as it were desirying helpe agaynst the common punishment. This fast sometymes also the Prophetes required. As Iohel when he sayd: Sanctifie ye a fast. Eldras also in his. 8. chap. proclaimed a fast. Wherefore fastes were by certayne godly considerations publickly denounced.

Why an yere
of fast was in-
stituted among
the Iewes.

God himself also commaunded a publique fast. For he commaunded that euery yere the feast Chephurim, that is the feast of expiations, should be celebrated the. 10. day of September with a publique fast. For the people committed many sinnes throughout the whole yere, neither did they diligently obserue the ceremonies. Wherefore once in a yere the tabernacle was purified, and a publique fast was obserued. These thinges in the old Testament, signified as it were by a certaine shadow that the sinnes of man should be by Christ abolished, of whom when we take hold by a true and lively faith, we are loosed from sinnes, and thereof followeth the mortification of sinnes and carnall delights & pleasures. Neither is this to be passed over, that that one day of fast was a festiual day. For it was not lawfull in the publique fast, either to worke, or for a man to geue hym selfe to his own busines, not that on festiual dayes we ought utterly to be idle, but that in those dayes we should do good deedes, whereby we may rest in God, and we are commaunded onely to absteyne from our owne woozkes. But to be leue, to pray, to acknowledge sinnes, to bewaile them with an earnest repentaunce, are the woozkes of God, and therefore are not forbidden on festiual dayes, but rather commaunded.

The Ethnikes
acknowledged
a Religious
fast.

These thynges haue not onely the Iewes learned out of the lawes of God, but also the Ethnikes by the instincte of nature. For when Ionas preached vnto the Ninuities that their City should within. 40. dayes be overthowen, they displayed not of the mercy of God, but got themselves to repentaunce, and euery one of them, euen from the kyng vnto the lowest Citezin, with their beastes also and cattell, fasted. And when they behemently and with a seruent zeale cried vnto the Lorde, they were heard. Augustine de ciuitate dei, writeth that Porphyrius taught, that abstinence from flesh and grosse meates, doth purify the myndes of men, whereby they are made the more prompt to thinges deuine, and to familiaritie with good spirites. Plutarke also in his litle booke de Iside & Osiride sayth, that the Priestes of Heliopolis utterly absteyned from all meates, whiche might nourishe and augment the wantones of the flesh, and that they neuer brought wyne into the temple of their God. For they counted it a villany to drinke wyne in the day tyme in the sight of their God: other men sayd he, bled wyne, but not much, and they had many purifications without wyne. The same Plutarke de cohibenda Iracundia sheweth, that among the Athenienses were certayne holy sacrifices, which were done onely with water without wyne. And this is notable, which is written in the same booke, that Empedocles was wont to say, that a man ought most of all to fast from malice. Titus Liuius maketh mention, that when at Rome there happened many portentuous thyngs, which seemed to foreshewe some

Augustine.
Porphyrius.

Plutarke.

Holy sacrifices.

Empedocles.

Titus Liuius.

some

some great euill, the decemviri were sent to looke into the booke of the Sibilles, and that there was aunswere made, that they should institute a publique fast in the honoꝝ of Ceres, whiche faste should also be repeated agayne euery. 5. yeare. And that by that meanes the anger of the gods should be pacified. Wherfoze the Ethnikes beyng smiten with the feare of the euils, whiche boonge ouer their heades, fled vnto the oracles, fasted, and prayed the gods to turne away their anger. But Christians, not onely seying so many & so great euils, but also hearyng them told from all parts of the world: yet turne they not vnto **G D** by prayer, neither are they any thyng moued in mynde.

But peraduenture some man will say, that Fastes, because they are partly Jewishe, and partly Ethnike, seeme to be farre from our Religion. But that it is not so, may easely be proued by the new Testament. In the Actes of the Apostles the. 13. chap. the Church, beyng admonished by an oracle that Paul and Barnabas should be chosen to visite the Cities and Townes where the Gospell had ben preached, first decreed a fast: then they layd their handes vpon them. And in the. 14. chap. when they after they had accomplished their matters thozough Iconium, Listria, and Antioche, returned home, they instituted a fast, and created ministers and Priestes in euery City. *Augustine.* When Peter should at Rome haue talke with Simon the sozerer vpon the Son day, the Church of Rome vpon the Sabaoth day denounced a faste, whiche custom was alwayes afterward retayned. *Jerome.* Jerome in his prologue vpon Mathew sayth, that Iohn beyng desired of the Churches to write the Gospell agaynst Ebion and Cerinthus, who denyed the deuine nature of Christ, answered that he woulde so doo, if the whole Church woulde besyde indite a publique faste. Whiche thyng Eusebius also in his Ecclesiasticall History testifieth. Paul also in the. 1. to the Corinthians the. 7. chapter, admonisheth those that are ioyned together in matrimony, not to separate themselves a sonder, but soz a tyme, to geue themselves to fastyng and prayers. In whiche place I thinke he vnderstandeth publique prayers, and also a publique fast. For fellowshipp with the wife not byng letteth, but that they may be bled priuately, but whether he vnderstood publique fastes or priuate, it skilleth not much. *Eusebius.*

Farther, Christ being asked of his Apostles, why they could not heale y^e deeme and cast out the deuill. He answered: Because of your incredulity. And he added: This kynd of deuills is cast out onely by fasting and prayer. That place is somewhat darke, and therfoze it shall not be vnprofitable byedy to expounde it. As it to be thought, that by the merite of fastyng and prayers (as they vse to speake) deuills are cast out by vertue of the woꝝke wrought: Not so. What the signified the woꝝdes of Christ: First he said: Because of your incredulity: soz if ye had sayth, euen so muche as a grayne of mustard, and should say vnto this mountayne: Take vp thy self, & cast thy self into the sea, it should obey you. And together with a sayth, is necessary a vehement and seruent prayer, and also fastyng, because a fered and earnest prayer which draweth the mind, not onely fro meate and drinke, but also from all other humane cogitations and pleasures. Wherfoze Christ by the effectes describeth the cause, namely, sayth by prayers and fasting, and he speaketh of those deuills, to whom god gaue moze liberty, as though he should haue sayd: ye must not lyue easely or idely, if ye will cast out this kynd of deuills. We must haue a sure and strong sayth whiche thyng he expessed by the effectes, by prayers I say and fastes.

By these reasons and testimonyes may fastes also be commended in the new Testament. But in them are faultes to be taken heede of, whiche very often are many, and those greuous. First because in the Papacy are obserued fastes vpon certayne appoynted dayes, without consideration of persons or occasions, as an yere ceremony, whiche at this day is utterly of no strength, & is as if it were Jewishe. *What vices in fasting ar to be taken heede of.* Wherfoze euey man hath added & heaped vpon of his owne, whatsoeuer he pleased. *Faste brought in without measure.*

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pleased him, and not that, which calamity of tymes or feruent prayers required. For one man brought in Septuagesima, an other Sexagesima, an other Quinquagesima, an other Quadragesima which is Lent, an other Rogatio dayes, an other Ember dayes, an other 4 eues of 4 Apostles, an other Friday, an other Saturday, & an other brought in fastyng on 4 Wednesday. But of so many fastes, what brility hath there at the length followed? A great many questions & contentions. For a man will scarce beleue, howe many questions the elders haue had concerning fast. Augustine ad Cassulanum writeth that therfore we must fast on the Wednesday, because Christ was sold that day: and on the Friday, because on that day he was crucified. But of the Sabaoth day he much doubted. For they of Millane & of the East parte, affirmed that on 4 day we should not fast, because Christ that day was at rest in the sepulchre: contrarily the Romanes and Affricans, and certayne other, because Christ was defiled even vnto 4 ignominy of the sepulchre: therfore contended that the Sabaoth should be fasted.

Many contentions and questions concerning fastyngs.

Monica the mother of Augustine.

In answer of Ambrose.

Innocentius.

Epiphanius.

We must geue little credite to traditions.

Why 4 fast of Ember dayes were inuented

The mother of Augustine, when she came out of Affrike to Millane, and saw that the men there fasted not on the Sabaoth day, began to mervayle at the vncustomed manner. Therfore Augustine which was not yet baptised, came to Ambrose, & asked in his mothers behalfe what was best to be done. Do sayth Ambrose that which I do. By which words Augustine thought 4 he should not fast, because Ambrose fasted not. But what he ment, he himselfe moze manifestly expressed. I (sayth he) when I come to Rome do fast, because the Sabaoth day is there fasted: but when I returne to Millane, because here it is not fasted, I fast not. De consecratione dist. 3. chap. De usu carnis, it is decreed that Friday and Wednesday should be fasted, 4 Sabaoth day is left free. And in the same dist. 4 chap. Sabbato vero, Innocentius hath added: That 4 Sabaoth also must be fasted. But he bringeth a farre other cause, then that which before we spake of. For 4 because (sayth he) the Apostles both vpon the Friday, and also vpon the Sabaoth day were in great mourning and sorrow, therfore we must fast. In the same dist. 4 chap. Ieiunium: Melchides decreed, that we must not fast on the Sunday, nor on the Thursday: and he giveth a reason, because the fastes of Christians ought to be on contrary dayes, to the fastes both of heretikes and of Ethnikes.

Epiphanius bringeth a reason why the Wednesday is to be fasted, namely because Christ was that day taken vp to heauen: for it is written, that when the brydgrome is taken from the, then they shall fast, and this he affirmeth to be the tradition of 4 Apostles, when as yet at this day we beleue 4 the Ascension happened on the Thursday: therfore let the Papistes take heede, howe muche credite they will haue to be geuen vnto their traditions. For there are many of them, which euen they themselves can not deny, but that they are ridiculous and bayne. I know in deede there are traditions founde which are necessarily gathered out of the holy scriptures, and for that cause they ought not to be abrogated. But other traditions which are indifferent, are not to be augmented in number, least the Church should be oppressed, neither to be thought so necessary, that they can not be abolished. And we must beware that in them be not put the woysipping of 4 M D. But as for those which are agaynst the woode of god, are by no meanes to be admitted. In the dist. 76. chapter. 1. are added Ember dayes, or the Fastes foure tymes in the yeare. Which why they are so diuided, scarcely can any man perceane. They cite Ierome vpon Zachary, who maketh mention of the fourth moneth, fift, seuenth, and tenth. And they seeme to be moued with a wicked zeale to distribute these fastes into foure partes of the yeare. And those fastes which the Iewes receaued euery yeare for 4 calamities which they had suffered, the same our men haue made yearely. But other haue inuented an other cause, namely because in those foure tymes of the yeare: Bishops are wont to promote clarkes vnto the ministry and orders. Therfore they say that the people ought then most of all to faste and praye, that 4 M D would graunt them

them good Pastors.

Fasting and prayers should be had in the ordering of Ministers. But I would demand of the Bishops why they institute Ministers onely at those. tyme of y^e pere. Undoubtedly, they cā render no certayn & iust reason therof. Augustine in his boke de Hæresibus, sayth y^e Arius contemned oblatiōs for the dead, & also such fast as were appointed, bycause Christiāns were not vnder y^e law but vnder grace: but he would y^e enery mā should fast at his owne pleasure whē he himselte would. In dede I allow not Arius in y^e he was an Arriā, but as touchig sacrifices & oblatiōs for y^e dead, he iudged rightly & godly. And also concerning appointed fastes, I see no cause why he ought to be reprobued, vnles peraduenture he thought this, y^e fastes could not be denoūced of the Magistrat & of y^e Church, as y^e difficulty of times required. The reason also which he vseth, y^e Christiāns are not vnder y^e law, but vnder grace, is weake: for we are not so deliuered frō the law, y^e we are absolued frō all order. Augustine also writeth y^e Iovinian contemned abstinences & fastes as things vaine, & vnprofitable: where in if he spake of bare fastes onely, & such as wer appointed at certayne dayes & certayne tymes of y^e peare, he iudged not ill. For vnles they be adioyned with faith & repentāce, & also with vehement prayers, they nothing at all profite. In Elay y^e .58. chap. y^e people cōplained: We haue fasted, & thou hast not looked vpon vs: which wordes shew, that fastes without circumstances requisite, are not acceptable vnto God: but if they be ioyned with their additions, they are not vnprofitable.

By y^e decrees of Liberius, who liued in y^e tyme of Cōstācius, may be knowē, how y^e whē y^e ayre was vntēperate, or y^e there was any famine, or pestilēce, or warre, then they assēbled together to denoūce a fast, wherby to mitigate y^e anger of god. Augustine whē he saw his city besieged of y^e Vandales, gaue himself vnto fasting & prayers, & in that siege died, as Possidonius testifieth. And generally whē we atrept any great waigthy matter, as whē we denoūce war, or creat Magistrats, or ordeine Ministers of y^e Church, we haue nede most of al of seruēt prayers, for the seruētnes wherof fasting very much auayleth. Christ when he should begyn his preaching, went into y^e wildernes & fasted. A widow when her husband is dead, is left in a perillous state. Therfore prayers & fastes are very conuenient for her. Anna the daughter of Phanuel led her life in y^e temple, where she gaue herself to prayer & fasting. Paul to Tim. sayth: A widow which is truly a widow, putteth her cōfidence in the Lord, & day & night applieth herself to prayers & fastes. Cornelius, when he was not yet sufficiently instructed of Christe, and was heauy and pensue in mynde, in the ninth houre was fasting, and in prayers, to whom the Angell (as it is written in the Actes of the Apostles) appeared.

But it may be demāded, when fastes are denoūced of princes & of the Church, whether men are bound to obey them or no? Undoubtedly they are bound by the law of sayth, & by obediēce. For when fastes are set forth y^e are agreable vnto the word of God, how can he which beleueth in god betray thē? Assuredly he cā not. Howbeit this is to be vnderstād of those which are of y^e state & conditiō y^e they be able to fast. For if a mā be hindred either by age, or disease, or labours, in y^e case this ought to be of force which y^e scriptures say: I wil haue mercy & not sacrifice. But they which are not hindred, ought to obey. In y^e counsell of Gāgrensis chap. 30. it is ordeyned, y^e if a mā obey not y^e fastes which ar cōmāded him of y^e Church, howsoeuer he boast of perfectiō, without bodely necessity, & prouidly contemne the decrees of the Church, let him be accursed. In the Canones of y^e Apostles (although they be Apocripha & conteyne certayne strāge things, neither is it sufficiently agreed vpon the nōber of them) in y^e Canon I say .68. it is cōmāded, y^e the Clergy, which fast not, hauing no bodely necessity, shuld be deposed. Let infātes in no case be cōpelled & driue to fast: for y^e shuld hurt their health. Yet Joel sayth: Sanctify a fast, gather together old men & sucking childzen. And the Ninivites at the preaching of Jonas, cōpelled beasts & infātes to fast. These wer extraordinary

Cee. i.

things,

Augustine.
Arius an heretike.

Jovinian an heretike.

Liberius.

Augustine.

Whether fastes denoūced ought to be obeyed.

Consilium Gāgrense.

The Canones of the Apostles

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things, neither are they for that end set forth, that we should imitate them.

Augustine.

Howe fastes
maye be called
free or not free.

As for priuate fastes most men will haue them to be free. Wherfore Augustine ad Cassulanum: We know (sayth he) that we must fast when we are commaunded, but on what dayes we should fast, and what dayes we should not, we know not, because that is no where prescribed in the newe Testament, therfore fasts are to be left free: And in his 2. booke de Sermone domini in monte (expounding these wordes: Judge not and ye shall not be iudged) he writeth, that men may in two maner of wayes iudge rashly. Either if they iudge that into the euill parts whiche mought haue bene done rightly: or if when it is manifest that a faste is playnely euill, they thinke that he which hath done it, can not repent. And of the first kind he bringeth an exaple, as if a man, because he is sicke in the stomake, or is troubled with any other infirmity of his body, would not fast. An other whiche knoweth not this, will suspect him to be a gloton, & to much delicate. For here that which is free, & which may well be done, is diuiden into his worse part. This in deede is Augustines opinion, which yet we ought prudently & soundly to vnderstand. For if a priuate man, when he is in misery or daunger, doth see that fasting & prayers may helpe him, he except he fast doth vndoubtedly sinne. But for as much as fasting after this sort, & maner now declared may profit, we must vndoubtedly fast. It is free in deede, because by his outward law he can not be condemned which fasteth not. But when our fast may aduance the glory of god, it is no more free, for as much as we are commanded to loue God withall our hart, with all our soule, & with all our strength. For there are many things which of their own nature are free & indifferent. But when it cometh to choise, & we see they may eyther illustrate or obscure the glory of God, then are they not free nor indifferent, because all our strengthes and facultyes are to be applyed vnto the glory of God.

In true fastig
we must faste
the whole day.

Farther there is an abuse of fastes as touching the space of tyme: for as much as the Papistes, if they some litle while defer their dinner, and then whatsoeuer they eate, so that they eate no flesh, they thinke it sufficient. But the elders remayned fasting all the whole day euen to euening, at which time they were occupied in the worde of God, in prayers, and holy occupations. In Leuit. the 23. God

The Jewes
fasted from eue
nyng to eue
nyng.

sayth, when ye fast, rest from all worke, and afflict your soules: for it is a Sabbath. And no man doubteth but that the Sabbath endureth from euening to euening. So Saul when he had put the Philistines to flight, proclaimed a fast vntill night. And David in the death of Abner swaue that he would taste of no meate till night. Tertullian contra Psychicos sayth, that the Church produced their fastes euen to euening. Augustine de moribus Ecclesie contra Manicheos: Let accustomed fastes sayth he, of the Church be continued euen vntill night: for all the whole day were celebrated holy assemblies, were also had publique prayers, but at euening they were dismissed, & did eate meate. But it is a spozte, to see how the Papistes illude this ancient custome: they say their euen songes before noone, & then they go to dyner, at night they institute a drinking, & so boast that they fast very wel.

Tertulian.
Augustine.

In the Lent.

Thomas Aquinas,
Consilium Calcedonense.
Whiche was
the ix. houre.

Thomas in secunda secunda sayth, that in his tyme fastes were produced euen vnto the ninth houre. And he bringeth the counsell of Chalcedonia, where it is decreed that he which eateth before the ninth houre, should not be counted to haue fasted. Here by the way we must declare which was the ninth houre. The vi. houre was at none, in which tyme were the Christ our saviour was crucified. Wherfore the ninth houre must needs be the third houre from noone. The elders vnderstand to deuise the tyme, that all wayes from the Sunne set to the Sunne rising they counted 12. houres, and agayne as many from the rising of the Sunne to the goinge downe thereof. Agayne they deuised eyther tyme into foure spaces, and those they called watches: And euery one of those spaces contained thre houres. Wherfore the thirde houre from the rising of the Sunne is with vs eyther the eighth or ninth houre, as the tyme of the peare requirerth: For these houres are vnequall. The sixte houre is noone, and the ninth

The distribu-
tion of the hou-
res among the
elders.

is the

is the thirde at after noone, and the. xii. at the sunne set. But Thomas obiected vnto hymselfe, that whiche we say, namely, that the elders fasted the whole day. It is ridiculous to heare what he answereth. Bycause we (sayth he) are in the state of the day, and the elders were in the state of the nyght: therefore we must finishe our fastes in the day tyme, when as they ended them in the nyght tyme. And he byngeth this saying of Paul: The nyght is past, & the day hath begunne nyghe. Whiche sentence how much it serueth to this present thyng, all menne see and vnderstande.

An other abuse is, the choysse of meates, wherein nowe in a manner consisteth the whole religion of fastes. The elders vsed it not: for when they had fasted vntill euen, at supper they dyd indifferently eate whatsoeuer was set before them. But now our men do moze severely absteyne from fleshy, egges, and milke, then they in the olde tyme absteyned from vncleane beastes. Paul reponeth this superstition, and calleth it a doctrine of deuils. But they say, that Paul reponeth those onely, whiche auoyded some meates, as euill creatures, and beleued that those euill creatures came from an euill God: but we (say they) do teache no such thyng: we onely forbid men some kind of meate for one day, or a few dayes, which after ward we set at liberty. As though Montanus could not after this manner haue excused himself, against whom these places are cited of the fathers. Tertulian accuseth Marcio as an heretike, because he did put some holines in fish. Whether soe there is no choise of meate to be suffered, but so much as shall seeme to serue to temperance, whiche thing if the Papistes would so diligently haue take heed of, they should rather haue absteyned from wyne, then from fleshy. For Salomō saith, wyne is a thing of excesse. And Paul: Absteyne (saith he) from wyne, wherein is excesse. They should also haue absteyned from fishe, & especially the delicater kinde of fishes. For there are of them whiche do no lesse delight the taste, and no lesse stirre vp to lustes, then doth fleshy. And vndoubtedly among the elders, as well the Grecians as the Romanes, fishes were counted among the chiefest delicatens.

Howeuer Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History teacheth, that the elders fasted far other wise: for in the Lent some fasted two dayes, some foure dayes, some. x. some. xv. some. xx. & other some the whole. xl. dayes. And when they fasted, some absteyned from all kynd of fleshy & fishe, and did eate onely all maner of pulses. Other absteyned from fleshy of foure footed, & lyued onely on foules & fishes. For al thyngs were at that tyme left free in the Church. For when they had fasted vntill euen, at supper they dyd eate moderately whatsoeuer came to hande: althoughe after ward the thing began by litle & litle to decline to superstition. Jerome to Nepotianus sayth, that there were in his tyme whiche absteyned not onely from all kynd of meate, but also from bread. They vsed certayne thynne broths, made with spices, neither did they drinke them out of a cuppe, but supped them out of a shell. Augustine de moribus Ecclesiarum & Manichæorum, byngeth in a Manichite an elect (for so they called they Ministers) who in dede did eate no fleshy, but in the mean tyme vsed most delicate & fine meates, and most sweate sawses: wyne also they might not touche, but drinke which wer made of frutes, which much resembled wyne, & farre passed it in pleasur & tast, of these I say they dranke abundantly. On the other part he setteth a true Christian man, who remayned fastyng vntill euening and then had to supper a messe of herbes potage sodde with a pece of larde, and a smal portion of salte fleshy, and hardened in the smoke, and dranke thre or iiii. draughtes of wyne: Augustine demaundeth, whether of these semeth to haue fasted best & moze truly: and he gaue iudgement on the Catholikes syde.

The Montanistes so delighted in this choise of meates, that they inuēted for these things, which wer meates to be by nature, & such other like. For (as Tertullian affirmeth) they did eate only bread, salt, & al maner of pulse, & their drinke was water. This kind of fast they vsed ii. weekes before Easter. Jerome also addeth, that they

See. ii.

were

Of the choysse of meates.

Montanus an heretike.

Tertulian.

What choise of meate is to be followed.

Fishes counted among delicatens.

Socrates the Historiographer.

Howeuer kinde of fastes.

Jerome.

Augustine.

A comparison between a Christian and a Manichite.

Exposition of the Montanistes.

Tertullian.

Jerome.

Cap.20. A Commentary vpon the

Eusebius.
Origen the
first that wrote
lawes of fastig

Agaynst the
choyse of mea-
tes.

A certain choise
of meates is to
be admitted.
Of the institu-
tion of Lent.

Christe requi-
red not of his
Apostles the
fast of Lent.

Chrysostome.

Consiliū Mar-
tini.

Consiliū Aga-
thenſe.

A reason out of
Gregorie for
the obseruynge
of Lent.
Gregories rea-
son confuted.

wer wont to fast three Lenten, & for that cause that they fasted so severely, they were called *tyxparita* that is *Pure*. Eusebius in his .5. booke and .18. chap. writeth that one Appollonius reproved Montanus, because he was the first that wrote lawes of fastyng, as though the Church before hym was free. He by lawes and prescriptes prescribed what dayes men should fast, and what meates they should absteyne from. Suche an author haue the Papistes of their prescribed fastes and choise of meates. This superstition agreeth not with the woorde of God. Christ sayth: That whiche entreth into the mouth, defileth not the man. And whatsoever is set before you, that eate, demanding nothing. And to Titus: All things are cleane, vnto the cleane, but vnto the vncleane, nothing is cleane. To the Colossians: Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke. To the Romanes: The kingdome of God is not meate and drinke. To the Corinthians also, are many thynges written to confirme this sentence, where he entreateth of meates dedicated vnto Idoles. So the Scriptures make mention of no choise of meates for Religions sake: yet I deny not but that meates are to be chosen, either for the auoyding of erresse or sicknes, or elles for the keepyng vnder of the wantones of the flesh. But that Christians should absteyne from fleshe, from egges, and from milke for religions sake, is no where prescribed in the Scriptures.

There is an other abuse because they impose such fastes which the strengthes of men are not able and abyde. For they will haue the people fast. 40. dayes. Which thyng, if it should be required accordyng to the prescript rule of God, and of the olde Church, namely that the fast should be continued vntill euen, no man in a manner were able to performe that. And that institution some referre vnto Thelesphorus the Pope, other some to a tyme a litle before hym. And vndoubtedly therein is nothing elles, then a certayne mere wicked zeale and noughty imitation of Christ. For he fasted. 40. dayes: therfore superstitious men thought it good that Christians should fast so many dayes every yeare, when as yet Christ fasted after this maner, but once in his lyfe tyme: neither required he at any tyme any such acts of his Apostles. But these men decree it to be sinne, and that a grieuous sinne, whē such a fast is violated. They ought to haue regarded that Christ all y tyme did eate nothing, & in that he could so long endure, y same to haue preynted to a miracle, and to the power of God: The holy scriptures no where commaunde, that in that thyng we should imitate Christ. Chrysostome in his. 47. Homely vpon Mathewe: The Lord (sayth he) hath not commaunded thee to faste forty dayes, althoughe he mought haue commaunded it. What then commaunded he? Learne (sayth he) of me, for I am meeke and humble in heart. But the manner of these men is peruerse. For they will imitate Christ in that which they are not commaunded: but that which they are commaunded, they will not followe. Our sauior when he sent forth his disciples: Go (sayth he) to all nations, teachyng to obserue those thynges, not whatsoever thynges I haue done, but whatsoever thynges I haue commaunded you. And it is a wonder to see howe superstitiously and subtelly they haue decreed of these thynges in the

Counsell of Martine de Consecratione, in the dist. 3. Non licet, and in the Canones of the Counsell of Laodiceum in the chapter Non oportet, it is commaunded, that in the Lent fastyng on the Thursday should not be broken. And in the Counsell of Agathensis it is commaunded, that in the Lent fasting on the Saturday also should not be broken: because on the Thursday & Saturday many fasted not. And on the Sundayes also in the Lent, wherein they fasted not, they would that there should be retayned a choise of meates. And de Consec. in the dist. 4. chap. Deniq; sacerdotibus it is ordeyned, that y Priestes should begyn theyr fast from Quinquagesima. And in the same place. 5. distina: chap. Quadragesima, Gregorius hath invented a reason wherby to proue that Lent is to be fasted. We must sayth he, geue y tenth part of the whole yeare vnto God. And the .x. part of y yeare consisteth of. 40. dayes. Wherfore we must fast so many dayes. A goodly reason

reason I promise you. Why doth this Gregory forget that the Leviticall priest-
hoode and ceremonies thereof haue now ceased? Wherefore it is not lawfull to
bind christian men to tenthes and Jewishe ceremonies. And if for that cause the
time of Lent be to be consecrated to a fast, because it is the tenth part of the whole
yeare, why did not the Jewes in old time so fast? Why did not the Prophets re-
proue them, because they deceaued god of such a kind of tenth?

But why Lent was inuented, as much as I can gather I will declare. The fa-
thers when they saw men liue very carelesly and negligently, thoughte it good
if they should be compelled after a sort to renew godlines in some part of the year,
& somewhat to bryde the scarcenes of the flesh. And for this thing they thought
that the .40. dayes before Easter were most mete, that men should so long haue
theyr minds both occupied in repentance, & also in remembryng the benefites of
God. This inuention, although at the first sight it might seme trimme, yet it a-
greeth not with Christian liberty. For we must thinke vpon the benefites of god
and of our greate ingratitude, and other our moste grievous sinnes, not onely
.40. dayes, but also continually. Farther by this meanes they opened a most wide
window to liue securely and reachelesly. For if they once had performed full ye
those .40. dayes, they thoughte that all the whole yeare after they mighte gene
themselves wholly to al kind of pleasures and lustes. For they referred the time
of repentance to these .40. dayes. And although the elders had a lent, yet (as Eu-
sebius sayth in his .5. booke and .24. chapter) it was left free vnto all men. For I-
reneus after this manner entreated with Victor bishop of Rome, whē he would
haue excommunicated the East church, because in the obseruinge of Easter it a-
greed not with the church of Rome. What (sayd he) can we not liue at concord,
although they vse theyr owne rites as we vse ours? For some fast in the Lente
two dayes, some .4. dayes, some ten dayes, some .15. some .20, and other some .40.
dayes, and yet is concord neuertheles kept in the Church.

There is an other abuse, namely because som put holines in fasting as though
a woysipping of god consisted in it, where as in very dede fasting is onely an ex-
ercise, which of it selfe hath no holines. They are fooles, which in fasting thinke
that for that cause they haue god bound vnto them: wherefore we must not rash-
ly geue credite vnto Ierome when he sayth, that fasting is not a vertue, but the
foundation of al vertues. For onely Christ and faith in him is the foundation of
all vertues. If he had sayd, that fasting is a helpe of certayn vertues, he mought
haue bene hoyme with al.

And vndoubtedly herein the elders oftentymes erre, for that they prayse & ex-
tol fasting about measure. If so much should be attributed vnto fasting, we must
of necessity confesse that Iohn Baptist liued moze holily then Christ. For he fa-
sted moze then Christ did. For Christ did eate and drinke as temperate and mo-
dest men vse to do: But it is sayde that Iohn did neither eat nor drinke. Yea and
Paule to Timothy writeth, that the exercise of the body hath small vtilite, but
piety is profitable to all thinges. If thou wilt demaunde what piety is: I will
answer, that it is a true woysippinge of God, a soundnes of doctrine, and a
pure life, which thinges follow hope and faith. In these thinges assuredly is ve-
ry great profite, and the exercise of the body hath indeede some profite, but not so
great. But we must note that Paule speaketh not of fasting and exercise of the
body, which is hypocriticall and wanteth faith, but of the true and christian fa-
sting and exercise of the body. For those things which want faith and procede
of hypocrisy, are sinnes, neither do they any thing profite. Wherefore Esay sayth:
Is this the fast which I haue chosen? But these our men go farther, and besides
that in fastynge they put holynes, they make it also a parte of satisfaction.

Why the fa-
thers inuited
Lent.

The inuention
of Lent is a-
gainst Christi-
an liberty.

Eusebius.
Ireneus

Fasting is an
exercise & not
a holmes.

Ierome.

A fall of the el-
ders.

What piety is.

Fasting is not
a parte of satis-
faction.

Cap.20. A Commentarie vpon the

They extend
fastes euen to
purgatory.
Gracian.

Forasmuch as *h* Scholem^e in the .4. booke of sentences do appoint satisfactiō to consist of prayers, almes, & fasting. What abrogateth the death of Christ, if this do not: They say also that by fasts, soules are deliuered out of purgatory. And least any should think that I sayn these things, let him rede Gratian in the .13. quest. .2. chapter anima, where he putteth the wordes of Gregory, who sayth: Soules are deliuered from purgatory, either by the prayers or fastinge of theyr kinssolkes.

Liberius.

There is also an other moze greuous abuse, for that some affirme that by fastes they can satisfie the church, althoughe they cease not from sinne. Whys kinde of faste God himselfe reponeth by expresse wordes in Esaye: What care I (saith he) for your fastes? Ye fast contentions and strifes. Is this the faste which my soul hath chose? Liberius *h* Pope decreed, *h* al the lent we must abstain from pleadings in the lawe. This is not verie wisely decreed, for the publike wealth cannot consist if it be so longe or euer matters be heard, or iudgemente geuen. If fasting should for a weighty cause be denounced for a day, then might for that space of time be commaunded intermission of lawe. But that lawes should cease, so longe as Liberius will haue them, that is to say, for the publike wealth. Farther the same Liberius saith, that the vse of matrimony polluterh the fast of Lent, wherefore they would haue men all that time to abstain from theyr wiues. But Paule exhorteth man and wife moze soundly, namely to departe for a time, and that by theyr mutual consent, and to returne to the same, least they should be tempted of Satan.

An abuse of
shouetide.

There is also an other abuse, in that euery where befoze Lent all that time, which they call shouetide, men do most vntemperately geue themselves to glotony, excesse, drunkennes, and filthye lustes, and that vnder this pretence, that they may the easelier fast, as though it were lawfull to do euill, that good may ensue. Neither is this a new kind of vice. For Basill in his homely of fasting, and Chrysostome vpon Gen. do in many places greuouslye complaine of that thing.

Basile.

Chrysostome.

Some fast for delicatenes. For when they know that they shal not suppe, at dinner they lade theyr filthie sinke with many and heauy burdenes, so that they make themselves vtterly vnprofitable for the whole day. Other on the contrary part, do vtterly wast themselves with fasting, yea and in a maner kill themselves, as Basilius and Nazianzenus did: who being men excellently wel learned, yet by abstinences and fastinges were made vtterly vnprofitable vnto the Church. They wer compelled to kepe theyr bed sometimes halfe a yere, and sometimes a whole yere. Lastly, there are some, which for that they fast, haue a wondrous delight in themselves, & are proud, & also dispise other men, as that Pharisee which said: I am not as other men, I fast twise in the weeke &c. I could recke a great many moze of these abuses: but for this time me thinketh these are sufficient. This one thing onely will I adde, that in fasting we see two extremities. The Papists in a manner retaine theyr superstitious fastes, but we vtterly neglect those fastes that are lawfull and good. Wherefore it seemeth that on eyther side the thing is to be amended. And thus farre concerning these thinges.

It is not lawe
full for a man
to consume him
selfe with to
much fasting.

The .xxi. Chapter.



- 1 And the men of Israel swore in Mizpa saying: Ther shal not a man of vs geue his doughter to any of Benjamin to wyfe.
- 2 And *h* people came into *h* house of god, & abode there til euen befoze god, & listed by theyr voice & wept sore.
- 3 And they sayd: O Lorde God of Israel, whys this chaunced in Israel, that there should be this day one tribe lacking in Israel?
- 4 And on the morowe the people rose vp, and made there an altar, and offered

and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings.

5 And the children of Israel sayde: Who are they amonge all the tribes of Israel, that came not with the congregatiō vnto the lord? For they had made a great othe concerning them that came not vp to the lord in Mizpah, saying, that they should surely dye.

6 And the children of Israel had pity on theyr brother Benjamin, and sayd: There is one tribe cut of from Israel this day.

7 What shall wee doo vnto the remnant of them, for to get them wiues, for as much as we haue swozne by the Lord, that we will not geue them of our daughters to wiues?

8 They sayd, I say: What are they of the tribes of Israel, that came not vp to Mizpah vnto the lord? And behold there came none of the inhabiteurs of Iabes-Gilead vnto the congregation.

9 For the people was numbred, and beholde there was not one of the inhabiteurs of Iabes-Gilead there.

10 And the congregation sent thither. 12. thousande men of the strongest of the, & commaunded the sayinge: Go and smite the inhabiteurs of Iabes-Gilead with the edge of the sword both women & childre.

11 And this is that ye shall do, vtterly destroy all the males and all the women that haue lien by men.

12 And they found among the inhabiteurs of Iabes-Gilead. 400. mayden birgins, that had knowen no man be lying with any male. And they brought them to the host in Siloh, which was in the land of Chanaan.

13 And the whole congregatiō sent & spake vnto the childre of Benjamin, that were in the rocke Rimmon, & called peaceably vnto the.

The Israelites, as farre as may be gathered by this hystory, had bound themselves with a double othe. First, y no man should geue his daughter to wyfe to the Beniamites: which was nothing els, but that they were minded vtterly to destroy the tribe of Benjamin. Farther, they sware that if any of the Israelites had not put to his help agaynst the Beniamites, he should be slain. Here are very many things woorthy to be noted. First, we must consider that the Israelites wer to seuer agaynst the Beniamites. For they did not onely slay the men, but also the wiues and maydens: wherefore there were no women left on lue for those. 600. menne whiche were remaininge, to engender yssue of. But afterwarde when the same Israelites moze diligently considered their acte, they iudged it not wel done, that a whole tribe should be cleane destroyed. Of which they nothing thought when they were in their great fury and rage. Wherefore they now accuse theyr cruelty, and detest theyr rigorosnes which they had vsed.

But that they bound themselves with an othe, y they woulde not geue their daughters in matrimony to the Beniamites, it is not in this hystory mentioned: but yet it is most likely y it the happened, whē they were in Mizpah, & the Beniamites would not deliuer the guilty. Wherefore the Beniamites wer oppressed w great miseries. For ether they must take to wiues fozen & straunge wemē, which thing was prohibited the by the law, or els they must perpetually lead a sole life without wiues, and so that tribe should vtterly perish. The Israelites in y they mourn, do suffer punishments for theyr cruelty. For it should haue ben inough for them to haue punished the men. What neede was there to slay women & maidens which had nothing offēded: Unles peraduenture they had solued the bow Cherem. But such a bow it was not lawfull for them to bow, but by the autho

The Israelites were to cruel agaynst the Beniamites.

Cap. 21.

A Commentary vpon the

God punisheth
moderately.

city and commandment of God, whereby appeareth not to haue beene doone in this hystorye. In reuenginge we muste keepe a meane: for all are not to be slaine which come into the power of them that ouercome. It is sufficient to punish the guilty. God slew in Egypt Pharao, also the first begotten, and many other, yet destroyed he not the whole nation. And when he destroyed Sodom, he saued both Lot and also his famelye, and deliuered from misery the citye Zoar, whither Lot went. And in the flood when he drowned the world with water, yet he would saue on lyue Noah with his famely. But it seemeth that these men determined, bitterly to destroy al the Beniamites: whiche they counsel God allowed not, who when the Iewes were afflicted of the Chaldeians, and they raged moze cruellye against them then was mete, both threated to punish them, and also did indeede punish them most grievously.

The variety of
mans nature.

Architas Tar-
rentius.
Asbenodorus

Now the Israelites repent them of their cruelty: but it is to late. They should haue thought of this thing befoze. But this is the nature of man, these that flourish they are angry with, and enny them, & when the same men are ouerthrowne & delected, they pity the. The sword is not rashly to be moued, neither should punishments be executed with an angry mind. Architas the Tarentine hath a very wise saying vnto his seruant: If I were not angry I would punish thee. Athenodorus a philosopher very wel learned when he had gotten leaue of Augustus to depart home, & being despyed to leaue some notable precept with him, answered very wisely: Befoze thou geue place to anger & execute auengment, first say ouer with thy selfe in order all the letters of the Greke Alphabet, namely that

The othe of the
Israelites
being vnjust,
did not bind
them to ob-
serue it.
It was not
lawfull for
daughters to
marry without
the consent of
theyr parents.

in that space and detracting of time the violence of the mind may allwage.

Farther we must note that this othe of the Israelites of not geuinge wyues vnto the Beniamites, was neyther godly nor lawfull. Wherefoze they were not bound to obserue it. Howbeit we vnderstand by this hystory, & this was of force among the people of god, that the daughters should not marry without the consent of theyr parentes. For if it had bene lawfull for the to haue married against theyr parentes will, a man might haue saide: Althoughe ye will not geue your daughters vnto them, they of their owne accord may contract matrimony with them. This thing is so agreable vnto nature, that the Romaine lawes also forbid that matrimony should be firme, except it be contracted by the consent of the parents, as we haue befoze declared. But that thing which neither God, nor nature, nor good lawes can suffer, the same doth the Papistricall superstition easily admytte.

Why the Isra-
elites erected
an altare.
Dauid Kimhi

The Israelites come to Siloh for two causes, partly to aske counsell of God concerning the Beniamites, and partly to geue thanks vnto God for the victory. Wherefoze they burne sacrifices and burnt offerings. And they wept for the misery of the Beniamites, euen vntill euen. Wherefoze it appeareth that they fasted the whole day, other wise they could not haue wept befoze the lord vntill euen.

And they erected an altare. But to what ende? There was an altare there befoze. Some answered that there was an altare there indeede, but it was so old, that it was halfe decayed, and therfoze it neded to be repayed. But Kimhi saith that it was a custome, that when all the people shoulde publicly aske counsell of God, there shoulde of new an altare be erected. But this he affirmeth without the authority of the word of God. I rather thinke, when so great a multitude of people assembled together, ther was so great a number of sacrifices, that the old altare was not sufficient to do holy seruices vpon. Wherefoze that the seruice of of god shoulde be with moze expedition finished, there was erected an other altare. Which thinge also we rede Salomon did, when he dedicated the temple whiche he had built.

When they had wept, because of the othe whereby they had bound themselves not to marry theyr daughters vnto the Beniamites, they thought vpon the other othe, whereby they had bound themselves to slay all those whiche would not put

put to their helpe to the common warre. Neither is their any mention made before of this latter othe. For many things are overpassed in the hystorye, which are afterwarde spoken of, although not in their place. And whillett they are in hand with these things, with one and the selfe same labour they both prepare witness for the Beniamites, and also save their othe. For they which were absent from the warre, were not bounde by the othe. Wherefore they might marry their daughters unto the Beniamites.

But as touching the first othe for not giving witness to the tribe of Benjamin, it was not lawfull. Wherefore it might have bene broken without any violating of religion: for the cutting of of that tribe, was against the word of god. For his will was that it should be preserved among the people of Israel. For God by Iacob the Patriarche gave many and excellent blessings unto the Beniamites, which blessings also Moses in Deut. repeated. But although such an othe was not ratified, yet the Israelites do wisely in that they labour, both to provide for the Beniamites, and also not to be counted rashly to violate their othe. So Iosua sware that he would save the Gabaonites, when as yet god had commanded that all the Chananites should be slayn. For he found a meanes that they should serve in the tabernacle, and so by that meanes bee after a sort punished with cruell death. Although he durst not do that, but by the commandement of god. And he would that the people by his example, should learn not easely to violate an oth. As touching the Iabonites, in that they are called Galaadites, it manifestly appeareth that they pertained unto the tribe of Manasses, and dwelled beyond Iordan. They because they were not present at this warre, are iudged of all the Israelites as enemies, who being destroyed, their maidens which remained on lyue, were brought to Siloh, into the land of Chanaan. And it is rightly added in the lande of Chanaan, because Iabes Gilead was not there, but in halfe the Tribe of Manasses, beyond Iordane.

This warre against the Iabonites was iustly and worthely taken in hande, because they obeyed not the publike commandement. The Israelites had bound them selves by an othe, that whosoever withdrew himselfe from this war, the same should be put to death. Wherefore they counted the Iabonites as enemies, least other men by their example should contemne publike decrees. The Beniamites had committed a grievous wicked crime: but these men in that they refused the common warre, and weakened the authority of the publike wealth, seme also to save their crime. It is not the parte of good Citizens in warre taken in hand by common counsel, to withdraw themselves by private counsell. Metrius Suffecius captaine of Albany, when he soughte Tullus Hostilius, fighting against the Fidenates, by the commandement of Tullus was bound to two cartes, and so drawn in peces. Solon deprived him of all honour & dignity, which in the time of sedition adioyned himselfe to neyther party. And Pompeius (as Plutarke affirmeth) when he fled from Cesar, proclaimed that he would count all them to be enemies which abode at Rome, and helped not the common cause. And after this maner are the Iabonites prescribed and counted for enemies. And no otherwise are they to be counted, which in this our tyme, when there is controversy concerning religion, doo dissemble althings, when as in the meane tyme they will neither stand on the Papistes syde, nor on ours. They (say they) will stand in the myddest betwene both, which is nothing els, then that they will be with the adversaries or enemies. For they halte on either side, and therefore it may be said that after a sort they save them. Farther the cause of religion is farre greater and greivouser then the cause of the publike wealth. In the Church no man can excuse himselfe that hee is a stranger: for no man which professeth himself to be a Christian, can be a stranger from religion: wherefore warre is iustly proclaimed against the Iabonites.

Although I thinke that in this matter also the Israelites were to cruel. For it seemeth

In example of Iosuah.

For example take such vain othes as not easily to be violated. What men the Iabonites were

The Iabonites are worthely unadvised.

The punishment of Metrius Suffecius.

Solon. A decree of Pompeius.

It is not lawful for us in religion to be neuter.

So much cruel
tye against the
Iabonites.

semeth that it should haue bene sufficient to haue slaine the men that were apt vnto warre, which had committed the crime of rebellion. But to kill womē, old men, and chyldezen, it was to much cruelty. Neither could they say that they had holwed vnto the Lord the holy Cherem, soasmuch as they had saued the mayden birgins. And vndoubtedly so great cruelty turned them to eny: so: if they had delt moze gently with the Iabonites, they had had moze women for the Beniamites. Neither coulde they haue geuen counsell to haue used force to get them selues wiues. But it is good to vnderstand how the Israelites founde out that the Iabonites were absent.

The battaile being finished, they al assembled to Siloh, and numbred the people, among whom when they founde none of the Iabonites, they easely vnderstoode that they were absent from the warre. So great was their piety and religion at that time, that when they had obtained the victoꝝ, al of them assembled together to geue thanks vnto God. But that thing is contemned now a daies: for how many are there, which when they haue gotten the victoꝝ, will acknowledge the benefite of God, and geue him thanks. Preachers do out of the Pulpit admonish the people to pray publicly for sicke folkes, of which we either see, or heare of none in a maner, which when they are restozed to health, do publike-ly geue thanks vnto God, so: that they haue by the prayers of the Church escaped free.

They proclaymed peace vnto them which were in Rimmon. That is, gaue them safeconduct to retorne home againe in safety.

14 And Benjamin returned at that tyme, and they gaue them wiues, whom they had made on lyue of the women of Iabes Gilead, which yet were not sufficient for them.

15 And the people had compassion on Benjamin, because the Lord had made a gappe in the tribes of Israel.

16 And then the Elders of the congregacion sayd: what shall wee do for wiues for the rest? for the womē of Benjamin are destroyed.

17 And they sayd: There must be an inheritance for them that bee escaped of Benjamin, that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel.

18 For we cannot geue them of our daughters to wyues. For the chyldezen of Israel had swozne saying: Cursed be he that geueth a wyfe to Benjamin.

19 Then they sayd: Behold, there is a feast of a Lord yearely in Siloh, in the place which is on the North syde of the house of God, and on the East syde of the way that goeth from the house of God, vnto Sechem, and is South from Libanon.

20 And they commaunded the chyldezen of Benjamin, saying: Go and lye in wayte in the bynepardes.

21 And take hede: for behold, if the doughters of Siloh come out to daunce in a row, then come ye out of the bynepardes, and catche vnto you every man hys wyfe, of the daughters of Siloh, and get you into the land of Benjamin.

22 And if their fathers or byerthen come vnto vs to complayne, we wyll say vnto them: Haue pity on vs for them, because we reserued not to eche man hys wyfe in tyme of war. And because ye haue not geuen vnto them, so that ye haue at this tyme offended.

23 And the children of Benjamin did even so, and tooke them wiues of the dauncers, according to their number, whom they caught,
and

and went their wayes and returned euery man to hys inheritance. And repairing their cities they dwelt in them.

24 And the children of Israel departed thence at that time, euery man to hys trybe, and to his famelye. And went out from thence euery man to hys inheritance.

25 In those dayes there was no kyng in Israel, but euery man did that which seemed ryght in hys owne eyes.

They are sayd to haue made on lyue those maydens, whom they had not slaine: for sozasmuch as they had the in their power, it seemed y they might iustly haue slayne them. But they would preserue them on lyue: for that they sawe it was ^{whereby they} ^{understode that} ^{God wold save} ^{the tribe of Benjamin.} not the wyl of God, that al the Beniamites should utterly be destroyed, and here by they understode the wyl of God, because he had caused sixe hundred of them to escape. Wherefore they gaue them safeconduct, and the maydens of the Iabeanites to be their wiues.

God made a breache in Israel. That which they did themselves, they ascribe vnto God. A breache they cal the cutting of of one tribe. Here is expessedlye set forth the inconstancy of mans minde. In that surp and hot anger they would haue destroyed al, and they despyed of God to graunt them a ful victoꝝ: & when they haue obtained it, and finished the matter, they mourne & afflict themselves. If they had moderately vsed the victoꝝ, this thing had not happened vnto them. After the same maner they synned against the Iabeanites: for if they had not slaine al the women ther, they had had wiues inough for the Beniamites. Now hauing slayne all, they found onely. 400. mayden virgins: which not being sufficient, they are compelled to seeke other by rapte or stelyth.

And the Elders sayd. So were the Senators or Senadym called, or els the Tribunes and Centurions, which were rulers ouer the warlike affaires. Let their inheritance be safe. Iosua had appointed vnto euery tribe his inheritance. Wherefore the Israelites could not clayme vnto them selues the landes of the Beniamites.

Cursed be he which geueth his daughter. Hereby appeareth the soyme of the othe: it was an othe of execration. This act of the Israelites had some shewe of equity. For godlye men ought not to contract matrimones with the vngodlye. And it is most manifest that the Beniamites were vngodly, when as they would neither deliuer nor punish the guilty. Besides that, they considered that the Beniamites were now not much vnlike vnto the Chananites, for as much as they had comitted wicked acts, like vnto their spns. But God had forboden the Israelites to mary with the Chananites. Wherefore they cousted it a wycked thing to geue their daughters in matrimonye to them. Howbeit they oughte not so to haue done. For what if they had repented, might they not then haue contracted matrimones with them? That othe was rashly and without iudgement made, nei ther ought it by any meanes to haue bene kept. Neither, as it is most lykelye, was it obserued of their posterity.

A solemnity in Siloh from yeare to yeare. It was a yearely solemnity, wher vnto they vsed publikely to assemble: but sozasmuch as the Jewes had manye suche feastes, it is vncertain, what maner of solemnity this was, of which mention is now made. Yet I maruaile that Kimhi sayth, that this feast seemeth to haue bene Kippurim, wher as it is written y thei had a famous dauncing, which wer absurde to be added in a publike fast. The Chaldee Paraphrast seemeth to haue a respect vnto the feast of the Calēdes or new Moones, in which feast wer thanks geuen vnto God for the gouerning of the world, and course of thinges, as vpon the Sabaoth day for the creation of thinges. But I confesse that I am ignozant what maner of feast this was. How be it I am of that opinion, that I thinke it was the solemnity of the tabernacles.

What moued the Israelites to sweare.

The oth of the Israelites was not iust.

David Kimhi

The Chaldee paraphrast.

There

There is a feast day of God in Siloh. This description sheweth not that it was the solemnity of the place, but rather of the people of Israel, which assembled vnto the feast: and so much as one City could not hold all the Israelites, they assembled vnto all the partes adioyning vnto the City, & to those in especial which are here described. And the Elders do appoynt these places by name, & they might there hide them commodiously, and leade away the maydens as they were dauncing. As though they should haue sayde: Vnto those places they wyl come, out of the hidden places you may breake forth, and steale them away.

It was synne to daunce at the solemnity. It is synne to abuse the feast dayes.

Hereby wee maye perceaue, that the virgins in holys assemblies gaue themselves to playes and daunces, which was to abuse the feast day. It had bene better for them to haue occupied them selues about grauer matters. For the feast dayes were to this end instituted, that the people shoulde assemble together to heare the word of God, to be present at the sacrifices, where they shoulde both call vpon God, and communicate together the Sacramentes instituted of God. Wherefore it is no maruail if these maidens were so stolen away.

Whether as it is written: And when their Abothem, that is their fathers, shall come, & againe Achihem, that is their bryethen, this letter Men is put for Nun, that is M. for N. namely the masculine gender for the feminine. Which forme of speaking is often used in the holy scriptures.

Haue compassion on vs for them. The sense of this short and bryefe prayer is this: We wil say that we wer sorrowful and peniue, and that we could no other way seeke and prouide wiues for the Beniamites. And whatsoeuer is done, we wil affirme to haue bene done by our counsel, and that we were the authours therof. And so we wil desyre them, for our sakes to pardon you. Other do easilier expound it: Gratesp vs, and geue vs your maidens, if you thinke them vniworthy to haue them. We thought that there had bene maidens inough of the Labanites: but that happened otherwise. Wherefore we were constrained to prouide for them by some other meanes. And if they wil say that they are bounde by an othe, and that they cannot geue them: vnto that we wil answer, that their othe is satisfied, because they themselves haue not geuen their daughters, but ye haue stolen them. Here we perceaue that a publike othe is lenesied and mitigated by the interpretation of the Elders. And vndoubtedly that is their office whiche gouerne a publike wealth. Ye (say they) haue not geuen them of your owne free wyl, wherfore ye are free from the othe. Wherefore the Beniamites are prouided for by rapte or stealth. In the Romane history also it is saide that the virgines of Sabine were rapte or stolen, but yet somewhat after an other sorte. For ther the virgins whiche were rapte, were straungers, neyther had Romulus any ryght ouer them: but these maidens were Israelites, and were subiect vnto the authority of the people.

The rapte of the Sabines.

In that these men interpret and lenesie the othe, it hath some shewe of equity. For it might seeme that the fathers violated not their othe, because they of their owne accord gaue not their daughters vnto the Beniamites, but they tooke them away by violence. But if a man more diligently examine the thing, he shal finde either of those excuses false, because the Beniamites dyd not of their owne private counsel steale the maydens, but by the perswasion of the Elders. And on the other syde it seemeth that the Israelites gaue their daughters of their owne accord, & fraudulently brake their oth. For the fathers sware & they woulde not geue their daughters to the Beniamites. How had they them then? Of the Elders. But they are the fathers of the countrey: wherfore this was no vpright and simple dealing: neyther dyd guile breake their oth, but rather bound it. The Israelites pretended the religion of an othe: which yet they craftely violated, & consented to rapte or stealth, which wicked act is no more remisse then perjury.

The oth is not well interpreted.

And Achihem.

They eschew- ing one wicked example fall in- to an other.

They wyl not geue an example of perjury, and they graunt to rapte. Farther they violate an other principle of the law of God. For in the last chap. of

Num.

Numbers it is commaunded, that if a mayden be an inheritor, she should not marry into an other tribe, to the ende that inheritances should not be confounded. That there-fore if some of these that were stollen, were inheritours: Undoubtedlye they had a- gainst the law of God marped out of their tribe.

If a man wyl say, they did this wylh a good minde, and (as they vse to saye) for a godly intent, that the whole tribe of Benjamin should not utterly perishe: Answer may be made, it is not sufficient that a thing be done with a good minde: because also we must see that the thing whych is done, be good, be iust, be right, and agreeable vnto the woozd of God. Farther, God forbiddeth that matrimonies shoulde be ratified wylhout the consent of the Parentes. But here the maydens are rapte, and marped not onely wylhout the knowledge of the Parentes, but also agaynst their wyls, a- gainst good lawes, and authozity of the woozd of God. Farther, the Magistrate promyseth to pacify the Parentes, and to reconcile them vnto them, if they chaunce to be angry: and so they fall from one wycked act into an other, neither asked they counsel of God in this thing. They take counsel of themselves, as though in a thing of such perplexity and obicurenesse they coulde not erre. And that we shoulde not maruaile that these things so happened, this verse is agayn repeated: *There was no king in Israel.* Now resteth to speake apart of Rapte and of Daunces. But as touchyng an othe, I wyl touche onely so muche, as I thinke sufficient to this history.

Of Rapte.

This woozde Rapte in Hebrue is called *Cheteph*, the Grecians saye *ἀπαγαγναι*, the Latines *Rapere*, whych is to take away by violence, not al maner of wayes, but as it were by a certayne fury and great violence. Wherefore Rapte differreth from theft: because theft may be committed secretly, & wylhout violence. Wherefore in the *Digestes de Iuriurando*, in the law *duobus reis* it is had: Though a man sweare that he hath not rapte any thing away, yet is he not straightway quit of theft. For although that which is done be not rapte, yet it may be theft. So the ciuil law seperateth theft from rapte. But to what thynges rapte pertaineth, it is had in the *Digestes De con- dictione fructuaris* in the law. 1. Things immovable as houses, landes and Farmes, are invaded, but thynges moueable, as thynges not hauing lyfe, beastes and men are rapted. But we here entreate of the rapte of thyngs moueable, & yet not of althyngs, but of humane bodie, whych are by violence taken away for lustes sake.

There is an other kinde of rapte, but not proper: whiche Augustine toucheth in his 19 sermon *de verbis Apostoli*, & it is had in the decrees. 14. quest. 3. chap. *Si quid inuenisti*, wher he sayth that thynges which are found must be restozed. Which thing if thou do not, thou hast rapte them, sozasmuch as thou hast done what thou couldest, so that if thou haddest founde moze, thou wouldest haue rapte moze, &c. Where the Glosse very well declareth, what is to be done wylh thynges that are found. Cyther (sayth he) the same thynges are counted for thynges cast away, as if anye owner hath cast away anye thyng, the same thyng if a man retayne when he hath founde it, he committeth not theft. But if that thyng whych is found be not wyllyngly cast away, neyther thought to haue bene wyllyngly lost by the owner (as when a ryng is found, or a purse, or a ny suche thyng, whych is not wont to be cast asyde) the same thing if thou retaine, it is theft, vnles thou keepe it by thee with a wil and mynde to restoze it again. Wherefore thou must publykely testefye that thou hast founde those thynges, wherby the owner may come to hys owne agayne, as it is decreed in the *Digestes de furtis*, in the lawe *Falsus*, in the Paragraphe *Qui alienum*. But if thou keepe it by thee, wylh the mynde not to restoze it, it is theft. Whych thing Augustine in the place now alle- ged reponeth.

The same thyng is decreed in the *Code de thesauro*, in the law *Nemo*. And in the *Statutions de Rerum diuisione*, where it is ordayned, that if a man fynde treasure in his house or grounde, it shall be hys that fyndeth it. But if he fynde it in an other mans soyle, either he hath gotten it by chaunce, or els he sought for it, if he haue gottē it by chaunce, let it be deuided betwene the fynder and the owner: but if he sought for it, the whole muste redounde to the owner. If the place were holpe, and the treasure be founde by chaunce, the fynder shall haue it.

It is added, that if a man sought treasure in his owne ground, & bled therunto ma- gike & artes forbidden, the thing found ought to be forfayted to the comon treasury. For which by enil meanes hath sought a thing, semeth vnwozthy to be possessor ther- of.

What differ-
ence is betwene
theft and rapte

Of what rapte
is here intrea-
ted.

Augustine.

The Glosse.

What is to
bee done wylh
thynges found.

Against magike
and artes for-
bidden.

Origene.

of. But to returne to Augustine, that which I before said, I affirm that it is not properly rapte, if a man hold backe a thing that he hath founde. Which thing Origene plainly declarerh in his. 4. Homily vpon Lamentus: Some saith he, will not relieue that which they haue found. For they say that God hath geuen it them. But what forer they say it is a crime like vnto rapte. He saith not that it is rapte, but a certain thing like vnto it. Although we haue out of the ciuill law made a difference betwene theft and rapte, yet may rapte be called theft, but yet so that there be added violence. In the digestes & fuffis, in the law of venetians, it is thus writte: A rapter enery way comitterh theft, and is an open theefe. But omitting these thinges let vs returne to that kinde of rapte wherof we now treat.

Some said, that to rapte is nothing els then violently to leade away a mayden from the house of her father, to the ende after he hath defiled her, to marie her to his wife. But this definition is not full nor absolute, although it be vsurped of the Canonists, in the. 36. question. chap. Lex illa. Paragraphe Cum ergo. For in this our history the maydens were rapted, and yet not led away from their fathers house, but out of the field or vineyardes. Forther is that true which is added, namely to marie her, or to haue her to his wife, when he hath defiled her. For the rapter may either haue a wyl to haue her to his Concubine, or to abuse her for his pleasure, although he take her not to wife. Farther, this foresaid definition mentioneth onely of maydens, where as yet neuertheless both married women and wydowes, also free mayd seruants, and bondmayd seruants, & also yong children may sometime bee rapted. Wherefore that crime extendeth farther then that definition containeth. Onely barlots seeme to be exempted. For they are not said properly to be rapted, although they be led away by violence. And vndoubtedly it is then no action of rapte, but onely of iniurie: But such persons are vnderstand to be rapted from the custody eyther of the parent, or of their Lord, or Guardian, or Patrone, or Lord, to the ende to haue vnlawfull accompanying together, whether matrimony do follo w or no.

Of the punishment
of rap-
tors.

How must we declare what punishments are ordeined for rapters. In the Code de rapto virginum et viduarum in the law Vltia, Iustianus intreateth at large of that matter, & maketh the rapt of the persons, which I haue before treated, death, so that also the companions, and they which haue holpen the rapter, are comprehended in the same punishment. Neither was that thought to be sufficient, but ther were inuented other punishments more grieuous then death. For it is decreed that not onely the Judges & Magistrates shal put him to death, but also if the rapter be taken in the wicked act doing by the parents, brethren, kinfolkes, turo, gouerner, lord, patrone, or finally by him in whose power he is that is rapted, they may kill him, & that without any punishment. It is also ordeined, that they which are present with the rapter, & defend him in his filthy act, maye also be slaine without any punishment to hym or them that killeth them.

Rapte is some-
times committed
against a mans
own spouse.

He addeth moreover, that rapte is sometime committed against a mans owne spouse, as if one by violence take away her, who he hath not yet married. And if a man take away an other mans wife, he hath not onely comit adultery, but also rapte. If the rapter be not slaine in the very wicked act doing, he ought afterward to be put to death by the Judges or Magistrates, & that in such sort, that though he appeale vnto a superiour magistrate, he shal not be heard. And that thing saith Iustianus was ordeined by the law called Lex Constantina. Vndoubtedly it is grieuous not to be heard if thou appeale: Which thing is here decreed. So great a matter doo the ciuill lawes

Power to ap-
peale is taken
away fro rap-
tors.

make of rapte

In fremaid seruants, & bondmaid seruants the punishment is ended with death: but if a fre woman be rapted, the goods of the rapter, & those which be present with him, be taken to her use that is rapted. Neither is it any thing woorth so; the rapter to geue away his goods, or to bequeath them away by will, but they fall into the hands of her that is rapted, & that not onely so; a time, but also for euer, so that she may either sell them, or alienate them, or geue them to a dowry. One thing onely is excepted, vnles she that is rapted doo marie the rapter, the goods of the rapter are geuen her on that condition that she should not marie hym. And the reason of the law is added, because in our publike wealth we suffer not, that a man shoulde marie a wyfe after the manner of an enemy. For Citizens are wont to marie their wyues, and not to rapt them. But what was done with them, which although they wer not present at the rapte, yet were a counsel therof, or being wyttling therof, uttered it not, or afterward receaued the

the rapter into their house: Justinian decreed, that they in deede shoulde not loose their goods, but onely be put to death. But if a bondman, or bondwoman were taken either in committing or appling this crime, they were commaunded to be burnt wth fyre.

But what if a mayden wil by her own consent be rapt? None of the punishment for al that (saith Iustinian) ought to be diminished, it is vtterlye al one, whither the woman wil, or wil not. And the reason is added, because if the rapter woulde abstayne from the rapte, it is not very likely that any woman wil offer her selfe of her owne accorde to be rapted. wherfoze it seemeth probable, that she was won by flattery & deceites. Yea, & the Parents of the maiden, if they consent to the rapte, are commaunded to be banished. These things Iustinian decreeth in the Code, who yet afterward in the Authentikes (where is entreated of womē rapted, which maye the rapters) was compelled to make a law new, because ther wer which cancelled, that if she that was rapted did consent vnto matrimony, she might posses the goods of the rapter. For so they interpreted the first law: & the goods of the rapter ought to come vnto her that was rapted, if she married him, or if he in his wil made her his heire. But we (saith Iustinian) ment no such thing: for our lawes do not appoint rewardes for a wicked crime. Farther, neither can he make any wil, for asmuch as he is now condemned to dye, neither do our lawes suffer any such matrimony to be of force. And if it be no matrimony, how the can she posses the goods of the rapter in the name of a dowry? wherfoze he decreed that such marriages should not be ratified. what then shal become of the goods of the rapter? If the maiden (saith he) haue parentes, which haue not therunto consented, those goods shal come vnto them. But if they haue consented as it is already said, they were banished without anye proprietye of goods or landes, which kinde of punishment was much more greivous then playn exile. But if the mayden had no parentes, or had those which consented, the goods of the rapter were confiscate to the comon treasury. By these thinges appeareth that in those tymes rapte was counted a detestable crime.

wherunto this thing also I wil adde, if any daughter had married against the wyll of her parents, or otherwise behaved her self wantonly & vnechastly, it was lawfull for the parents to disinherit her, as it is had in the Code, De Inofficiolo Testamento, in the law si filiam. This one thing is excepted: If the father knew that the inst time of matrimony was past, & he would not place his daughter, then hath he nothing to saye against his daughter, if she mary without his knowledge, or against his wil: yea rather he is compelled to geue her a dowry, as it is had in the Code in the same place, in the law Si post viginti quinque annos. wherby it appeareth that .25. yeares was the time of farthest prologation of matrimonye. The same thing is had in the Digestes, De ritu nuptiarum, in the law qui liberos. Other lawyers determine the same thing, if a woman rapte a man: although they say that happeneth rarely.

What if a woman rapte a man

Now is to be added the opinion of the Canonists, & what they bring out of the scriptures. In the .36. q. 1. Gratian bringeth that definition of rapte, whiche we haue before confuted. But this thing he addeth: That in rapte is iniury done sometimes to the maiden, & not to the parents: & sometimes to the parents, & not to the mayden: & sometimes to both of them. For if the maiden wil be rapte of her own free will, there is no iniury done vnto her, but vnto her parents. But if the parents geue the man power to rapte the daughter, because she wil not consent to mary him, then is no iniury done vnto the, but vnto the daughter. But to both of them is iniury done, when the mayden is led away from her parents, against her wil, & against their wil, & in the same place he bringeth the counsel of Orleanse, in the chap. de raptoribus, where also he confelleth that rapte was wont to be punished with death. But it is added, that if the rapter come vnto the Church, the punishment of death is escaped. what shal there then be done? If the mayden (sayeth he) consented vnto the rapter, first she shal be taken from him, & be restored to her parents, but yet being excused, that is, a caution receaued, that she be not slayne or disinherited. But if she consented not, she is by her selfe sufficientlye purged: but the rapter shal be compelled to publike penance, as it is had in the .36. q. 2. chap. Raptorey. But what if he wil not do penance? He shalbe excommunicated, according to the counsel of Chalcedonia & Cabiloniam. But if he do penance, he shal be punished by the purse. And herein they say & they follow the word of God, which is written in Deut. 22. chap. If a man defile a mayden, he shal geue vnto her parentes, .50. syles, and shal take her to wife. And so he condemneth the rapter to pay a certain sum of mony vnto the parent of the mayden. The which sum if he wil not pay, or haue not wherewithal to pay, he is bidden to serue the father of the maiden for certaine yerres, which the Glosse contracteth to fyue, vpon this condicion, that in the meane time he may redeme himselfe if he wyll.

Consilium An relianense.

Consilium Chalcedonense & Cabilonense.

It is also added: If they consent together, the matrimony is firme, so that the father agree therunto. And that these marriages may be firm betwene the rapter & her that is rapted, it also appereth by the decretals de Raptoribus et incendiariis, in the chap. cum cau & in the chap. following. which thing without doubt is against the ciuill lawes, & the Canons that are of the better sort. But the counsel of Aylbenū hath far otherwise decreed.

Concilium Mel dense.

*Consilium A-
quisgrauense.*

Jerome.

*Of the rapte of
Dina.*

*The schoole-
mens opinion.
Thomas Aquinas.*

For first it hath ordained, that the rapter, & she that is rapted should do publike penance: afterward it permitteb matrimony, but yet not betwene themselves, but wpth other. And it is added, that if the husband or wife of either of them die, he which hath committed the rapte, or consented vnto the Rapter, cannot contract new matrimony, except the bishop release him. Farther it is ordained, that by no meanes any such matrimony shuld be firme, no though the Parents consent therunto. Yea, and the same Gracian confesseth, that the same thing was decreed in the Counsel which was had at Aquisgranum. Yet afterward, both he himselfe otherwise defineth, & also the decretals of the Popes. what then make they of those Counsels? They answer, that those Counsels ment this, that it should not be lawful to contract matrimony in that case, vnles open penance be fyrst done, and the consent of the Parents had.

And to proue that sentence, Gracian (in the. 36. q. 2. chap. Triu) citeth Jerome, who seemeth to acknowledge thre lawful kindes of matrimony. One, when a mayden is geuen in matrimony to a husband by her Parents or Tutors. An other, if a mayden bee oppressed of a man, & her father afterward consent to geue her him in matrimony. The third is, if the father consent not to such mariages, but geue her vnto an other mā. These thre matrimonies he saith are lawful in the holy scriptures. But in the. 27. q. 2. chap. Additur, is by the testimonye of Jerome an other kynde of lawfull matrimony added, namely when a widow, which is not vnder the power of the Parents, marieth in the Lord. Whereby Gracian gathereth that Jerome acknowledgeth matrimonye betwene the Rapter & her that is rapted. But I perceaue that in the. 22. chap. of Exodus, is nothing intreated of rapte, onely mention is made of fornication, and not of rapte. For it is said: If he shal by flatteries allure her to lye with him, then hath he libertye geuen him, that he may take her to his wife, hauing the consent of the Parents. But if a man had rapted a mayden or man chylde, then he was iudged by the lawe called Lex Plagi, which is written in Deuteronomy, & testifieth that he shoulde be punished with death, whosoener stealeth a womā or mā in Israel. wherfoze ther is nothing writtē in the holy scriptures (as far as I see) as touching & establishing & ratifying of such a matrimony.

But here some man wil object, that Jacob & his sonnes consented, that Sechem one of the sonnes of Hemor, should haue in matrimony Dina Jacobs daughter, who Sechem had rapted, so that his subiectes would suffer themselves to be circumcised. I graffe this: but it was done befoze the law of Moles was geuen. Neither do we redethat the Patriarches had anye woorde of God concerning this thing. Neither can it be denyed that befoze the law was published, very many thinges wer committed against it. Jacob, of who we now intreate, had the same time. 2. sisters in matrimony. Amra had to wyfe his Aunt, of whom he had Moles, Aaron, & Maria, which matrimonies, after the law was geuen, wer not lawful. wherfoze the example now brought, proueth nothing.

But if hope of matrimony shoulde be geuen vnto Rapters, there shoulde be opened a wide window for furious yong men to vse raptes. For they wyl make no doubt to rapte, if they may hope to mary her whom they haue rapted. But all occasions of euill are to be taken out of the publike wealch and the Church. Farther, soasmuche as Parents are highly to be honozed, if matrimonies shoulde against their wils be contracted betwene the Rapter and her that is rapted, they shoulde suffer great cōmme. This thing also semeth to be added, that Lucius the Pope writeth to the bishop of Burgens (as it is had Extra de Raproribus et Incendiariis, in the chap. Cum causa) that he decreeth, that if a mayden saye, that befoze she was rapted, there were woordes passed betwene them of marriage, it cannot be called properly rapte. what shal then be done? May she agaynst her Parents wil mary the Rapter? Innocentius the. 3. in the chap. following, decreeth: If a maiden be rapted against her wil, and afterward consent to mary the Rapter, that marriage is also firme, yea although it be agaynst the wil of her Parents. And he addeth that this is done in the honoz of matrimony, when as in drede it apertlye perturneth to the reproche therof, if a man do moze deeply weigh the whole matter. In the. 27. q. 2. chap. Raptor, it is had: If a mayden that is rapted, bee betrothed vnto an other, by the woordes of the future tence, she must be restored vnto him, so that he wil receaue her. But if he wil not, it is free for the maiden which was rapted to mary an other. But if she were betrothed by the woordes of the present tence, and that she can proue that she was rapted against her wil, the spouse if he wil not receaue her, ought to be compelled.

The schole Deuines write not much disagreeing vnto this. Thomas Aquinas in. 2. toucheth this question, whē he writeth that rapte springeth of a vehement lust, wherby the Rapter is so troubled, that he neglecteth al daungers. And he wyl haue her that is rapted, to be reudged vnto her Spouse, if she haue any: and if she haue none, vnto her Parents, or if she be wpthout Parents, to them in whose power shee was. And then if they wil agree, she may mary the Rapter: but so, that first be made restitution, because in al theft and rapte restitution is chiefly required: yet saith he, rapte befoze restitution be made, letteth matrimonye to bee contracted, that is, that they synne, if they contract matrimony: but if it be contracted, it breaketh not the contract. But to the Canons which deter-

determine against it, he answereth, y they were made in defestacion of y crime. But the Pope afterwarde considered the matter better. But this was not the parte of a holpe man to woozship the Pope for God, and so to flatter him lyke a bondslaue. And to the ende he might seeme to speake rightlye, he byngeth the woozdes of Ierome, which are in Gracian concerning the threekindes of matrimony. But how that place serueth to this present matter, I haue befoze shewed. Lastlye, he objecteth vnto himselfe the Counsell of Meldenum. But that place he sayth, is to be vnderstand: If a man shall rapte her which was maried vnto an other. As though he that were obscure or doubtful. Wee neede no Canons to vnderstand this. A certaine Deuine not of the woozse sozte, strongly setteth himselfe against Thomas concerning this thing, and where Thomas saith, that rapte letteth not the matrimony already contracted, he answereth, that many decrees make against that sentence. Farther he byngeth a reason, namely that he which is communicate can not receiue the sacramentes. And then he addeth that the Rapter is excommunicated: wherfoze viles he do open penance and reconcile hymselfe vnto the Church, he cannot contract matrimony.

But Caietanus there laboureth vterly to defende bys Thomas, and denyeth that he which is excommunicate, cannot receiue the sacramentes. How be it this he confesseth, that he which is excommunicate, synneth if he receiue the sacramentes. And he addeth: If an excommunicate be admitted to consecration or to holy orders, it cannot be denyed but that he hath receiued the sacramentes, neither is it lawfull for him to repeate them againe, if he afterwarde do penance. Farthermoze, he sayth that the Master of the Sentences in the first where he reckoneth the impedimentes, which take away matrimony contracted, numbzeth not rapte at all. Farther, he teacheth that the Rapter, and she that is rapted, are not by the act itselfe excommunicated, but to be excommunicated. But because he seeth it is in the Canons of the counsell of Chalcedon & Cabilon. Let the Rapter and her that is rapted be accursed, he answereth that the Glose enterpreteth that saying to be of the same force, as if it had bene sayd: Let them be accursed. Wherouer he answereth to the other twoo thynges concerning restitution and penance, he sayth, that she that is rapted, ought not to be restored, but it is sufficient, if he satisfy the father by some meanes, although she be not rendred vnto him into his hand: euen as in the best it is not alwayes necessary that thynges taken away shoulde be restored, but sometymes it is sufficient, that the injury be recompensed by a price or bond. But concerning penance he sayth: The Rapter, if he contract without it, doth synne in dede, but yet after he hath contracted, the matrimony is firme. Lastlye, he saith that the Canons, which decree to the contrary, are either abrogated, or els doo speake of spousals. After this maner Thomas, Caietanus, the Deuines, Ecclesiastical men, & Canonistes trifle among them selues, & play the Parasites with the Pope their God.

Now wil I declare, what the holy scriptures determine of rapte, and what they iudge thereof. The first place is out of the booke of Genesis the 6. chapter, where it is wytten: The sonnes of God seeing the daughters of men that they were fayre, tooke them to wyues, such as they lusted them selues. I knowe there are brought sundry interpretations of this place. Some expounde the sonnes of God to be angels, which being kindled by the beuty of faire women, had fellowship with them. This expolition cannot agree: for so much as angels haue no bodies, they cannot burne in such lusses. Others by the sonnes of God vnderstand those which came of Seth, and were brought vp in the true woozshipping of God, who being overcome with beuty & saynes, contracted matrimones with the daughters of Cain, that is, with Idolaters and Infidels. Whereby nothing nowe remaind sounde and perfecte, and therefore God sending a flood, destroyed the whole worlde. The Chaldee Interpreter sayth, that the Sonnes of God were myghtye men, and Magistrates, who when they hadde taken to wyues the daughters of vyle men, all thynges were fylled wth vyces.

Item.

Caietanus

Item.

Item.

The sentence of the holpe scriptures.

The Chaldee interpreter.

Here I see was committed rape, which thing the Chaldee Paraphrast hath signified, which paraphrast among the Hebrewes is of an incredible authority. And assuredly Moses saith not that they desired those wives of their Parents, but onely tooke them whom they liked best. By that place may easily be noted the course, and as it were the degree of mans peruersnes. For first they sawe, and then they desired, and at the last they raped. Neither were they wonne by their vertues, but onely by the beauty of the body. Wherefore God punished that sinne by a flood. And although there were many other synnes in them, yet this one is expessed with a great emphasis.

Wherein in the 34. chap. of the same booke, Sechem the sonne of Hemor dyd rape Dina the daughter of Jacob. But what ende that rape had, it is not needed now to declare. But the cause why Dina was raped, was her curiositie, the mayden would go forth, and vnderstand the manners of other women. Curiosity did then hurt her, & also will alwayes hurt women. For if it were hurtful vnto the sawely of Jacob, being so great a Patriarche, for a mayden to wander a boade, howe muche more dangerous is it for other families, which are not so holy nor acceptable vnto God. But the nature of women is much infected with this vice. And therefore Paul to Titus, admonisheth women to loue their husbands, to bring vp their children, and to be by their husbands at home. And to Timothee, when he entreateth of wanton and yong widowes: they wander abroade (sayth he) and runne from house to house, and at the last go after Satban. And these virgins, of whom we now entreate, when they wandered through the vineyardes, and gaue themselves idely vnto dauncinges, were taken by the Beniamites. Some man will say, that the brethren of Dina oppressed the Hemorhites by guile. It is true in dede, but when they were reprovied of their Father, they sayde: Dught they to haue done Niblah, that is, a foolish and wycked thing in Israel. And that Dina was raped not willingly, but against her will, hereby appeareth, because it is written that Sechem, after he had oppressed her, spake vnto her hart, which signifieth nothing els, then that he would by flatterye haue comforted her.

Curiosity was the cause that Dina was raped.

The Beniamites did not properly commit rape. Unluckie endes of rapes.

But it maye seeme marvellous, that these Beniamites were not punished for their rape: but we must consider that they dyd not properly commit rape, because they led away the maydens, not onely by their owne counsell, but also by the will of the Elders. Otherwise true and proper rape hath alwayes had an unlucky end. So Argus was led awaye of the Phenicians, Europa of the men of Creta, Medea of Iason, Helena of Paris, all whiche rapes dyed by discordes and warres, and also the overthrowinges of publike wealthes and kingdomes.

Titus Livius. Augustine.

Also the woman of Saba, being of curiositie desirous to bee present at open spectacles, were raped by the Romans. Whereof folloved suche warres, that both nations were almost destroyed, as Titus Livius and Augustine De ciuitate dei write. Wherefore soasmuch as God will not haue such wicked actes vnpunished, it is meete that from hence forth we annoyde suche marriages. I am not of that sentence, to denye those marriages which hit hereto haue ben contracted after that maner, are marriages. For it is not my mynde to bring in a confusion of thinges. But these two things I affirme, first that in contracting there is sinne, especially if it be done against the will of the Parents. Farther, that those lawes, whereby suche marriages are permitted, are to be corrected, that hereafter it be not lawfull to doo the like. For we see that the order whiche God hath set, is peruerred, when Parents are neglected, by whose counsell marriages should be contracted. And by this meanes yong men are encouraged to rapes, wher as they hope y they may mary the wyces wher they shal rape. Farther, that which I speake, is agreeable with the lawes of God, with the law of nature, & with the ciuil lawes. Wherefore let the Canonistes & Schoolemen take heed how they iudge the contrary. Now resteth somewhat to speake of bawmers.

Of Daunces.

Chorea that is a daunce, is sozmed (as Plato sayth) of this woꝝde χορηγία, whiche
signifieth ioye, because it is a certayn testification of ioy. And Seruius (when
he interpreteth this verse of Vergil, Omnis quam chorus & socii comitantur
dantes, that is, whō all the daunce and fellows followed with mirth) saith that
chorus is the singing and dauncing of such as be of like age.

Seruius.

But whiche daunces had their beginning, there at Idoꝝy opinio. Some thinke
that men when they beheld the sonny motions of the wādyng and fixed starres,
found out dauncing, wherby þ variety of motions might be represented. Other
thinks that daunces came rather of religion, because among the old Ethnikes,
there were in a manner no holy seruises wherē was not leappng oꝝ dauncing.
For they led their daunces from the least part of the alter to the right, wherby to
resemble the motion of the heauen from the East vnto the West, afterward they
returned fro the right to the least, to expresse the course of the wādyng starres.
Whiche thyng peraduenture Vergil signified when he sayd: Instaurantq; cho-
ros, mixtiq; altaria circum, that is, and they being mixed together reuelled they
daunces compassing about the alters.

Of the offryng
of daunces.

Virgil.

Then e the wysses of Mars whiche were dauncers, were had in great honour
among the Romanes. And there are some also which referre the beginning of daū-
cing to Hiero a tyran of Sicilia. For he (they say) to establish his tyzanny, sozbad
the people to speake one to an other. Wherfoze men in Sicilia began to expresse
their meanings and thoughtes by bekes and gestures of the booy, and þ thing
eurned afterwarde into an vse and customs. But whatsoener this thyng was,
dauncinges in the olde tyme were not agaynst Religion: althoughe afterwarde
they were applyed to publike mirth.

Walk the ples-
ures of Mars.

The deuise of
Hiero.

There was also an other kind of dauncing, wherby young mē wer exercised to
warlike affayres. For they wer commaunded to make gestures e to leape, hānyng
vpon the their armoz, þ afterward they might be the moze prompt to fight, whē
needs so; the publike wealth should require. This kind of dauncing was called
saltacio Pyrrhica, e because it was exercised in armoz, it was called πυρρική, of
this daūcing is mention in þ ciuile lawes, namely in þ digestes de pennis, in þ law
ad dand. And sometymes young men whē they had offended, wer not straightway
put to death, but were condēned either to hunte vpon a stage, oꝝ els to daunce in
armoz. And they wer called Pirrhicari. Also there was an other kind of daūcing,
which was instituted onely for pleasure e wantōnes sake, e that was called of þ
Grecians κόρη & χορηγία. But of those daūses which by gestures of þ body,
expresse the senses of þ minde, wryteth Lucianus in his booke περί εἰρηνοῦς, e so
doth Athenens in which kynd at the length it came to þ point, þ when at Rome
Demetrius Cynicus derided the daūse called Mimica saltacio, calling it a thyng
vaine e nothing worth, a noble daūcer, which thē was had in honoꝝ at Rome, de-
sired him, þ he would once onely beholde hym dauncing, e afterward to iudge e
speake his fāsy whatsoener he would. He came vnto þ stage, the daūser called
saltator Mimicus begā by gestures to resemble þ cōmon fable of Mars, takē in adul-
tery with Venus. In which thing he so expresse the sunne whiche declared the
fact, e Vulcanus knittyn his nets, e Venus ouercome with shame, e Mars hum-
bly desiring pardon, þ Demetrius being astonished cried out: ἀλλοῦ δ' ἀνδρῶν ἔπος
ἴσθαι, οὐ γὰρ οὐκ αὐταῖς γὰρ ταῖς χειρὶν δοκῆς μοι λαλεῖν. What is, I heare I mā
the things þ thou doest, I do not onely see the, so; by these thy bandes þ seemeth
to me to speake. About þ same tyme by chance came to Rome þ king of Pontus, e
whē he had sene this daūser played his gestures on þ stage, being afterward bid-
de of Nero, to aske what thig he most desired to haue geue him, he desired to haue
þ Mimus. Nero meruailled, sozasmuch as he mought haue asked other thinges of
much greater pꝛice, e asked him the cause of þ his request. He answered, because

Of Saltatio Pyr-
rhica.

Wanton daūse
syng.

Lucianus.
Athenaus.

I sayng of De-
metrius Cyni-
cus.

I haue sōdy naciōns subiect vnto me, which without an interpreter, I cannot vnderstand, and oftentimes it happeneth that the interpreters do not faithfully enough tell vnto them what I say, nor againe what they say vnto me. But this fellow with his gestures willterpresse al thinges most faithfully.

Plato.

Plato in his 3. de legibus maketh two kinds of dauncings, one πολιμικόν, which before we haue called Pirrhicum. The other ἀγυμνικόν, which he calleth οὐμνικόν. I omitte to speake of the filthy kinde of dauncinge, because it is apertly condemned by the lawes. The Pirrhicall dauncing, and that which is done by gestures maye haue place to some viles of the publike wealth, but they pertaine not to our purpose. Wherefore in this place we must speake of οὐμνικόν, how far

Dauncing by it selfe and of his owne nature is not vicious.

it is lawfull, soasmuch as it is exercised for mirth sake. Assuredly I thinke that this kinde of dauncing is not of his owne nature vicious or prohibited, because nimblenes and agility of the body is the gift of God, and if there be added any arte, namely that the body be moued in order, aptly in number, and with comelines, I do not se why it ought to be reprobued, so that it be doone in time, moderately and without offence.

For euen as it is lawfull to sing, and we may be singing to geue thanks vnto god, and to celebrate his praises, so also by a moderate dauncing we may testify the ioy and mirth of the minde. For David publicly daunced before the arke of the Lord, & the maidens with daunces & songes celebrated his victory against Goliath. Maria also the sister of Moses, whē Pharaoh was ouerthrowen & slayne, led daunces with other women, and songe a song of victory. Wherefore seeing holymen and chaste women haue bled daunces, we can

Dauncinges bled at thys day ar vicious.

not say of theyr owne nature they are vicious. But as it is bled in these dayes that men should daunce mingled together with women, ought not to be suffered, because these thinges are noysshmentes and prouokers of wantonnes and lusts.

Maria the sister of Moses daunced not with younge men, but apart by her self among women. Neither daunced David with women, and maidens which celebrated his victory daunced among themselves, and not with men.

Whereouer they which loue God withall their heart, & withall their strengthes, ought not onely to obserue his commandementes, but also to cut of all occasions whereby the obseruing of them might be letted.

Reasons against daunces of our synners.

But our daunces are most euident occasions of transgressions of the lawes of god. They are snares & offences, not onely vnto the dauncers, but also to the beholders: for they stirre vp & inflame the hartes of men, which are otherwise euill ynough euen from their beginning: & that thing which is to be repressed & kepte vnder with great study & industry, the same is stirred vp by the wanton entisementes of daunces. Undoubtedly, if a man will consider himself, either by experience

or by reason, he shall finde that in such spectacles & lustes of the mynde are not a litle kindled & inflamed, & he shall perceiue that men retorne home from those daunces les good then they were, & women also les chaste then they were. Farther, perils are rather to be auoyded, then to be noysshed. For (as Salomon sayth) he which loneth daunger, shall fall therein.

But some will object, that whereas daunces be so against maners, & do kindle lust, the same cometh rashly & by chaunce: but euery thing is to be iudged not of these thinges, which happen by chaunce, but of these thinges which are in it of it selfe & by nature. There are some so chaste & vncorrupt, that they can behold these spectacles with a perfect & chaste mind. I graunt, & that may sometimes happen, but I adde that all accidentes are not of one & selfe same kinde. For there

Difference of accidentes.

are some which happen very rarely, other some are called ἐπιτοκὰς, which is which by their nature may as well be present vnto any thing, as absent. And there are some which are called ἐπιτοκὰς that is, such as are wont to happen oftentimes & for the most part. These last accidentes ought in euery thing to be considered and most diligently weighed: neither must we take heede, what may be done, but what is wont to be done. Aristippus daunced in purple, & being reprobued, he made

Aristippus.

an excuse, that he was made neuer a whit the worse by that daunsing, but might in
 y^e softenes kepe still his Philosophical minde. But such voyces are not to be heard;
 because as Demosthenes saith, & it is cited of y^e lawyers, we must not consider what
 some certayne man doth at a tyme, but what is wont to be done for the most part.
 Graunt that there be some one mā so chaste y^e he is nothing moued with such entise-
 mentes, how in the meane tyme is the people & multitude prouided for? Shall we
 for the perfectnes and integrity of one or two, suffer all the rest to be in daunger?

Demosthenes.

But so (a mā will say) take away sermons also & sacramentes, for many heare
 the word of God, sometyms to their condēnation, & many eate & drinke the holy
 misteryes vnto their owne iudgemēt. Here we must know that certayn things are
 profitable to the saluation of mē, & are commaunded by y^e word of god, which things
 ought by no meanes to be taken away. And certayn things are indifferent, which
 if we se they tend to destrucciō, they are not to be suffered. We haue the law of god
 for hearing of sermons, and receauing the sacramentes; but for daunsing there
 is no commaundement geuen. Wherefore these things are not to be compared together.
 But by daunces & leapinges some say y^e very many honest matrimonyes are brought
 to pas. It may be so sometyms, but I was neuer of y^e opiniō y^e I would haue ma-
 trimonyes contracted by these artes, wherein a regard is had onely to the agillty &
 beauty of y^e body. There are other meanes much more honest: let vs blesse them and
 leaue these as litle chaste & shamefast. Let vs remēber, y^e although honest matrimo-
 nyes are sometyms brought to pas by dauncings, yet much more ofte are adulteries
 & fornications wont to follow of those spectacles. We ought to follow the exāples
 of godly fathers, who now & then vsed daunces, but yet such as were moderate &
 chaste, so that the men daused by themselves, & the womē a part by themselves: by such
 kynde of daunces, they shewed forth the gladnes of their myndes, they sang pray-
 ses vnto God, and gaue hym thanks for some notable benefyte whiche they had
 receaued. But we rede not in the holy Scriptures of mingled daunces of men and
 women together. But our men say: Who can daunce after that sorte? In saying
 so, they bitter themselves, what they seeke for in daunsing.

A certayne pro-
 fitable distinc-
 tion of things.

What daunces
 are honest.

Whereouer let vs marke y^e effects of daunsing. It is writtē in Mathew, y^e the daugh-
 ter of Herodias daused at a banquet which the king made: & the kyng tooke plea-
 sure in her, whom he could not openly without shame behold. For she was a ma-
 nifest testimony of his vnlawfull matrimony & of hys adultery. For Herode had
 married the mother of that mayden being his brothers wife. Of that daunsing it
 came to passe, y^e Johns head was cut of. Many are angry with vs, because we crye
 agaynst dauncings, as agaynst things which are of their owne nature euill & prohibi-
 bited: we on the other side say, that things are not alwayes to be weighed by theyr
 owne nature, but by the disposition & abuse of our fleshe: we can not deny but that
 wyne of his owne nature is good, whiche yet is not geuen vnto one that is in an
 age to, not that the wyne is euill, but because it agreeth not with a body that is in
 that maner affected. In Exodus, when the people had made themselves a calfe to
 worship, they sat down, did eate, drinke, and rose vp to play. In which place it see-
 meth that to playe was nothing els then to daunce.

The effectes
 of wicked dan-
 ces.

But least I should seme this to speake and to iudge alone, I will adde certayne
 testimonies of the fathers. Augustine against Petilianus the 6. chap. The byshops
 (saith he) were alwayes wont to restrain idle & wantō dauncings: but now a dayes
 there are some bishops which are present at daunces, & do daunce together with wo-
 men, so farre are they of to restraine this vice. The same Augustine vpon the 32.
 Psalm (when he expoundeth these wordes, on the psalter of ten stringes, I will
 sing vnto thee) maketh those ten stringes the ten commandementes, & when he
 had spoken somewhat of one of them, at the last he cometh to the Sabaoth, where
 of it is writtē: Remember that thou sanctify the Sabaoth daye. I say not (saith
 he) to lye delicately, as the Ieiues were wont. For it is better to digge all the
 whole day, then to daunce on the Sabaoth day.

Augustine

Christostome in his 56. Homely vpon Genesis, when he entreateth of the mari-
 ages of Iacob: We haue heard sayth he, of mariages, but not of daunces, whiche he
 there

Christostome.

there calleth deuillish: and he hath many things in the same place on our side. And among other he writeth: The bydedome & the byde are corrupted by daunsing, & the whole samely is defiled. Agayne in the. 48. Homely: Thou seest (sayth he) mariages, but I seest not dauses. For at y tyme they wer not so lasciuious as they be now a dayes. And he hath many mo thinges on the. 14. chap. of Mathew, where he spake vnto the people of the dausing of the daughter of Herodias, & amongest other thinges he saith: At this day Christians do deliuer to destructiō not half their kingdome, not an other mans heade, but euen their owne soule. And he addeth that where as is wanton daunsing, there the deuill daunseth together with them.

Consilium Laodiceum.

In the counsell of Laodiceum it is written: It is not mete for Christian men to daunse at their mariages. Let them dyne & suppe granelye & moderately, geuyng thanks vnto God for the benefite of mariages. In the same counsell also it is had: Let not the Clergy come vnto spectacles either on y stage, or at weddinges. They may in deede be present at mariages: but after there come in *Συμμιχοι*, that is, singers & players on instruments, which serue for daunsinges, let the rise & go theyr wayes, least by theyr presence they should seeme to allow that wantonnes. In the

Consilium Ilerdense.

counsell of Ilerdense, which was had vnder Symmachus, & Hormisdas Popes, and Theodoricus the kyng, the same thing is decreed, namely y Christians should not daunse at mariages. But in the counsell of Alaisiodorenum, which was vnder the

Consilium Alaisiodorense.

Pope Deus dedit, this seemeth to be contracted vnto the Clergy. For there it is prohibited, that any of the Clergy should at a feast either syng or daunse, as though it were in a sozte lawfull for other.

Schoolemen.

Of y same opinion are certayne schoole denines in the. 3. booke of sentences, dist. 37. who refer these prohibitions onely vnto the holy dayes. Ricardus de media villa saith that to daunse on the holy dayes is a synne most greivous, as though on other dayes it may be permitted. But the opinion of the fathers, & sound counsels is far moze secrete then the opinion of these men, who perniciously release those thinges which should be contracted: for as much as they haue y peril of soules ioyned with them: & not onely perill but all falles that are most greivously to be lamed. Howbeit it seemeth that these men borrowed this their sentence (wherein they prohibite daunsing on the holy dayes) out of the ciuile lawes. For in the Code, in the title de feriis in the lawe dies festos: We release in deede solenes on the feast dayes, but we will not haue men geue themselves to voluptuousnes. Wherefore it shall not be lawfull on the feast dayes to vse daunsinges, whether they be for lust sake, or whether they be done for pleasure.

Emilius Probus.
Salust.

But let vs see what the Ethnikes opinion was as touching this thing. Emilius Probus in the life of Epaminonda sayth: That to sing & to daunse was not very honorable among the Romanes, when the Grecians had it in great estimaciō. Salust in Cantilinario writeth, y Sempronia a certayne lasciuious & vnchast woman was taught to sing & daunse moze elegantly then became an honest matrone. And there he calleth those two thinges the instruments of lechery. Cicero in his. 3. booke of offices writeth, y an honest & good man wil not dause in y market place, although he might by y meanes come to great possessions. And in his oratiō which he made after his returne into y Senate, he calleth Aulus Gabinus his enemy in reproche saltator calamistratus y is, the fine daanser: It was objected to Lucius Murena for a fault, because he had daunsed in Asia. The same thing also was objected vnto the king Deiotarus. Cicero answereth for Murena: No man daunseth beyng sobze, vnles peraduenture he be mad, neyther in the wildernes neyther yet at a moderate and honest banquet. The same Cicero in Phillipicas spycheth vnto Anthony among other his byes, daunsing.

The diuersitye of temperature of the men of the East and of the men of the West.

But it appeareth that the nature and disposition of the men of the East & of the West was not al one and the self same. They are cheareful of mynde, & nimble in body, and for that cause delight in daunsinges. For to omitte other examles, Dauid the kyng daunsed publikely. And they which come now vnto vs out of Siria, do affirm that the Christians, which liue in those regions, do vpon the Resurrection day & also vpon other famous feast dayes, come into the temple with harpes and violles,

daunces, & sing psalmes among themselves, & daunce together. For their spirittes are more nimble & chearefull, & ours more heauy. Wherfore they say they daunce soberly and modestly, the men a part by themselves, & the women also by themselves.

How should remayne, to speake somewhat of an other but because to entreate that of would be long, therefore I thinke it good to defer it till an other tyme. This thing onely will I say for the expounding of this place, that those othes which are agaynst the word of god & charity, are of no strength: neither do they bind men & women. They sinned in swearing rashly, but they sinned more grievously in performing it, for as much as they had made an othe. Yet are these elders of Israel to be praised, who although they said that their othe was not firme, yet they would not come openly & contemptuously to violate it, least by their example they should open vnto the rude people a window vnto peruries, which thing also it seemeth that Isai did vnto the Gaabonites. For although in very deed they performed not their othe, yet they would by a certayne shew seeme to performe it, and to haue it in estimation. That which remaineth to be spoken of this thyng, I will deferre vnto the interpretation of the History of Samuel.

Certain thyngs as touching an othe.

And now I thinke good to adde this, that it is no meruall that the Israelites sware a foolish othe, and exercised their sharpenes towardes their brethren more cruelly then was mete: and also admitted & gaue counsell to that rapt such as it was, for as much as they neither asked counsell of god, nor of the highe priest, nor of the prophet concerning these thinges. God in deepe had promised them the victory, yet had he not geuen them this commandment cleane to destroy the tribe of Benjamin, & to kill all their women, also to slay all the women of the Iabonites, they had no commandment out of the word of god. But the negligence of the highe priest & priestes is most of all to be meruayled at, which did not of their owne accord offer themselves, although the elders asked not counsell of them. But Pinhas (as I suppose) was at this tyme soe woone in age, & the other priestes taking all things vnto them, they cared not how, very coldly regarded thinges pertaining vnto God, for as much as there was no king in Israel nor soute Magistrate, which should haue kept the bynes in the duty of the lawe. Wherfore the people not being holpen by the holy ministry so much as neede required, committed many thinges thorough foolishnes & fury, & gathered such fruites of their workes as the history rehearseth. For they should not haue ben so outrageous to haue slayne all the maydens of the Beniamites, for as much as the law had prohibited, that children should be slayne for the sinnes of their parentes. Neither ought the Israelites to haue bound themselves by an othe, not to mary their daughters by any meanes to the Beniamites. It was also to cruelly done to destroy all the women of the Iabonites which were not virgins. Neither ought they to haue committed that kynd of rapt to slay the othe by right, which was but a vayne othe and of no force.

The Israelites erred in that they asked not counsell of god.

The negligence of the priestes is to bee meruayled at.

Neither is this to be passed ouer, that the virgine maydens, by that rapt were punished for the contempt of religion. For as I haue before said, they abused the rest of the holy day. And doubtlesly the Israelites were not commanded to assemble before at certayn tymes of the yeare in the holy congregation of the Lord, to the end they should apply themselves to daunces and playes. The sonne of God when he was twelue yeares of age, came vnto the temple, & there (as it behoued) applied himself to the bynes of his father: which thing if the maidens of Sylo had done, they had not ben rapt. Wherfore it is the part of virgins when they came to holy assemblies, religiously to geue themselves to things deuine, and to abide nyghe vnto their parentes, & not to runne about dauncing in the fieldes, to wnes, streetes & vineyardes. For as often as they are out of the sight of their parentes & keepers, they are ready for raptos, and for the impotent fury of young men. This also is to be considered that the parentes of the maydens that were rapt, were iustly punished, because they negligently kept their daughters on the feast day. For God geneth children vnto the parentes to kepe as a pledge, and that not carelesly but warely.

The punishment of the abuse of religion.

An example of Christe being yet a childe.

The parentes of the maidens that were rapt did sinne.

An argument against having mo wiues then one, but they one called Polygama,

And ye shall by violence take vnto you euery man his wife. The elders doo not geue Counsell vnto the rest of the Beniamites to take mo wiues then one, but they wil euery man to take his own wife. And a litle after it is added: They tooke vnto them

them

them wines according to their number. Undoubtedly if plurality of wives should have at any tyme ben admitted for the procreation of children, here it seemed most of all to haue bene needefull, for as much as the tribe of Benjamin was in a maner destroyed, & needed a speedy instantiation of renewing. But the elders although they carefully studied for the restitution of the Beniamites, yet they thought it not mete to flye vnto the remedy of Polygamy: whiche is an argument, that in thei iudgement that was not allowed.

Every man departed from thence vnto his owne inheritance. Being (as it is to be thought) much in their myndes with sundry and diuers affections. They partly reioysed for the victory whiche they had obtained: partly they pittied the Beniamites, and were sorry they had made so vnchristianlike an othe: and had ragged with to cruell and vnadvised a zeale. They lamented also thei brethren and fellowe soldiers, whom they had in that expedition lost by the overthrowes. Wherefore let the greuous & horrible punishment of the Beniamites be a warning vnto vs to auoyde and eschew dishonest and filthy lustes, as pernicious pestilences, as wel of the soule as of the body, and also of al good thynges.

The fruite of
the reading of it is our part, as it were in a table to set before our eyes this foresayd history, to
this history.

But for as much as we are by the fauour of God come to the end of this booke, beholde in it the gouernement, whereby God defended and gouerned his Church and publique wealth, he doth in deepe punish the sinnes greuously, but after his fatherly correction he doth with an vnmeasurable goodnes restore the hurtles and losses, wherein men oftentimes inturre by thei owne error & faultes. In all these things we may see an Image of our tymes. For we are infected with the same infirmityes that our fathers were: neither doth the deuill and his members with lesse diligence at this day vexe the congregatio of the godly, then he did in the old tyme. Wherefore let vs praye vnto God our most louing father thozoughe his sonne Iesus Christ, that euen as from the beginning he hath holpen and noozished his Church in most great daungers, so also he would now keepe and defende it, when it is almoste ouerwhelmed with euils and calamities. Let vs beseech him also, that euen as he from tyme to tyme stirred by Judges and deliuerers vnto the Hebrewes, by whom he restored both liberty and health and as in our tyme he hath geuen Periscall and most excellent men, namely Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Phillip Melancthon and suche like letters forth of the doctrine of the Gospel, so he would bouchsafe to go forthwarde, and in conuenient tymes stirre vp certayn lyyghtes, by whiche he may illustrate the myndes of his elect, and kindle thei heartes to keepe & amplifie the Church of Christ, that at the length he may haue it ragging with him in heauen, without spot or wrinkle. Amen.

The ende of the Commentary vpon the Booke of the Judges.

A diligent Index or table, of the most notable thinges, matters, and wordes, contay- ned in thys whole woorke. V Which thinges ye shall fynde by the folio which is on the fyrr syde of the leafe, and (b) signifieth the seconde syde of the same leafe

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